

ENGLISH IN THE NETHERLANDS

A HISTORY OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHING 1800-1920
WITH A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF TEXTBOOKS



F.A. Wilhelm

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ENGLISH IN THE NETHERLANDS

A history of foreign language teaching 1800-1920
With a bibliography of textbooks

Een wetenschappelijke proeve op het gebied van de Letteren

Proefschrift
ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor
aan de Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen
op gezag van de Rector Magnificus, prof. dr. C.W.P.M. Blom,
volgens besluit van het College van Decanen
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door

Franciscus Antonius Wilhelm
geboren op 8 juli 1945
te Nijmegen

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To Madeleine

To the memory of my parents and my brother

PREFACE

Since I graduated in English Language and Literature at the University of Nijmegen in 1971, it had been my wish to complete my studies with a doctoral thesis. I came to the conclusion that my subject had to be both historical and cultural, in the sense that it should have something to do with the relations between England and the Netherlands. Being a lecturer in English, it occurred to me that the research project should have to relate to teaching and learning English as well. I therefore decided to concentrate on the history of English language teaching (ELT) in the Netherlands. Then I found out that at the University of Nijmegen Pieter Loonen was writing a Ph.D. thesis on ELT in the Low Countries before 1800. This made me decide to start research on ELT in the Netherlands after 1800 and thus continue a line of investigation.

In 1994 a working-party was set up under the name of Peeter Heyns-
genootschap to study the history of language teaching in the Low Coun-
tries. This academic network has been of invaluable support to me during
the years that I was engaged in my research. I am very thankful for the
inspiration and help that I have received from its members, in particular
from dr. Pieter Loonen (†), dr. Els Ruijsendaal, dr. Roland de Bonth and
dr. Frank Vonk. The activities organised by the Peeter Heyns-
genootschap as well as its publications, induced me to take an active part in the society
and try my hand at a number of articles. In the same way I found inspira-
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who has been of great help to me with his publications and practical sug-
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The greatest debt, however, I owe to my two promotores, Prof. dr.
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grants bestowed on me on two separate occasions.

I am indebted, too, to many others, in particular to my friend drs. Gérard Daniëls, who translated an entire chapter for me, to Prof. dr. Geert Dibbets, dr. Erik Kwakernaak and my ILS colleagues dr. Piet-Hein van de Ven, drs. Joop Heinen and dr. Nard Loonen for their advice, and to my student Jelger Lemmens for his practical assistance in technical matters. Last, but certainly not least: I could never have completed this research project without the unfailing support of my wife, Madeleine, who created the circumstances in which I was able to write my thesis. Hence, I wish to dedicate this book in the first place to her.

CONTENTS

Preface	7
Table of contents	9
List of tables, graphs and figures	15
List of abbreviations	19
1. CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION	21
1.0 Introduction	21
1.1 The historiography of foreign language teaching	21
1.1.1 The relevance of the historiography of FLT	21
1.1.2 Approaches to the historiography of FLT	22
1.1.3 Publications on the history of FLT in the Netherlands	24
1.1.3.1 Publications on the history of French language teaching	25
1.1.3.2 Publications on the history of German language teaching	26
1.1.3.3 Publications on the history of English language teaching	26
1.2 The terms of reference	27
1.2.1 English	28
1.2.2 A history of foreign language teaching	29
1.2.3 In the Netherlands	30
1.2.4 1800-1920	31
1.3 The object of research	32
1.3.1 The object of research and the concept of 'method'	32
1.3.2 Sources for FLT historiographers	34
1.3.3 Coursebooks as a source of information	35
1.4 The method of research	37
2. CHAPTER TWO: THE SOCIO-CULTURAL CONTEXT	45
2.0 Introduction	45
2.1 An unknown language: the knowledge of English around 1800	45

2.2	A rising interest: learners of English and the demand for ELT, 1800-1860	57
2.2.1	From “traders” to learners in vocational education	57
2.2.1.1	The commercial motive	57
2.2.1.2	Learners of English in vocational education	61
2.2.2	From “scholars” to a reading-public for English	65
2.2.2.1	English literary societies	65
2.2.2.2	An English periodical	67
2.2.2.3	Sales of English books	68
2.2.2.4	The teaching of English literature	71
2.2.3	Learners outside the educational system	75
2.2.4	From “young learners” to learners of English in general education	77
2.2.4.1	References to ELT in schools	77
2.2.4.2	The production of ELT textbooks	79
2.2.4.3	The teachers of English	80
2.2.4.4	Numbers of schools and learners	82
2.3	Learning and teaching a world language: learners of English and the demand for ELT, 1860-1920	89
2.3.1	Learners in vocational education	91
2.3.2	Learners outside the educational system	93
2.3.3	Learners in general education	95
2.3.3.1	The teachers of English	97
2.3.3.2	The production of ELT textbooks	99
2.3.3.3	Numbers of schools and learners	100
2.4	Summary	103
3.	CHAPTER THREE: THE EDUCATIONAL CONTEXT	105
3.0	Introduction	105
3.1	Foreign language teaching and the Dutch educational system, 1800-1863	106
3.1.1	FLT and the national school, 1796-1806	106
3.1.2	FLT in Primary Education, 1806-1858	110
3.1.3	Early attempts to create a secondary school system	112
3.1.4	FLT in Latin schools	113

3.1.5	FLT in tertiary education	116
3.1.5.1	The position of FLT in the universities	116
3.1.5.2	Foreign language teachers in tertiary education	118
3.2	English language teaching in secondary schools, 1863-1920	124
3.2.1	ELT in MULO schools	124
3.2.2	ELT in Higher Burgher Schools	125
3.2.2.1	ELT and the curricula of Higher Burgher Schools	126
3.2.2.2	ELT and the number of lessons in Higher Burgher Schools	129
3.2.2.3	ELT and the school-leaving examinations of Higher Burgher Schools	133
3.2.3	ELT in grammar schools, 1876-1920	138
3.2.3.1	ELT and the grammar school curricula	138
3.2.3.2	ELT and the number of foreign language lessons in grammar schools	141
3.2.3.3	ELT and the school-leaving examinations of grammar schools	143
3.3	English language teaching at university, 1886-1921	143
3.4	The teachers of English and their training, 1800-1920	148
3.4.1	The beginnings of foreign language teacher training	148
3.4.1.1	The examination programme of 1806	149
3.4.2	The Lower-grade Certificate, 1858-1920	150
3.4.2.1	The Lower-grade examination programme of 1858	150
3.4.2.2	The Lower-grade examination programme of 1879	152
3.4.3	The Certificate for "More Advanced Education", 1858-1863	154
3.4.4	The Secondary Education Certificate, 1864-1880	155
3.4.4.1	The secondary certificate examination programme	155
3.4.5	Lower, Intermediate and Full-grade Certificates, 1881-1920	157

3.4.6 Towards a regular form of foreign language teacher training	159
3.5 Summary	162

4. CHAPTER FOUR: THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHING CONTEXT

4.0 Introduction	165
4.1 Ideas on teaching and learning foreign languages	165
4.1.1 The treatises	165
4.1.2 Ideas on the aims of FLT	169
4.1.3 Ideas on the selection of learning content	185
4.1.4 Ideas on the gradation of learning content	188
4.1.5 Ideas on the presentation of learning content	189
4.1.6 Analysis of the ideas	208
4.2 ELT and the teaching of other languages	212
4.2.1 The teaching of Latin	212
4.2.2 The teaching of French	215
4.2.3 The teaching of German	226
4.2.4 The teaching of Dutch	233
4.3 ELT and 'authorities'	239
4.4 ELT and the teachers	251
4.5 ELT and the teaching materials	257
4.6 Summary	260

5. CHAPTER FIVE: THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHING TEXTBOOKS

5.0 Introduction	263
5.1 The production of ELT textbooks	264
5.1.1 The production of ELT textbooks from 1800 to 1859	267
5.1.2 The production of ELT textbooks from 1860 to 1919	269
5.2 The distribution of ELT textbooks	271
5.2.1 The distribution of ELT textbooks from 1800 to 1859	274
5.2.2 The distribution of ELT textbooks from 1860 to 1919	281

5.3	The diversification of ELT textbooks	295
5.3.1	Coursebooks	298
5.3.2	Practice books	299
5.3.3	Grammar books	301
5.3.4	Pronunciation manuals	303
5.3.5	Vocabularies and books of idioms	304
5.3.6	Dictionaries	305
5.3.7	Teacher's guides and keys to textbooks	306
5.3.8	Examination papers	306
5.4	Categories of textbooks and their numbers	308
5.5	Summary	310
6.	CHAPTER SIX: COURSEBOOK DESCRIPTION	313
6.1	Introduction	313
6.1.1	Coursebooks and the history of FLT	313
6.1.2	The selection of coursebooks	314
6.1.3	Coursebooks and the concept of 'method'	326
6.1.4	The description of coursebooks	330
6.1.5	Typology of exercises	335
6.2	Coursebook description	348
6.2.1	<i>Engelsche Spraakkunst</i> (1805)	348
6.2.2	<i>Handleiding voor eerstbeginnenden</i> (1807)	363
6.2.3	<i>Engelsche Spraakkunst</i> (1811)	373
6.2.4	<i>Engelsche Spraakkunst</i> (1816)	388
6.2.5	<i>Handleiding bij de beoefening der Engelsche taal. Eerste Afdeeling. Spraakkunst</i> (1850)	399
6.2.6	<i>Leercursus ter beoefening der Engelsche taal. Eerste Gedeelte. Praktische inleiding tot de beoefening der Engelsche taal</i> (1854). <i>Tweede Gedeelte. Theoretisch-praktische spraakkunst der Engelsche taal</i> (1856)	408
6.2.7	<i>Nieuwe leerwijze der Engelsche taal. Eerste Cursus</i> (1855)	426
6.2.8	<i>De Engelsche Taalmeester</i> (c1856)	438
6.2.9	<i>Handleiding bij het onderwijs in het Engelsch. Deel II. Inleiding: de voornaamste eigenaardigheden der Engelsche taal</i> (1881)	449

6.2.10	<i>Engelsche spraakkunst voor schoolgebruik</i> <i>Deel 1</i> (1886). <i>Supplement bij Deel I</i> (1895)	462
6.2.11	<i>Leerboek der Engelsche taal voor</i> <i>eerstbeginnenden</i> (1890)	476
6.2.12	<i>Oefeningen in de Engelsche taal II. Leerstof</i> <i>voor The First Year</i> (1896)	488
7. CHAPTER SEVEN: COURSEBOOK ANALYSIS		507
7.0	Introduction	507
7.1	Target groups	507
7.2	Explicit views on language teaching and learning	511
7.3	Sources and references to “authorities”	516
7.4	The selection of course content	521
7.4.1	Texts	521
7.4.2	Spelling and pronunciation	524
7.4.3	Grammar	525
7.4.4	Vocabulary and idioms	529
7.4.5	Phrases and dialogues	530
7.4.6	Exercises	531
7.4.7	Other items	540
7.5	The organisation of course content	540
7.6	The presentation of course content	541
CONCLUSIONS		548
EPILOGUE		557
REFERENCES		562
APPENDIX ONE: TREATISES ON TEACHING AND LEARNING FOREIGN LANGUAGES 1800-1920		577
APPENDIX TWO: A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF TEXTBOOKS OF ENGLISH 1800-1920		581
INDEX ON ELT TEXTBOOK WRITERS		715
INDEX NOMINUM		723
SUMMARY		735
SAMENVATTING		739
CURRICULUM VITAE		745

LIST OF TABLES, GRAPHS AND FIGURES

- Table 2.1: numbers of grammar schools (second departments) with numbers of pupils; numbers of day/boarding-schools with numbers of boys/girls/total number of pupils in them, 1810-1860
- Table 2.2: foreign language teacher certificates, primary level, 1858-1869
- Table 2.3: English language teaching certificates, primary and secondary levels, 1879-1921
- Table 2.4: numbers of all (M)ULO schools providing FrLT, GLT and ELT, 1880-1920
- Table 3.1: timetable of weekly foreign language lessons at Leiden grammar school, 1849
- Table 3.2: number of weekly foreign language lessons in Higher Burgher Schools with a five-year course, 1867-1868
- Table 3.3: number of weekly foreign language lessons in Higher Burgher Schools with a five-year course in 1916
- Table 3.4: number of weekly foreign language lessons in Higher Burgher Schools with a five-year course in 1920
- Table 3.5: number of weekly foreign language lessons in Higher Burgher Schools with a five-year-course, 1868-1954
- Table 3.6: forms of written examinations for French, German and English in Higher Burgher Schools, 1870-1929
- Table 3.7: number of weekly foreign language lessons in grammar schools, 1877
- Table 3.8: number of weekly foreign language lessons in grammar schools, 1921
- Table 3.9: number of weekly foreign language lessons in grammar schools, 1877-1948
- Table 4.1: references to the 25 most-cited 'authorities' in Dutch FLT textbooks 1800-1900
- Table 4.2: references to 'authorities' in ELT textbooks
- Table 5.1: the production of ELT textbooks per decade between 1800 and 1920
- Table 5.2: the production of FrLT, GLT and ELT textbooks per decade between 1800 and 1900

Graph 5.1: the production of FrLT, GLT and ELT textbooks per decade between 1800 and 1900

Table 5.3: the annual production of ELT textbooks 1800-1859

Table 5.4: the annual production of ELT textbooks 1860-1919

Graph 5.2: the production of ELT textbooks per decade between 1800 and 1920

Table 5.5: ELT textbooks with the greatest number of printings 1800-1859

Table 5.6: ELT textbooks with the longest circulation time 1800-1859

Table 5.7: ELT textbooks with the greatest number of printings between 1860 and 1920 and beyond

Table 5.8: ELT textbooks with the longest circulation time between 1860 and 1920 and beyond

Table 5.9: the number of ELT textbooks per category and per decade, 1800-1919

Table 5.10: the number of ELT practice books per subcategory, 1800-1919

Graph 6.1: circulation time of ELT coursebooks with the largest number of printings in the period 1800-1839 and beyond

Graph 6.2: circulation time of ELT coursebooks with the largest number of printings in the period 1840-1879 and beyond

Graph 6.3: circulation time of ELT coursebooks with the largest number of printings in the period 1880-1920 and beyond

Figure 6.1: typology of exercises

Figure 6.2: overview, in absolute numbers, of receptive learning activities and types of exercises

Figure 6.3: overview, in absolute numbers, of productive learning activities and types of exercises

Figure 6.4: overview, in absolute numbers, of receptive learning activities and types of exercises in Lehman's *Engelsche Spraakkunst* (1805)

Figure 6.5: overview, in absolute numbers, of productive learning activities and types of exercises in Lehman's *Engelsche Spraakkunst* (1805)

Figure 6.6: overview, in absolute numbers, of productive learning activities and types of exercises in Kappelhoff's *Handleiding voor eerstbeginnenden* (1807)

- Figure 6.7: overview, in absolute numbers, of productive learning activities and types of exercises in Van der Pijl's *Engelsche Spraakkunst* (1811)
- Figure 6.8: overview, in absolute numbers, of productive learning activities and types of exercises in Murray/Van der Pijl's *Engelsche Spraakkunst* (1816)
- Figure 6.9: overview, in absolute numbers, of productive learning activities and types of exercises in De Hollander's *Handleiding bij de Beoefening der Engelsche Taal. Eerste Afdeling: Spraakkunst* (1850)
- Figure 6.10: overview, in absolute numbers, of receptive learning activities and types of exercises in Cowan & Maatjes' *Praktische Inleiding* (1854)
- Figure 6.11: overview, in absolute numbers, of productive learning activities and types of exercises in Cowan & Maatjes' *Praktische Inleiding* (1854)
- Figure 6.12: overview, in absolute numbers, of productive learning activities and types of exercises in Cowan & Maatjes' *Theoretisch-Praktische Spraakkunst* (1856)
- Figure 6.13: overview, in absolute numbers, of receptive learning activities and types of exercises in Gerdes' *Nieuwe leerwijze der Engelsche taal. Eerste cursus* (1855)
- Figure 6.14: overview, in absolute numbers, of productive learning activities and types of exercises in Gerdes' *Nieuwe leerwijze der Engelsche taal. Eerste cursus* (1855)
- Figure 6.15: overview, in absolute numbers, of receptive learning activities and types of exercises in Gunn's *Engelsche Taalmeester* (c1856)
- Figure 6.16: overview, in absolute numbers, of productive learning activities and types of exercises in Gunn's *Engelsche Taalmeester* (c1856)
- Figure 6.17: overview, in absolute numbers, of receptive learning activities and types of exercises in Stoffel's *Handleiding, Deel II* (1881)
- Figure 6.18: overview, in absolute numbers, of productive learning activities and types of exercises in Stoffel's *Handleiding, Deel II* (1881)
- Figure 6.19: overview, in absolute numbers, of receptive learning activities and types of exercises in Roorda's *Engelsche Spraakkunst voor Schoolgebruik, Deel 1* (1886)

Figure 6.20: overview, in absolute numbers, of productive learning activities and types of exercises in Roorda's *Engelsche Spraakkunst voor Schoolgebruik, Deel 1* (1886)

Figure 6.21: overview, in absolute numbers, of productive learning activities and types of exercises in Roorda's *Engelsche Spraakkunst voor Schoolgebruik. Supplement bij Deel I* (1895)

Figure 6.22: overview, in absolute numbers, of productive learning activities and types of exercises in Günther's *Leerboek der Engelsche taal* (1890)

Figure 6.23: overview, in absolute numbers, of productive learning activities and types of exercises in Grasé's *Oefeningen in de Engelsche taal. II. Leerstof for the First Year* (1896)

Table 7.1: target groups of learners in the researched coursebooks

Table 7.2: explicit views in the researched coursebooks on aims, selection and presentation of learning content

Table 7.3: sources and references to "authorities" in the researched coursebooks

Table 7.4: overview of the selection of content (except for exercises) in the researched coursebooks

Table 7.5: explicit treatment of parts of speech in the researched coursebooks

Table 7.6: overview, in absolute numbers, of the receptive learning activities and types of the exercises in the researched coursebooks

Table 7.7: overview, in absolute numbers, of the productive learning activities and types of exercises in the researched coursebooks

Table 7.8: types of exercises in the researched coursebooks

Table 7.9: the organisation and presentation of learning content in the researched coursebooks

ABBREVIATIONS

EFL	English as a foreign language
ELL	English language learning
ELT	English language teaching
FLL	Foreign language learning
FLT	Foreign language teaching
FrLT	French language teaching
GLT	German language teaching
L1	first language (mother tongue)
L2	second or foreign language
Roman I in references, e.g. Arend (1825I), refers to Appendix I	
Roman II in references, e.g. De Hollander (1850II), refers to Appendix II	

(For more abbreviations see the introduction to Appendix Two)

1. CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

This chapter serves as an introduction to this dissertation. Part 1.1 will describe the historiography of foreign language teaching, part 1.2 the terms of reference, part 1.3 the object of research and part 1.4 the method of research. In this preamble it should be pointed out that this study is concerned with the history of language teaching, not with that of the teaching of literature. The aim of literary education is far removed from that of teaching language skills and likewise the didactic procedures of the two fields are very different (Van Els *et al.* 1984:3). The teaching of literature will only be mentioned in connection with the motives of learners to learn English (see 2.2.2.4), with curricula and examination requirements (see 3.2.2.1, 3.2.2.3, 3.2.3.1 and 3.2.3.3) and will occasionally be referred to in bibliographical entries.

1.1 The historiography of foreign language teaching

1.1.1 The relevance of the historiography of FLT

During the last few decades the historiography of foreign language teaching (henceforth: FLT) has attracted more and more attention, judging by the growing number of publications in the field. Undoubtedly, this interest springs from the belief that one can have no proper understanding of FLT at a particular moment, if one does not have access to its history. Each period will present its own ideas about learning and teaching foreign languages and choose its own forms. It is quite well possible that many problems and questions of present-day FLT have been topics of discussion before, albeit in another shape. Hence, insight into ideas and methods of the past is of vital importance, if we want to view present-day FLT from a perspective. Besides, a good understanding of the history of FLT may prevent us from regarding as new or unique what may have existed before

and from overrating the importance of current ideas. Also, knowledge of previous FLT may suggest ideas and practices that would otherwise be lost. Most important, perhaps, is the fact that knowledge of historical FLT may enable us to research empirically those characteristics that have manifested themselves consistently and persistently over time (Van Els 1992:45). Not until we relate our knowledge of practice and theory in historical FLT to our own ideas, do we arrive at a better understanding of present-day FLT. And not until that moment will there be real progress. It has been observed by Mackey (1965:138) that FLT has not shown such progress as one might have expected after a development of centuries. It may well be that one important, if not the most important, cause of this “progress without development” lies in ignorance about the history of FLT.

1.1.2 Approaches to the historiography of FLT

In his book *Fundamental Concepts of Language Teaching* (1983) H.H. Stern devotes a chapter to the approaches in FLT historiography and discusses the main studies that had been published by that date. He notes that there is so little documentation that it is not surprising that FLT has a bad memory and that the same battles were fought over and over again (1983:76-77). Loonen (1991:3) is probably right when he suggests that both the vastness and the complexity of FLT historiography has put off many researchers and that this is the cause of the relative scarcity of studies. He remarks that “In some cases so much material is available that one may get bogged down in it, in other cases there is hardly enough to get even started”. It is true, the history of FLT has been touched upon in a great many publications, but most studies do not go into the subject at any length. In fact, there are comparatively few studies that explicitly aim at describing the history of FLT.

Stern distinguishes between general historical surveys on the one hand and studies of particular aspects on the other. The diachronic approach registers the development of certain features through time and can be subdivided into chronological and thematic studies. The synchronic approach focuses on a certain period and within a particular social and educational context. Stern mentions Mackey (1965) and Titone (1968) as examples of diachronic-chronological surveys and Kelly (1969) as an instance of a

diachronic-thematic survey. He then goes on to criticise this diachronic-thematic approach when he asserts that we are in danger of imposing our own linguistic and methodological views on the past by searching for earlier manifestations of present-day features of FLT. In his opinion it is likely that by isolating a particular aspect and judging it only from a diachronic point of view, we lose sight of the contemporary context and fail to see the meaning that this aspect had for its own time. It is his belief that the historiography of FLT cannot do without synchronic studies as a complement to the diachronic approach and he gives a few instances of synchronic studies to illustrate his point. Seeing that so little is known about so much, it seems more sensible in his view to focus on a “number of in-depth studies of more restricted scope, treating specific problems, settings or periods, or identifying events and persons whose contribution to the total picture of language teaching and learning through the ages needs more detailed and more objective investigation than is available at present” (1983:83).

Since Stern (1983) the number of studies on historical FLT has grown further. Thus, we have seen publications by Schröder (1980-1985), Howatt (1984), Howatt & Widdowson (2004), Macht (1986 and 1987), Michael (1987), Loonen (1991) and Klippel (1994), to mention just a few. However, Stern’s distinction between diachronic historical surveys on the one hand and synchronic studies of particular aspects on the other is not always so easy to make. For instance, Michael (1987), Loonen (1991) and Klippel (1994) embody to some extent the characteristics of both approaches, as they are clearly in-depth studies and at the same time describe developments taking place over hundreds of years. The present study has undertaken to describe the history of English language teaching within a particular linguistic and cultural area, within a certain methodological context and within a well-defined period. In other words, it will occupy itself with what Stern has named the “synchronic” approach. On the other hand, it is our intention to compare different periods within the framework of the whole period under review, so that at the same time this study must be called “diachronic”.

What does the historiography of FLT imply? Loonen (1991:2) mentions such aspects as bibliography, biography, socio-cultural matters and lan-

guage learning methodology. It seems to us that the historiography of FLT may include the following aspects: language content, language teaching methodology, socio-cultural aspects, educational aspects, bibliography and biography. 'Language content' relates to the question what elements of the foreign language were taught and learnt. 'Language teaching methodology' relates to the question what teaching methods were used to guide the learner's process. This methodology may also relate to views on language learning and teaching as they are found in theoretical treatises. The socio-cultural aspect relates to the social and cultural circumstances in which learning and teaching foreign languages took place. Key words here are target groups of learners, learners' motives and demand for FLT. The educational aspect relates to the educational system in which foreign languages used to be taught and learnt. Key words here are schools and teachers. 'Bibliography' relates to the efforts necessary to research textbook materials in order to present inventories and bibliographies, while 'biography' relates to background information about those who were involved in FLT, such as teachers and the writers of textbooks and theoretical treatises.

The recent interest in the history of FLT may be accounted for by the growing influence of applied linguistics as a separate scientific discipline. As a matter of fact, the historiography of FLT may be considered a component part of applied linguistics, as this science regards the teaching and learning of foreign languages as one of its fields of study (cf. Van Els *et al.* 1984:1-2). As the general aim of this dissertation is to make a contribution to the historiography of FLT, this research project may, therefore, be said to fit into the field of applied linguistics. In order to define the subject of this dissertation, it is essential to see what has been researched by others. The following subsections give an overview of publications on FLT in the Netherlands.

1.1.3 Publications on the history of FLT in the Netherlands

At present there is no comprehensive historical survey of FLT in the Netherlands. This can be accounted for by the fact that there are still too many gaps relating to individual languages, particularly as far as systematic bibliographical research is concerned. It is true, there are a number of

overviews of the history of Dutch FLT, but these rarely offer new facts. They are usually chapters offering background information in research reports, dissertations and handbooks in order to provide these publications with some kind of historical perspective (Van Els & Knops 1988:301). Some examples of such monographs are Rombouts (1937), Closset (1954), Zeeman (1949), Ickenroth (1974), Meijer (1974), Carpay (1975), Koster & Matter (1983), Van Els *et al.* (1977 and 1984) and Kwakernaak (1996). As regards the most recent history of Dutch FLT, there are such studies as Claessen (1980), Buis & Oud-De Glas (1984), Van Els & Buis (1987), Van Els & Radstake (1987) and Bouwens & Oud-De Glas (1991). Occasionally, too, articles are devoted to a particular aspect of Dutch FLT, such as Ras (1930) on FLT in Latin schools and grammar schools, Dibbets (1983) on a 16th century French language (FrLT) textbook by Peeter Heyns, Van Essen (1986) on grammar teaching since about 1900 and Van Els & Knops (1988) on the history and historiography of FLT in the Low Countries. Furthermore, it may be interesting to note that since 1995 the Dutch journal *Meesterwerk* has published many articles on the history of FLT in the Low Countries. This journal is the organ of the “Peeter Heyns-genootschap”, a society that was founded to study the history of language and literature teaching in the Netherlands and Flanders. In the course of the 20th century, but especially in the last few decades a number of publications have appeared on the history of Dutch FLT that focused on one of the foreign languages that were traditionally taught in Dutch schools: French, German and English. We will now look at publications for each of these languages.

1.1.3.1 *Publications on the history of French language teaching*

Initially, research into the history of FLT in the Netherlands concentrated on French language teaching (FrLT). It is not surprising that FrLT attracted most attention, because for a long time the French language and culture enjoyed a dominant position in the Netherlands. For centuries, until quite recently, French was the first foreign language the Dutch had to learn. In 1919 Riemens published a dissertation on FrLT in The Netherlands entitled *Esquisse historique de l'enseignement du Français en Hollande du XVIe au XIXe siècle*. It is an extensive historical-cultural description of the influence of the French language at the time of the Dutch Republic (1575-1815). Thus, it discusses the role of the Hugue-

nots in education and in general the relation between the world of learning and the position of French. It also has an appendix of textbooks published before 1800. Baardman wrote two articles (1953 and 1961) on the history of FrLT in the Netherlands, in which he concentrates on teaching methods and textbooks. To some degree Riemens' study is supplemented by Vlaanderen's *Vertaal in goed Nederlands* (1964), which describes FrLT in the 19th and 20th centuries and especially provides a good deal of educational information on curricula, lesson tables and examination requirements. The book does not, however, supply bibliographical data. This is provided by Breet & Ceton in their unpublished thesis on English, French and Spanish textbooks (1982).

1.1.3.2 Publications on the history of German language teaching

The most important study of German language teaching (GLT) in the Netherlands so far is W. Kuiper's *Historisch-didactische aspecten van het onderwijs in het Duits* (1961a), a dissertation of which a synopsis was published in an article (W. Kuiper 1961b). To some extent Kuiper follows Vlaanderen (1964) when he discusses FLT. Here, too, Latin and French schools, lesson tables and examination programmes come up for discussion. What is different compared to Vlaanderen (1964) is the discussion of a number of prominent German coursebooks. In this way Kuiper is able to shed light on the methodological developments in GLT until well into the 20th century. Knops (1982) is an (unpublished) thesis with bibliographical data on GLT, which supplements a great deal of information on German textbooks. Kwakernaak (1996) is a dissertation on German grammar teaching in the Netherlands, which is mainly concerned with the recent history of GLT, although it has a section on earlier stages of GLT in the Netherlands.

1.1.3.3 Publications on the history of English language teaching

Dudok wrote two articles (1939 and 1954) on textbooks and teaching methods, without going into much depth. Scheurweghs (1960) compiled an inventory of English grammars of Dutch and Dutch grammars of English published in the Low Countries from the 16th to the end of the 18th century. Alston (1964) has supplemented this list, so that we have a good survey of source materials as far as grammar books are concerned. Furthermore, in his well-known bibliography (1965-1987) Alston sup-

plies a general inventory of dictionaries, grammars and treatises on English written for speakers of various languages including Dutch. In *The Dumb Linguists* (1973) Osselton studies the dictionaries of English that were published in the Low Countries before 1800. Van Essen (1983) devotes his dissertation to Etsko Kruisinga's linguistic scholarship, in which he indirectly touches on language teaching methodology. His article on grammar teaching in FLT (1986) is mentioned above. The most recent monograph is Loonen (1991), which is a critical outline of English language teaching (henceforth: ELT) in the Low Countries between 1500 and 1800 and which offers an extensive bibliography. Apart from these monographs a number of unpublished theses appeared in the 1980s in the Department of Applied Linguistics of the University of Nijmegen, The Netherlands. One of these is Breet & Ceton's bibliography (1982) (see above) of English (French and Spanish) textbooks published in the Netherlands between 1800 and 1900. Others are, for instance, Scholten (1984), on references to 'authorities' in Dutch textbooks of English (French, Spanish and German) in the nineteenth century, and Smits (1988), on views on teaching content and methods in the prefaces of 19th century Dutch textbooks of English.

1.2 The terms of reference

Seeing what research into the history of ELT had been done and especially after the publication of Loonen (1991), it was easier to define the scope of the present dissertation. It will be clear from the following that in some respects my dissertation is a sequel to Loonen (1991). For one thing, the two dissertations together span an uninterrupted period of investigation of some 400 years, from about 1500 to the beginning of the twentieth century. The fact that two studies complement each other in many ways is in itself a rare phenomenon in the field of FLT historiography. Yet, there are also differences between the two studies. Loonen (1991) discusses the history of English as a foreign language for speakers of Dutch in the Low Countries before 1800. The present study discusses English as a foreign language for speakers of Dutch in the Netherlands between 1800 and 1920. Loonen (1991) means his to be "a critical survey" concentrating on the above-mentioned four major areas "bibliography, biography, socio-cultural matters and language learning methodology". This dissertation is an in-depth study in which the focus is on the same areas, while, in addi-

tion, an educational context and a history of ideas on FLT is included. Loonen (1991) places his subject in both a national and a European context. This dissertation is largely confined to a national context, because nineteenth century ELT increasingly took place within a national educational setting. Loonen (1991) is primarily concerned with learning; the present book concentrates on teaching. More detailed differences will be given in the following sections in which the boundaries of the present research project are discussed. These sections also serve as terms of reference for this study as a whole.

1.2.1 *English*

The title of this study, *English in the Netherlands. A history of foreign language teaching 1800-1920*, indicates what choices have been made. In the first place this research is concerned with only one foreign language. This seemed an obvious choice, as traditionally English was one of the three foreign languages taught and learnt in schools from the 18th century onwards, and as comparable studies (Riemens 1919, Kuiper 1961, Vlaanderen 1964) are likewise concerned with only one language. Another argument for choosing just one language was that Loonen (1991) also investigates English as a foreign language for speakers of Dutch; therefore it seemed sensible to continue this line of research. The English language will be studied insofar as it was taught as a foreign language (L2) in an L1 environment. Around 1800 English was still a strange and unknown language, as speakers of Dutch rarely met native speakers of English in the flesh and consequently seldom heard English used as a mother tongue. By 1920 the language had become less strange, due to increasing communication, although it still remained a foreign language. After the Second World War, English was to develop into a 'second' language for many speakers of Dutch.

Secondly, the focus is on general English, not on English for specific purposes, such as nautical, technical or commercial English. The latter kind could be a subject for later research. Thirdly, since written materials form the only access to the way English used to be taught and learnt, we will have to rely on written sources only. In the fourth place, we will primarily concentrate on English as it was taught in an educational setting. Such an approach seems more rewarding, as far as developments in teaching methodology are concerned, than EFL in a non-educational setting,

such as private tutorials or self-study. This does not completely exclude English language learning in a non-educational setting, but our priority lies with the teaching of English in an educational setting. Fifthly, we will outline what elements of English were taught, such as pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary. Likewise, we will pay attention to the teaching of language skills: reading, writing, listening and speaking. Sixthly, as regards the level of English, we will be concerned with that of beginners and intermediate learners, for whom the vast bulk of ELT materials was written. These levels roughly correspond to the lower and higher forms in secondary schools. Generally, there was very little material for advanced students in the period concerned. This is not surprising, since there were hardly any institutions where English was taught at an advanced level. In short, we will not be concerned with anything like the history of ELT at tertiary level, let alone linguistic or literary studies, but to all intents and purposes with the history of ELT in secondary schools, where it was part of the (regular) teaching programmes.

1.2.2 A history of foreign language teaching

This study has as its subtitle *A history of foreign language teaching 1800-1920*. It aims to explore the history of ELT in some depth and within relevant contexts. The historiography of FLT demands that a number of aspects be discussed (cf. 1.1.2). Loonen (1991:2) particularly deals with bibliography, biography, socio-cultural matters and language learning methodology. We will deal with the same aspects and in addition pay (more) attention to language content, the educational context, and the history of ideas. 'Language content' here refers to the elements of the English language that were selected in textbooks to be taught and learnt. A number of selected coursebooks will be used to examine the 'language content'. The 'educational context' describes the institutional setting in which the English language used to be taught and learnt, more specifically the position of English at various levels within the educational system. The 'history of ideas' relates to the emergence of (a corpus of) treatises on FLT, such as articles, brochures and so on, which may be looked upon as the beginnings of a theoretical framework for FLT. Whereas Loonen's first concern (1991) was to describe learning English as a foreign language, this dissertation is primarily concerned with the teaching of it. Prior to the 19th century an

institutional setting for ELT was lacking and consequently English had to be learnt through self-study. Whatever teaching there was, depended on accidental circumstances and EFL was only of interest to a small group of learners. It is thus not without reason that Loonen named his monograph *For to learne to buye and sell*. However, around 1800 important changes took place in the Dutch educational system, which also affected ELT. If, before 1800, ELT was rarely found in schools, English developed more and more into a regular school subject, until in 1863 it became a compulsory subject for pupils in higher secondary education.

1.2.3 *In the Netherlands*

Unlike Loonen (1991) we will not describe EFL in the Low Countries, but confine ourselves to the territory of what is now called The Netherlands. The Low Countries encompass the areas where Low-Dutch used to be the mother tongue, i.e. roughly the territory of the former Dutch Republic as well as Flanders, the Dutch-speaking part of present-day Belgium. In 1795 the northern provinces of the Republic were invaded and occupied by Napoleon's troops, after the same had happened to the southern provinces the year before. The period between 1795 and the year 1815, in which the sovereign Kingdom of the Netherlands was founded, is successively known as the Batavian Republic (1795-1806), The Kingdom of Holland (1806-1810) and the time of annexation by the French Empire (1810-1813). In all these years it was in fact the French who ruled The Netherlands. At first, the Kingdom of the Netherlands still comprised both the southern and the northern provinces of the old Republic, until in 1830 the southern part broke away from the northern part and formed a new kingdom known as Belgium. This study, which has the year 1800 as its formal beginning, will focus on the present territory of the Netherlands, where Dutch is the mother tongue and where the political and cultural situation has led to characteristic developments in FLT. In this sense the situation is very different from that in Belgium, which was and still is a bilingual country¹.

¹ The FLT situation in Belgium between 1830 and 1900 is described by Maréchal (1972).

1.2.4 1800-1920

Of course, the whole tradition of FLT is a long and essentially uninterrupted process without a clear start. Nevertheless, we may consider the year 1800 as a caesura that heralds the beginning of a new era. There are several arguments to support this view. First, the turn of the century saw the beginning of a national school system, which would also affect FLT. For instance, the 1806 Education Act opened up the possibility of including FrLT, GLT and ELT as subjects in the curriculum of the national school (see 3.1.2). Secondly, from about 1800 we see the beginnings of a theoretical framework, however modest, in the form of monographs, brochures and articles. Thirdly, after 1800 the number of ELT textbooks was to explode, if we compare it to the small number of about 40 ELT textbooks published between 1500 and 1800 (cf. Loonen 1991:278-313). Loonen (1991:19), who draws the line at the year 1800 for the end of his study, points to the fact that the number of EFL textbooks suddenly increased substantially between 1790 and 1800, compared to the rest of the 18th century, which indicates that the demand for EFL was rising sharply. He mentions the publication of 8 to 9 new titles in this decade compared with two dozen in the entire 18th century and speaks of at least 15 new textbooks published between 1800 and 1810. As a matter of fact, no fewer than 25 new titles were to appear in this decade. In the fourth place the diversification of textbook materials after 1800 was considerable, when compared to the three major categories before 1800 that are distinguished by Loonen (1991:106). In the fifth place, the number of English language learners, teachers and schools in which English was taught was to grow substantially. Sixthly, the years around 1800 saw important changes in the character of FLT textbooks, as the new textbooks aiming increasingly at children instead of adults, which affected the structure, organisation and the choice of texts². A seventh and last argument concerns the change in teaching methods. By the year 1800 a new kind of language practice had made its entry into Dutch FLT: L1-L2 translation exercises, inspired by the example of Meidinger's French grammar (1783)³.

² See for instance the texts in Van Bemmelen (1794/1795) which were graded in four "classes" and clearly written for children (cf. Loonen 1991:309-310).

³ See W. Kuiper (1961:75-76).

There are also good reasons to take the year 1920 as the formal end of a period. The chief arguments are that from a methodological point of view the heyday of the Reform movement was over and that FLT had reached a phase of consolidation (cf. Van Els 1992:45). By 1920 the debate between Reformers and conservatives, which had stirred up feelings in the 1890s, had ebbed away. The Reform had led to some adaptations in textbooks but had not managed to change them fundamentally. Also, educational policy had laid down the curricula and examinations in higher secondary education and at universities. All secondary schools now had State-approved curricula and university students could now take official degrees in foreign languages. As regards examinations, the years of experiments with the examination programmes in higher secondary education were over. One important result of these developments was uniformity in the form of written foreign language examinations. From now on, all secondary school-leavers had to translate a text from L2 into L1, so that translating kept its prominent place in Dutch FLT. This requirement, which was expressed in the examination assignment “Vertaal in goed Nederlands” [“Translate into correct Dutch”], was to leave its mark on FLT until 1968. After that year the examinations requirements were changed fundamentally.

1.3 The object of research

1.3.1 The object of research and the concept of ‘method’

What we want to know about ELT in the Netherlands between 1800 and 1920 is what was taught in this period and especially how this was done. The ‘what’ and ‘how’ are key questions. How can they be researched? Historical developments in FLT have always been described in terms of ‘methods’. In other words, we need ‘method’ or ‘methodology’ to analyse FLT developments. However, the concept of ‘method’ is not unambiguous and has often led to confusion (cf. Stern 1983:482; Van Els *et al.* 1984:144-145). Some use ‘method’ in the meaning of textbook, others take it in the sense of a didactic principle, others interpret it in yet other ways. The names of certain ‘methods’, such as ‘natural method’ or ‘direct method’, reflect these narrow definitions, which only focus on one or two aspects of what is in fact a complex subject. Not until fairly recently was the concept of ‘method’ given a more scientific basis. Mackey (1965)

points to the relevance of fundamental questions, such as ‘what’, ‘when’ and ‘how’ in the discussion of FLT ‘methods’ (cf. Stern 1983:482; van Els *et al.* 1984:145). Mackey (1965:157) distinguishes between four different factors in teaching: selection, gradation, presentation and repetition of language content. Following Mackey (1965), Van Els *et al.* (1984:144) basically use the same division of factors and prefer to define ‘method’ in global terms of ‘what’ and ‘how’: “What is meant here by the word ‘method’ is the total of considerations concerning the specification of objectives, the selection and gradation of course content, and the selection of didactic procedures. Put differently, what we mean by ‘method’ is the coherent whole of all considerations concerning what is taught and how it is taught”. Stern (1983:452-474), too, points to the inadequacy of the concept of ‘method’ and to the importance of clear definitions. Richards & Rodgers (1986:14-30) have developed a model of their own to define the concept of ‘method’ more specifically. They distinguish between three levels of analysis: ‘approach’, ‘design’ and ‘procedure’. ‘Approach’ refers to the theories on language and language learning and functions as background for ‘design’. ‘Design’, in its turn, is the theoretical background for ‘procedure’. It involves the analysis of objectives, the selection and organisation of language content, types of learning tasks and teaching activities and the role of learners, teachers and instructional materials. In Richards & Rodgers’ model, Mackey’s selection and gradation of language content, fall under the heading of ‘design’. In Richards & Rodgers (1986:26) ‘procedure’ is the level at which ‘approach’ and ‘design’ are realised in the classroom. It focuses on the way in which “a method handles the presentation, practice and feedback phases of teaching”. Richards & Rodgers (1986:16) summarize their concept of ‘method’ as follows: “Thus a method is theoretically related to an approach, is organizationally determined by design, and is practically realized in procedure”.

It is our intention to study the ELT developments on the basis of Richards & Rodgers’ model. In doing so, we prefer to register methodological trends rather than arrive at a strict classification of ‘methods’⁴, as, for

⁴ Macht (1986 and 1987) distinguishes ten different ‘methods’ in the period 1800-1960. By comparison, Stern (1983:453-466) distinguishes between four principal ‘methods’ that were employed in the same period.

instance, Macht (1986-1987) has done for ELT in the German-speaking countries in the 19th and 20th centuries. Since, in one way or another, characteristics of one 'method' often also occur in another 'method' (cf. Mackey 1965:151), there seems little point in reducing the history of FLT to a classification of 'methods'. It appears to be more useful to investigate when and why certain characteristics were subject to change at a particular moment than to bring about a classification that will inevitably turn out to be rather artificial.

Next to the methodology of ELT, it is important to study the context in which ELT took place. This context may be further specified into a socio-cultural context, an educational context and an ELT context. The socio-cultural context enquires after the cultural position of ELT in society: the learners of English, their motives and the demand for ELT. The educational context is concerned with the position of English in the educational system and the training of teachers of English. The ELT context investigates what ideas on FLT were put forward and whether they affected ELT, in how far other languages served as models for ELT, which persons functioned as 'authorities' to ELT textbooks and what was the relation between ELT and its teachers and between ELT and its materials. In answering these questions we can employ several sources.

1.3.2 Sources for FLT historiographers

Stern (1983:87-88) essentially lists three sources that the historiographer of FLT has at his disposal, i.e. historical accounts, historical textbooks and historical theoretical treatises. Van Els & Knops (1988:291) list five sources. These are:

1. historical accounts of foreign language teaching and learning;
2. historical observations of FLT;
3. historical coursebooks;
4. historical theoretical treatises;
5. previous discussions of the history of FLT.

Historical accounts of foreign language teaching and learning can be divided into two categories, non-official and official accounts. The first category may take a variety of forms, from travel reports to newspaper

articles. Systematic research of such documents is difficult to carry out, but, what is more important, it is hard to draw general conclusions from this type of accidental accounts, as they are necessarily subjective and sometimes unreliable. The second category is closely connected with the building of the educational system. This material, which increased in volume as the school system was expanding, has not yet been systematically mapped out in relation to FLT. What is meant here are such accounts as school inspectors' reports, reports of various examination boards, government papers, reports of public commissions and so on. It is quite likely, however, that accounts on FLT, and ELT in particular, are few and far between. By historical observations of FLT is meant the observation of the actual teaching and learning process as it took place in the past. It is true, these observations offer direct information, but they are extremely rare. Van Els & Knops (1988:292) rightly note that such materials are hard to come by, even today. Obviously, direct observation does not seem a fruitful source for systematic research of historical FLT. The next source is historical textbook materials. These may be considered the most important category, as on the basis of their content it can be determined what language elements were selected, in what order this was done and how they were presented (cf. Van Els & Knops 1988:292). Besides, historical textbooks sometimes present explicit views on language teaching and learning. Because of their comprehensive character, they may be looked upon as an essential source for the historiographer. It will be clear from section 1.1.3 that ELT is well documented until 1800 but less well after that year. In the fourth place we have theoretical treatises. This category consists of independently published monographs and brochures. Articles in journals may be considered to belong to it as well. As yet, no systematic research of theoretical treatises on FLT has been attempted. The fifth and final source of information is found in the studies of others (secondary reading). The most important of these studies have been mentioned in 1.1.

1.3.3 Coursebooks as a source of information

Textbooks and especially coursebooks form a highly useful entrance for FLT research. Of all the textbooks it is especially the category of coursebooks that provide the most teaching content or at least a broad supply of

it. Van Els *et al.* (1984:141) define coursebooks as the “concrete expression of theories and ideas” and they emphasise that little research has been done as far as the description and analysis of course materials is concerned. Close scrutiny of coursebooks gives us very good insight into FLT methodology. This holds both for the ‘what’, i.e. the objectives and the selection of content, and the ‘how’, the organisation and presentation of it. Coursebooks not only present FLT content, very often they offer explicit views on learning and teaching in their prefaces. Also, coursebooks often have instructions for the teacher, either through explicit indications in prefaces or teacher’s guides, or through the content, organisation and presentation of the teaching material. They are frequently organised into ready-made units and may be looked upon as lesson models because of their graded structure. In this respect they are closer to the historical reality of teaching than accounts or theoretical treatises. Another point is that coursebooks sometimes refer to ‘authorities’ on whose expertise or views they rely. Finally, very often they present ‘external’ information about their target group and the kind of education for which they were written.

Research has shown that coursebooks have a large impact on teacher behaviour. In a recent investigation into present-day FLT in the Netherlands by Bouwens & Oud-De Glas (1991:6), coursebooks are the most important source of information, next to information provided by teachers⁵. In the opinion of the authors, coursebooks are the chief, if not the only source providing the teacher with learning content, certainly in the first few years of secondary education. They claim that it is a “feit dat ... leergangen in hoge mate het leerstofaanbod in de onderbouw van het voortgezet onderwijs bepalen” [fact that ... coursebooks largely determine the provision of learning content in the lower forms of secondary education] (1991:14). There is little reason to suppose that the impact of coursebooks on teaching was any different one to two hundred years ago. On the contrary, considering the limited means of those days, we may safely assume that coursebooks left their mark on FLT even more than they do at present. On these grounds, we have chosen ELT textbooks and particularly coursebooks as our main object of research. Coursebooks are

⁵ This research project, carried out in 1988-1989, investigated FLT in the first four years of Dutch secondary education.

also the natural successors to Loonen's "textbooks". This does not mean that we will not make use of the other sources. All of them will stand in good stead, but we have researched coursebooks in the first place.

Although coursebooks may be looked upon as the most practical source of information, a word of warning seems in place here. Historical coursebooks cannot simply be equated to the learning and teaching processes of the past, for we will never know what really happened in the nineteenth-century foreign language lessons. In this context it is relevant to note the distinction made by Goodlad *et al.* (1979:60-64) between what he calls the "ideological curriculum", the "perceived curriculum" and the "operational curriculum". In his view "One determines the contents of ideological curricula by examining textbooks, workbooks, teachers' guides, and the like". And: "perceived curricula are curricula of the mind. [...] Consequently, we are very interested in ferreting out what teachers believe the extant curriculum to be and what attitudes they have toward what they view as reality". And finally: "What teachers perceive the curriculum of their classrooms to be and what they actually are teaching may be quite different things.

1.4 The method of research

After the textbooks of English had been chosen as the primary object of research, it was necessary to compile an inventory of titles. For this purpose the titles of all the materials that could be used as ELT textbooks have been collected, be they coursebooks or other textbook materials. Only publications regarding the teaching of English and American literature, such as literary histories and anthologies, have been omitted (cf. 1.0). For our research we have made use of a great variety of sources, i.e. (electronic) bibliographies, catalogues of (university) libraries, publishers and exhibitions, journals, textbooks, book reviews and publications on the history of FLT. Also, we browsed through a great many libraries as well as through countless antiquarian bookshops, book markets, archives and so on, both at home and abroad and sometimes at random, hoping to find new titles and materials. We attempted to look at as many textbooks as were available for inspection and to gather as much information as we could from the full titles, prefaces and contents of textbooks. The next step was to compile an exhaustive bibliography that would present as

many titles and other data as could be found. In these efforts we found Breet & Ceton (1982) very useful, because it provides a good starting-point. Besides, there was Loonen (1991) to supply bibliographical information prior to 1800. The bibliography has been added as Appendix Two to this study.

The bibliography has no professional bibliographical pretensions, because the main interest of this study is not a bibliographical one. It rather has the character of a short-title catalogue or bibliographical 'checklist'. For instance, it is not as detailed as the EFL textbook bibliography in Loonen (1991). On the other hand, it offers more information than Breet & Ceton (1982). Nevertheless, the researched period has yielded a multitude of titles compared to the period 1500-1800. Altogether, some 750 titles have been collected. By comparison, Loonen (1991) traced about 40. The arrangement of the bibliography is chronological, by year of publication. Within each year the titles have been arranged alphabetically according to the author's name. The bibliographical entries consist of the following elements:

1. the year of publication; all works are listed by their first known date of publication;
2. the author's family name, as well as initials or first names;
3. the main part of the title; the original spelling and punctuation have not always been retained;
4. the editions, including any revised or enlarged editions and reprints;
5. the place of publication;
6. the publisher's name;
7. the location where the book can be found or, alternatively, the reference to the book in a bibliography, catalogue, journal, textbook and so on;
8. the existence of a book review and other points (entered under 'note 1, note 2' and so on).

As soon as the bibliography had been compiled, the socio-cultural context that served as a background for ELT was explored. The result of it is found in Chapter Two. Its findings are based on systematic research of the titles and prefaces to ELT textbooks as well as of book reviews and FLT

treatises. Secondly, it is based on historical accounts and secondary reading. The chapter investigates in how far the knowledge of English was spread in the Netherlands, how Dutch people came into contact with English and what they learnt of it. The chapter also investigates for what social groups the knowledge of English was necessary or useful, what the motives were for people to learn English and it attempts to draw conclusions about the demand for ELT. This demand is tentatively investigated on the basis of the number of schools in which English was taught, the number of pupils who learnt English, the number of ELT textbooks and the number of English teacher training certificates. Before the 1860s English was not yet a compulsory subject in secondary schools. In order to find out if the introduction of English as a compulsory subject in the 1860s brought about any changes in groups of learners, motives for ELL and the demand for ELT, the chapter has been split in two halves: 1800-1860 and 1860-1920.

After exploring the socio-cultural background, the next step was to narrow the focus down to the educational context in which ELT had its place. This is done in Chapter Three, which is largely based on secondary reading. However, we have carried out research into the way in which future foreign language teachers and teachers of English in particular received their professional training. The first part of the chapter, FLT and the Dutch educational system, 1800-1863, is not specifically concerned with ELT, but with FLT in general, as little is known about English, French and German as individual school subjects in the first half of the nineteenth century. This part is subdivided into the following sections: FLT and the national school 1796-1806, FLT in primary education 1806-1858, FLT and early attempts to create a secondary school system, FLT in Latin schools and FLT in tertiary education. The second part of the chapter, ELT in secondary schools, 1863-1920, describes the position of English as a compulsory subject within the new structure of secondary education. Part Three, English language teaching at university, 1886-1921, briefly discusses the beginnings of English studies in the Netherlands, from the time in which the first professor of English was appointed to the year in which modern foreign language studies were acknowledged as degree subjects. The fourth part, the teachers of English and their training, 1800-1920, is devoted to the way in which foreign

language teachers, particularly teachers of English, were prepared for their profession.

Having explored the broader contexts of society and education, we wanted to narrow the focus further to the context of ELT. The result of this investigation became Chapter Four. It focuses on the position of Dutch ELT in FLT at large, that is, in the context of teaching and learning foreign languages in the Netherlands with occasional references to the neighbouring European countries. So far, no systematic research has been attempted into historical treatises on foreign language teaching and learning. For this purpose we have tried to trace as many monographs as we could lay our hands on. Also, we have studied the articles in four foreign-language teacher journals as well as those in one general educational journal. The first part of the chapter, therefore, offers an inventory of a number of theoretical treatises on FLT that existed between 1800 and 1920 and discusses the views in them with regard to, respectively, the aims of FLT and the selection, gradation and presentation of FLT content. The second part of the chapter discusses the teaching of Latin, French, German and Dutch in the Netherlands and the role it played as models for ELT. The third part gives a survey and analysis of the references to 'authorities', so that linguistic and methodological influences on ELT can be shown. In the fourth part, attention is paid to the relationship between ELT and its teachers. The fifth part pays attention to ELT and the teaching materials.

After researching the contexts that served as backgrounds to ELT, the time had come to focus more closely on ELT as such. The bibliography formed the basis for a global description of ELT materials in Chapter Five. Here a survey is given of the production, distribution and diversification of the materials. The production of the textbooks is indicated in numbers per year, per decade, for the periods 1800-1859 and 1860-1919 and for the entire period 1800-1920. The distribution of the textbooks is indicated not only by the number of printings, but also by the time during which they were in circulation. Four tables indicate the number of printings over the periods 1800-1859 and 1860-1919 as well as their circulation time in years over the same periods. As regards diversification, the textbooks after 1800 have been divided into the following eight categories:

1. coursebooks;
2. practice books;
3. grammars;
4. pronunciation manuals;
5. vocabularies/books of idioms;
6. dictionaries;
7. teacher's guides/keys to textbooks;
8. examination papers.

This division into categories has chiefly been made on the basis of the textbook titles, as the majority of the textbooks could not be inspected physically. For one thing, if one wished to inspect them, this was not always possible, as many textbooks no longer exist or are not known to exist. Secondly, it is sometimes difficult to gain access to library collections. However, the information in the titles, additional information in reviews and advertisements, comments in treatises, circumstantial evidence, references to textbooks, comparison with other textbook titles and so on have together provided a sufficient basis to arrive at a reasonable judgement on the nature of most textbooks. Nevertheless, a certain measure of speculation about the exact content of some textbooks was sometimes inevitable. Especially the category of 'grammars' often presented problems in this respect, as the name of 'grammar' was traditionally used for a general 'textbook' (cf. Loonen 1991:107). Next, the numbers of textbooks in each category are presented per decade. The subcategory of practice books are divided further into subcategories focusing on each of the four language skills. Of these the numbers are listed per decade, too. As indicated in 1.3.3, the coursebooks have been chosen as the most suitable category for an in-depth description. On the basis of the definition in Chapter Five, coursebooks should offer at least the following elements: 1. grammar; 2. vocabulary; and 3. exercises.

The global description of the ELT materials is followed by an in-depth description of a number of selected coursebooks, which is worked out in Chapter Six. The introduction to this chapter provides a detailed discussion of the criteria and arguments regarding the selection of the coursebooks and the division of the entire research period into smaller periods. The following criteria have been used for the selection of these course-

books: 1. frequency of publication; 2. time of circulation; and 3. availability of course materials. The entire research period has been divided into three smaller periods of 40 years each: 1800-1839, 1840-1879 and 1880-1919. For each period four coursebooks are described. However, if two volumes belonging to the same course qualified for description, they are described as component parts of one course. This is the case with the courses by Cowan & Maatjes (1854/1856II) and Roorda (1886/1895II), so that in actual fact the description extends to fourteen coursebook volumes. On the basis of the above criteria the following coursebooks have been selected⁶:

1. Lehman *Engelsche Spraakkunst* 1805 (1805-1817²);
2. Kappelhoff *Handleiding voor eerstbeginnenden* (1807-1833³);
3. Van der Pijl *Engelsche Spraakkunst* (1811-1837³);
4. Murray/Van der Pijl *Engelsche Spraakkunst* (1816-1871⁸);
5. De Hollander *Handleiding bij de beoefening der Engelsche taal. Eerste Afdeeling. Spraakkunst* (1850-1871⁷);
6. Cowan & Maatjes *Leercursus ter beoefening der Engelsche taal. Eerste Gedeelte. Praktische inleiding tot de beoefening der Engelsche taal* (1854-1916¹³); *Tweede Gedeelte. Theoretisch-praktische spraakkunst der Engelsche taal* (1856-1897¹⁰);
7. Gerdes *Nieuwe leerwijze der Engelsche taal. Eerste Cursus* (1855-1883⁶);
8. Gunn *De Engelsche Taalmeester* (c1856-1864⁴);
9. Stoffel *Handleiding bij het onderwijs in het Engelsch. Deel II. Inleiding: de voornaamste eigenaardigheden der Engelsche taal* (1881-c1930¹⁷);
10. Roorda *Engelsche spraakkunst voor schoolgebruik Deel 1* (1886-1962⁷⁵); *Supplement bij Deel I* (1895-1951³¹);
11. Günther *Leerboek der Engelsche taal voor eerstbeginnenden* (1890-1920¹⁵);
12. Grasé *Oefeningen in de Engelsche taal II. Leerstof voor The First Year* (1896-1923²⁸).

⁶ For full titles see Appendix Two.

Coursebooks may be looked upon as representative of a particular teaching method. During the nineteenth century the dominant methods were the so-called grammar-translation method and the direct method and there is general agreement on the typical features of these methods. In Chapter Six we will first describe these method features and subsequently give an in-depth description of a number of selected coursebooks. The model with which we have described the selected coursebooks comprises the following ten aspects:

1. Author's background;
2. Target group of learners;
3. Explicit views on language teaching and learning;
4. Origin and sources;
5. Printing history;
6. Table of contents;
7. Outline of course content;
8. Organisation of course content;
9. Presentation of course content;
10. Historical reception and evaluation.

We have also devised an exercise typology for the selected coursebooks. This typology distinguishes between fifteen different types of exercises and can be further divided into subtypes. We believe that a description and analysis of exercises in historical coursebooks may yield interesting results with regard to methodological developments. So far no exercise typology of historical coursebooks has been attempted.

The coursebook descriptions in Chapter Six will be followed by a data analysis in Chapter Seven. This is done on the basis of the description model and with the help of the exercise typology in Chapter Six. In this way the coursebook features can be compared to the method features and such a comparison will hopefully shed light on methodological developments. Chapters Five, Six and Seven, therefore, take up a central position in this book.

The last chapter will be followed by a conclusion, in which we will draw the lines of this study together and present our main findings in brief. The

dissertation will conclude with an epilogue, in which we will reflect on the outcome of this study and its research methodology and in which we will make recommendations with regard to subsequent research.

2. CHAPTER TWO

THE SOCIO-CULTURAL CONTEXT

2.0 Introduction

This chapter aims at describing the social and cultural backgrounds of ELT in the Netherlands during the nineteenth and early twentieth century. In this context we will address the following questions: how far was knowledge of the English language spread in the Netherlands? For what social groups was knowledge of the English language necessary or useful? How did people come into contact with the language and what sort of command did they have of it? What were the motives for people to learn English and is it possible in retrospect to draw conclusions about the demand for ELT? For the sake of chronology this chapter is divided into three parts. Part 2.1 describes the knowledge of English and the social and cultural backgrounds of ELL/ELT in the Netherlands around 1800. Part 2.2 discusses the groups of learners and the demand for ELT during the first sixty years of the nineteenth century. The third part (2.3) begins around 1860, when new education acts were introduced that would change the position of ELT in the Netherlands fundamentally. This part discusses the groups of learners and the demand for ELT between 1860 and 1920. The chapter is concluded with a summary (2.4).

2.1 An unknown language: the knowledge of English around 1800

By the end of the 18th century the English language was unknown to the vast majority of the Dutch people. Even those who one would expect to have a fair knowledge of the language, such as intellectuals and prominent businessmen, were usually unfamiliar with English. When in 1772 the Leiden bookseller Johannes Luchtmans paid a visit to England to purchase books for his firm, he was apparently unable to understand spoken English, as may be inferred from his travel journal. According to this diary he once heard a sermon preached but he did not understand a word of

what was being said⁷. Yet, Luchtmans was the official printer of the city of Leiden and its university and one of the Republic's leading academic publishers and booksellers. He had an extensive fund of scholarly and scientific publications at his disposal and entertained regular contacts with foreign publishers⁸. That English was still largely unknown in academic circles is also illustrated by the following example. Hoftijzer (1987:5-6)⁹ quotes the remark of a governor of the university of Utrecht, whose consent was needed to buy a series of English books for the university library, and who is reported to have exclaimed¹⁰:

Indien het werk in 't Latijn of ten minste in 't Fransch ware, dat door velen verstaan wordt, zoude ik er gaarne in toestemmen, maar wie, heeren, leest er Engelsch? [If the work had been written in Latin or at least in French, which many understand, I would be pleased to give my consent, but, gentlemen, who reads English?]

⁷ The preacher in question was Mr James Fordyce (1720-1797) from Aberdeen, who was minister of the Presbyterian church in Monkwell Street, London. It may have been the minister's Scottish accent that was the cause of Luchtmans' language problem, but on the other hand Luchtmans' companions praised Fordyce for his "nette en zindelyke taal" [neat and pure language]. See Hoftijzer & Van Waterschoot (1995:22).

⁸ Luchtmans publishers and booksellers (1683-1848) also entertained regular contacts with English publishing houses (Smilde 1990:156). Hoftijzer & Van Waterschoot (1995:7) think it remarkable that Johannes Luchtmans purchased substantial numbers of English books, including both literary and scientific publications. They suggest that these works were intended for the many English and Scottish undergraduates studying at Leiden and Utrecht. However, it is equally well possible that the books were sold to a growing group of Dutch readers of English, such as scientists, scholars, translators, editors of journals and "literary" readers. Alternatively, the English publications might have been sold on to other booksellers both at home and abroad.

⁹ Also cited in Loonen (1991:48).

¹⁰ Presumably the incident took place in 1776, when Rijklof Michael van Goens (1748-1810), professor of Antiquities, History, Eloquence and Greek at the University of Utrecht, suddenly gave up his academic career and sold off his entire library. The work in question was the *Philosophical Transactions*, which Van Goens offered to the university at a price of 50 guilders. The auction that was organised to sell his extensive library took several days, starting on 14 October 1776. In his autobiography (1798) Van Goens relates how one of the burgomasters of the city of Utrecht, who held the office of governor of the university, prevented the sale on the grounds mentioned in the quotation (Van Goens 1867:30-31).

From this quotation it appears that English was not yet considered to be a language fit for academic scholarship. In the academic world the classical languages still held pride of place. Here Latin was the traditional means of communication¹¹. For the uppermost strata of society, particularly for the “learned class”, the customary forms of education were the Latin school and university. Here was no room for modern languages in the official curricula, let alone English. If the leading classes of society – to which the said university governor undoubtedly belonged – learned a modern language, it was French. French had been the social medium of communication, the *lingua franca*, of the civilized world for the preceding two centuries and would remain so for many more years to come. The teaching of French was inspired by social, cultural, intellectual and economic motives. It took place in the so-called French schools, which were institutions where modern subjects were taught that had no place in the syllabuses of the Latin schools, but for which, on the other hand, there was a clear social need. Naturally, French was one of the subjects taught in these schools, whereas the teaching of English – like that of German – took place only incidentally. Unlike in Germany, where English was a subject that could be read at university as early as the mid-eighteenth century¹², the universities in Holland did not provide FLT in the official syllabi. If Dutch university students felt the need to learn English or German, there was usually an opportunity to do so, since the universities employed lecturers or tutors for that purpose on a more or less private basis¹³. Com-

¹¹ In this respect the Dutch universities displayed a rather conservative attitude, for it seems that the situation in which Latin was the language of communication during lectures was to last longer in Holland than in any other European country. A Royal Decree of 2 August 1815 still demanded that university lectures be given in Latin. Prospective university students were prepared for this situation in Latin schools. It was not until 1855 that the universities were given the choice between Latin and Dutch (Boekholt & De Booy 1987:196). In 1876 the Higher Education Act abolished Latin as the academic language of communication.

¹² Klippel (1994:53-56) states that there is evidence that English was taught in 22 German universities before 1780.

¹³ These lecturers sometimes received a (meagre) salary from the university but were otherwise dependent on students, as they were entitled to charge fees. In 1829 they even had to dispense with their university salaries and were henceforth appointed “honoris causa” (cf. Fockema Andreae 1936). Also see Sijmons (1914) on the academic status of FLT before 1876.

pared with Latin, which had a position to defend in the academic world, and French, the language of modern communication, English played a minor role, although it was on its way up.

That the language skills of the educated classes did not usually include English may also appear from the activities of the reading societies that existed round about 1800. These were small groups of people with a common interest who exchanged books and periodicals among themselves in order to discuss their contents and, last but not least, to reduce the costs. Of the 924 reading clubs traced by Jansen (1988 and 1990) for the years 1781-1850 only one of them engaged in reading English (see 2.2.2.2). A well-documented example of such a reading club was the Leiden society “*Miscens Utile Dulci*”, founded in 1780 and still in existence in 1840. The readers were drawn from the upper ranks of society and numbered many academics among them. Nearly half of the university professors were members of *Miscens Utile Dulci* at one time or another¹⁴. One of the aims of the club was to read texts in the original language¹⁵. However, from the regulations and minutes it appears that no English was read, whereas reading French and German was common practice. A similar instance concerns a typically professional reading club, the Leiden medical society “*Nobis et Aliis*”, founded in 1800. Here the emphasis was on reading professional journals. English journals, however, were not permitted: “*Er zullen in dit leesgezelschap geene andere boeken, dan genees-, heel- en verloskundige Journalen, of zulke die tot die vakken betrekking hebben gelezen worden, hetzij Nederduitsche, hetzij Fransche of Hoogduitsche*”. [“In this society no other books than medical, surgical and

¹⁴ Van Zonneveld (1983:345-356) devotes an article to this society in the period 1830-1840 and describes the policy of buying reading materials. It appears that the members were mainly drawn from the professional classes, such as barristers, notaries, clergymen, medical men, publishers, officers and schoolmasters.

¹⁵ The regulations of 1780 demanded that one half of the books be read in German and the other half in French or Dutch; translations from these languages were not allowed (Goinga -Van Driel, J. 1983:172-174). Regulations about reading English are conspicuously absent. Van Zonneveld (1983:351-352) mentions a similar regulation (article 43), dating back to 1819, but here no mention is made of any English books either. According to this article one third of the books were to be read in German, one third in French and one third in Dutch.

gynaecological accounts shall be read, or such as pertain to these subjects, whether they be in Dutch, French or German”] (Goinga-Van Driel, 1983:174-175). Apparently, reading English texts was not among the capacities of this highly educated company and hence we must conclude that as late as the 1830s the knowledge of English was not yet one of the accomplishments of the intellectual elite and, in general, of the upper classes of Dutch society.

Not only was English largely unknown, it was also looked upon by many as a rather useless, indeed a somewhat uncivilized language. As late as 1822 we still find proof of this long-standing tradition of prejudice. In the preface of his book entitled *An Appeal to the Judgements of the Dutch and French Inhabitants of the City of Amsterdam on the Subject of the English Language*¹⁶ the Englishman B.S. Nayler¹⁷, who had settled in Amsterdam as a publisher and bookseller, complained “to all whom it may concern” about the prejudices against the English language which he had encountered in Holland. As a “a teacher of elocution” he felt called upon to publish a brochure in defence of his mother tongue (Schoneveld 1996:139-163):

As the English Language is spreading more and more in this City, I, as an English Teacher, feel jealous respecting its diffusion;... During my residence in this City I have had frequent opportunities of learning the opinion of the Public regarding the *English Language*; and I have to regret the existence of some deep rooted prejudices against it: prejudices founded upon superficial observation merely, and which, not having any solid basis, need only be cast into the crucible of Examination to render them extinct for ever.

If people knew English at all, it especially posed a problem when it had to be spoken or listened to, for most people who had a knowledge of English knew it best in its written form. Reading and writing English was one thing, but the ability to speak it was an altogether different matter. Few of

¹⁶ The title page continues as follows: *by B.S. Nayler, Teacher of Elocution. Printed by C.A. Spin, for the Author, 1822.*

¹⁷ For the life and work of B.S. Nayler (c1795-c1872) in Holland see C.H. Schoneveld (1984).

those who had learnt English from books had ever encountered an English-speaking person in the flesh, and if they had, they would probably have had great difficulty in keeping a conversation going. According to the influential Amsterdam newspaper *Algemeen Handelsblad*¹⁸ the English language had gained a firm footing in the Netherlands by the year 1840, for the paper of 13 January of that year records that hundreds of people were capable of reading and writing English quite well. However, the use of spoken English was generally felt to be a problem¹⁹:

Honderden zijn er die het Engelsch zeer goed lezen en schrijven, doch die buiten staat zijn om de helft van een door *Engelschen* gevoerd gesprek te verstaan; en zulks is zeer natuurlijk, want men heeft alhier zeer zelden gelegenheid om de taal zoo te horen uitspreken, als het den Engelschen onder elkaar eigen is. Al is men nog zoo bedreven, de stembuiging, de ineensmelting der woorden, enz. kan men niet anders meester worden dan *door het gehoor*...

[There are hundreds who read and write English very well, yet who are incapable of understanding even half of a conversation conducted by *Englishmen*; and this is quite natural, for here one very seldom has the opportunity of hearing the language spoken as is common among the English. However experienced one is, there is no other way of mastering the intonation, the assimilation of words and so on, than *through the ear*...]

The following examples may serve to illustrate this lack of oral proficiency among people who otherwise had a good command of English. On 8 February 1832 the Amsterdam professor of Dutch literature and history Nicolaas Godfried van Kampen gave a lecture to Nayler's English Literary Society which was entitled "over den invloed der Engelsche letterkunde op de Hollandsche letterkunde" [on the influence of English literature upon the Literature of the Dutch"]²⁰. Nayler had set up his society in 1823 and it is the first society of English literature in the Netherlands to

¹⁸ According to Van Lente (1996:261) the *Algemeen Handelsblad* was probably the most-read newspaper of the time; around 1851 it had about 5,400 subscribers.

¹⁹ Quoted in Schoneveld (1987:52; note 46).

²⁰ Translated by B.S. Nayler in his *Verhandeling* (1836).

have left records of its activities. During the meetings literary texts were read aloud and presentations were given in English. It is therefore quite revealing to note that professor Van Kampen, who had made a name for himself by writing literary histories and anthologies and who had published on Shakespeare (Leek 1988:passim), did not deliver his lecture in English. And although Van Kampen's translator and publisher B.S. Nayler protested that the former spoke English "... with fluency and ease", the professor openly admitted that he did not venture to address his audience in that language²¹.

Another example concerns the lack of oral skills of Dutch teachers of English. In several of his writings Nayler uttered shattering criticism of the low level of English proficiency of Dutch teachers of English. One of them was D. Bomhoff, a modern language teacher, lexicographer and successful textbook writer. Apparently, his success as a writer of textbooks was so great that Nayler once ironically referred to him as "the King of Teachers"²². Elsewhere in his writings Nayler publicly and bluntly offended him by calling him a "blockhead"²³. Other teachers of English likewise suffered the lashes of Nayler's sarcasm and one in particular had to bear the brunt of Nayler's biting comment when the latter sarcastically remarked: "I was under the necessity of speaking Dutch, because I could not apprehend his *English*, nor he understand *mine*"²⁴.

Although, to all intents and purposes, English was an unknown language in the Netherlands compared to French and perhaps also to German, the

²¹ ... ik die het niet wagen durfde de taal van Addison, Robertson en Pope te spreken, ik moest mij met de nederige taak vergenoegen u op het *nut* dezer oefeningen, ook voor onze eigene letterkunde, zoo ver in mijn vermogen was, opmerkzaam te maken; ... (*Verhandeling* 1836) [... I, who dared not venture to address you in the language of Addison, Pope and Robertson - have contented myself with the humble task of calling your attention to the *usefulness* of these exercises and to their *influence* on our literature; ...] (translation by B.S. Nayler).

²² *Essay on Pronunciation and Delivery* in: *From The British Drama* (1848)

²³ *From The British Drama* (Utrecht, 1848:appendix)

²⁴ The teacher of whom Nayler had such a low opinion was Mr Susan of Deventer. Nayler had similar low opinions of the English teachers Ter Reehorst and, again, Bomhoff. The criticisms appeared in an Appendix, dated 6 June 1848, to a work entitled *From the British Drama* (1848).

historical reality was more complex. For in spite of the fact that the major part of the Dutch population was unfamiliar with English and despite prejudices against the language, there were certain groups of people for whom a knowledge of English was essential or at least useful. Before 1800 the learners of English – almost exclusively adult men – mainly learned the language for their own specific purposes. Some of them, such as merchants, sailors, soldiers and fishermen, would only have been able to understand some spoken English and make themselves understood. Others, such as scholars, journalists, teachers and translators, must have had a good command of written English. On the title page of his *English Grammar* (1780)²⁵ the Dutch writer of English textbooks Jan Holtrop (17??-1792) typically distinguishes between two target groups of learners for his textbook: “Handel-dryvenden” [traders] and “letter-oefenaars” [language students]. Loonen (1991:23-29) distinguishes three main groups of learners of English during the 17th and 18th centuries: traders, scholars and “young learners”. Klippel (1994:271) makes the same distinction for the German-speaking area during the period 1700-1900.

Traditionally, people in Holland had mainly learned English for commercial purposes. Hence, Loonen’s dissertation (1991) on learning English in the Low Dutch area before 1800 is significantly entitled *For to learne to buye and sell*. Particularly those merchants who were involved in Anglo-Dutch trade could not dispense with a working knowledge of English. In fact we have contemporary evidence to prove that there were quite a few Dutchmen, especially in Rotterdam, who were able to communicate in English. The diary of Ann Radcliffe, an English lady who made a journey through the Republic in the summer of 1794, furnishes the reader with a lively account of her travels in Holland. It shows a very different picture of the knowledge of English in the Netherlands than is given above. She describes the English trade in Rotterdam and the proficiency in English that was the result of it in the following terms²⁶:

²⁵ See Loonen (1991:303-304).

²⁶ See Bachrach’s edition of Ann Radcliffe’s diary (1998:32). In his *History and description of Rotterdam* (1846: 158-161) the English schoolmaster Thomas Marshall, who ran a school in Rotterdam, estimated the number of English residents in the city at 500 to 700 souls.

... and the first person of whom we could enquire our way in broken Dutch acknowledged his country people by answering in very good English. There are many hundreds of British residents in this place, and our language and commerce have greatly the sway here over those of all other foreign nations. The Dutch inscriptions over warehouses and shops frequently have English translations underneath them. Of large vessels, there are nearly as many English as Dutch in the harbour, and if you speak to any Dutchman in the street, it is more probable that he can answer in English than in French.

Municipal authorities usually attached great importance to having persons within their city walls who had a practical command of English for the sake of trade and commerce, and for that purpose employed or chartered people who could operate as translators and teachers. For instance, in 1799 the “Committé van Opvoeding en Publiek Onderwijs” [Committee for Education and Public Instruction] brought the importance of the English language for trade and commerce expressly to the notice of the “provisionele Raad” [Provisional local government council] of the city of Dordrecht²⁷, claiming that

de commercieele Relatie, vooral met de Amerikaansche Natie, het onderwijs in die Taal geheel onontbeerlijk maakt [the commercial relationship, especially with the American nation, makes instruction in that language quite indispensable] (cited in Esseboom 1995:323).

There are other examples of traders who took an active interest in the English language, such as the Dordrecht publishers and booksellers Abraham Blussé (1726-1808) and Pieter Blussé (1748-1823) and their colleague H.C.A. Thieme (1770-1826)²⁸ of Zutphen. We know that the Blussé company published textbooks of English and for that purpose entertained regular contacts with book traders in England (Baggerman 2000:277). As a youngster, Pieter Blussé had learned English from Mr

²⁷ See Esseboom (1995:306-307) for the activities of commercial translators in the Netherlands.

²⁸ H.C.A. Thieme, founder of Thieme publishers in Zutphen, taught himself English in his early days (Kalkwiek 1992:24-25).

Stallard, preceptor (teacher) of the English Church in Amsterdam, but we know from Pieter's correspondence that his command of English was rather poor. In order to practise his writing skills (and that of his son) he once wrote an English letter to his son Abraham (1772-1850)²⁹. Thus, unlike Johannes Luchtmans, who had been active in the publishing business thirty years before, Pieter Blussé appears to have had some knowledge of English. The letter referred to here is merely a personal note and nothing exceptional in itself, but it proves that Pieter felt that a good command of English was an asset. Another example of such letter-writing is found with the Asser family of Amsterdam. Members of this prominent Jewish trading family used letter-writing as a self-study activity during the 1820s³⁰. Around 1800 it was not unusual for educated Dutch people to write diaries and letters in a foreign tongue. These were exercises without risk and especially young people were encouraged by their parents and teachers to improve their writing skills (Dekker 1993:13-15). The use of English in diaries and letters, however, illustrates that there was a rising interest in the English language in Holland. As time went on, trading families would no longer depend on incidental, private tuition for their sons, but send them to schools where English lessons were a regular part of the curriculum.

The second group of learners, to whom Loonen (1991) refers, was that of "scholars". This group comprised a wide range of occupations, such as scientists, men of letters, university staff and students, clergymen, school teachers, private tutors, journalists and translators – commercial and literary³¹. Some of these learners came into contact with English through the

²⁹ Baggerman (2000:277-278) gives an example of a letter dated 18 November 1803.

³⁰ Van Eeghen (1964:67 and passim). Two children of the Asser family, Eduard and Netje, practised English by writing letters. The girl learned English together with her father and she kept up a correspondence with a friend. It is interesting to note from the diary that speaking English was found more difficult than writing and that English novels were usually read in translation.

³¹ Korpel (1992:25) makes a distinction between commercial translators, e.g. J. Holtrop of Dordrecht, and translators of literary works. A typical representative of the latter group is the Mennonite clergyman J. Stinstra, who translated Samuel Richardson's *Clarissa* (Kloek 1984:137). Another example of literary translation activities at the time is found in a group around the Amsterdam author and bookseller Pieter Meyer.

English and Scottish undergraduates in the university cities. A case in point was professor Hotz, a lawyer at Utrecht University, who took up the study of English after he had become friendly with James Boswell, one of his students³². In most cases, however, people taught themselves English or learned it with the help of a private tutor. As the number of Latin publications produced in Britain decreased and English was gaining weight as a means of communication, it was becoming increasingly important for scholars and scientists outside Britain to be able to read texts in English. It was these educated readers who Holtrop referred to as his target group of 'language students'. Gradually they would evolve into a reading-public with a taste for English books and periodicals. An early example of such a group of readers was "The English Reading Society". It is the oldest English reading society in the Netherlands known to us and it exclusively aimed at English books and periodicals (Wilhelm 1999)³³. After an unsuccessful launching in 1783, it was established in Groningen in 1792 to promote the reading of texts in the vernacular³⁴. It was the policy of the club to purchase books and periodicals in Britain, covering such fields as politics, economics, geography, history, poetry and fiction. As far as its social and intellectual background is concerned, "The English Reading Society" may be compared with the Leiden society "Miscens Utile Dulci". In both clubs we meet with representatives of the leading classes, among whom academics, including many university professors, were predominant³⁵.

The third group of learners that is mentioned by Loonen (1991) were the so-called "young learners". This was the group of youngsters, mostly boys,

³² In the early 1760s James Boswell was reading law at Utrecht University. Professor Hotz started to take English lessons from one Mr. Rose early in 1764 and wrote Boswell a letter in English to show his progress (Pottle 1952:168-169). Boswell himself took up learning Dutch, as appears from his attempts to write letters in Dutch (see Barfoot & Bostoen eds. 1995).

³³ Klippel (1994:42) mentions two earlier reading-clubs in the North German area, i.e. one in Stralsund (1750-1782) and one in Bremen around 1787.

³⁴ See the minutes of the English Reading Society (1792-1817) in the Groningen Municipal Archives, number 375. A society of that name still existed in 1904, although at the time its members read French and German as well.

³⁵ In 1792 the club consisted of eight members, including at least three university professors; later it was extended with eight other members.

who learnt English at school, if a teacher happened to be available, or at home under the supervision of a private tutor. Before 1800 the group of young learners must have been quite small and it was particularly restricted to ‘English schools’, places that were usually connected with an English or Scottish church. It is very likely that many Dutch “young learners” came into touch with English through the children of English and Scottish families who attended these ‘English schools’. These families used to live on the seaboard in commercial centres like Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Delft and Dordrecht³⁶. As far as learning English at home is concerned, we have a rare autobiographical document that gives us a good impression of such private tuition. It is the diary of Otto van Eck (1791-1797), a record of a boy trying to learn Latin, French, German and English at home with the help of a tutor³⁷.

There are a number of indications that, when the eighteenth century was drawing to a close, important developments were taking place regarding the teaching of English in schools. The most notable change was that ELT in schools was beginning to spread. Of all the teachers of English and their “schools” mentioned by Loonen (1991) with reference to the Low Dutch area between 1500 and 1800 by far most references concern teachers and schools in the second half of the 18th century (Loonen 1991:336-342). Moreover, after 1760 the number of textbooks specifically intended for use in schools was growing. Four textbooks, three of which appeared during the last decade of the 18th century, explicitly make this clear in their titles³⁸. All in all, it appears that around 1800 the position of English in Dutch society was beginning to change and that interest in learning English was rising.

³⁶ Also see Loonen (1991:33-34)

³⁷ Baggerman & Dekker (eds.) 1998. Otto van Eck (1780-1798) was fifteen years old when he took up the study of English. When he was eleven he already had a good knowledge of French, and from that age on he started to learn German as well. Usually he took one German and one English lesson per week. His English master was Mr. Welding of The Hague.

³⁸ I.e. Wildeman (1763), Fenning (1793), Van Bemmelen (1794) and Thomas (1798). See for these textbooks Loonen (1991:301-313).

2.2 A rising interest: learners of English and the demand for ELT, 1800-1860

During the first half of the 19th century the interest in English culture and the willingness to learn the language was growing steadily, judging by the growing groups of learners and the rising demand for ELT. The learners could be found both in non-educational and educational settings. Learners in non-educational settings came into contact with English through direct contact with native speakers, private tuition or self-study. Learners in educational settings were nearly always young learners who learnt English in schools. The most important change after 1800 regarding the position of English in society concerns the latter group, for it was at the beginning of the 19th century that ELT in schools was beginning to spread. The rising demand for ELT can be deduced from the number of textbooks published, the number of teachers of English, the number of schools that provided ELT and from the number of English language learners. In the following subsections these groups of learners will be discussed.

2.2.1 From “traders” to learners in vocational education

2.2.1.1 The commercial motive

The dominant and ever-recurring motive for learning English before 1800 was a commercial one. Loonen (1991) notes that the most important ELL manuals before 1800 invariably contained commercial letters, specialised vocabulary and other materials that could be of practical use in business. During the first decades of the 19th century, commerce and trade continued to be the chief incentives to learn English. The following examples may serve to illustrate the commercial motives of the Dutch in learning English.

For Charles Ley, master of an English boarding school in Rotterdam in 1808, the first and foremost motive for learning English was business communication: “The utility of an English education in almost every foreign country is sufficiently obvious... for it is almost impossible for different nations to hold any commercial intercourse without a knowledge of their respective tongues” (Ley 1808II:V)³⁹. That the commercial motive continued to be dominant after 1800 appears from the sudden peak in

the publication of EFL materials in 1814, that is, after French rule in Holland had come to an end. Many new textbooks motivated their existence by pointing to the renewed trading contacts with England. Thus, the Haarlem schoolmaster Leendert Koning defended the publication of his textbook *Korte en gemakkelijke regelen...* (1814II) in his preface as follows:

De gezegende verlossing, die ons Vaderland, in de jongst verloopene tijden, mogt te beurt vallen ... de daaruit voortvloeiende verlevendiging van den Koophandel, de voorname bron, die weleer steeds Neerlands bloei en welvaart was, deze maakte de studie der taal, die het onderwerp uitmaakt van de volgende bladen, thans voor Nederlanders meer noodzakelijk en belangrijk.

[The blessed liberation that our fatherland met with in recent times ... the ensuing revival of trade – once the chief source of Holland's flourishing prosperity – this liberation now makes the study of the language that is the subject of the following pages more necessary and important for Dutch people.]

while the translator of J.B. Köchler's English textbook (1815II) used identical arguments:

Daar, door de gezegende omkeering van zaken, de koophandel, die heilrijke bron van algemeene welvaart, weder begint te herleven, en dus, wegens de naauwe betrekkingen welke ons land, daardoor, met het naburig Engeland heeft, de engelsche taal voor ons eene algemeene behoefte is geworden...

[Since commerce – that salutary fountain of general prosperity – has begun to revive after the blessed revolution, and since consequently the English language has become a general necessity because of the close relationship of this country with neighbouring England...]

³⁹ For bibliographical details of ELT textbooks whose writers and/or titles are mentioned in this study, the reader is referred to *Appendix Two: Bibliography of textbooks of English*.

In a review article of another textbook the semi-official education journal *Nieuwe Bijdragen* expresses the need for EFL with a view to these trading contacts even more clearly⁴⁰:

Dat door onze vernieuwde betrekkingen met het naburige Engeland, de kennis der Engelsche taal voor velen, vooral voor dezulken, welke zich op den handel met hetzelfde willen toelleggen, – en hoe groot is hun aandeel niet! – eene wezenlijke behoefte is, lijdt geene tegenspraak.

[It cannot be denied that, because of our renewed relationship with neighbouring England, the knowledge of the English language is a vital need, especially with such people – and how great is their number! – as wish to apply themselves to trading with that country.]

A few decades later the need for ELL among Dutch people was still largely justified by referring to trade and navigation. H. Thomson, the English author of a Dutch-English vocabulary (1854II), accounted for the selection of his material as follows:

... but in the articles on marine navigation, trade, weights and measures, he has thought it necessary to be more copious, as a large proportion of those who learn English, have more immediate interest in them, in their daily vocations.

Similarly, the students of the Amsterdam merchant navy college were expected to appreciate the importance of the English language for navigation⁴¹:

In het bijzonder mag vermeld worden, dat door de meerderheid der kweekelingen meer en meer beseft wordt hoe nuttig bij het sterk toemenen der vaart onzer schepen op de Engelsche koloniën in Nieuw Holland en op Californië het aanleeren der Engelsche taal voor hen is, en

⁴⁰ Review of R. van der Pijl's *Engelsch Lees- en Vertaalboek voor Meergevorderden* (1815) in *Nieuwe Bijdragen* (1815:284-285). Possibly the article was written by A. van den Ende.

⁴¹ "Onderwijsverslag" [Education Report] of 1852-1853 in *Handelingen* 1853-1854, *Bijlagen* 576.

dat zij het voorregt, om in de kweekschool onderwijs in die taal te ontvangen, waarden.

[In particular it is worth mentioning that the majority of the trainees more and more realise how useful learning English is, now that an ever-increasing number of ships plies the seas to New Holland and California, and also how much they appreciate the privilege of receiving tuition in that language.]

Shipping had always been a sector in which Dutch and English people met. For instance, it is a known fact that as early as the 17th century sailing ships operated regular passenger and postal services between Holland and England⁴². In the first half of the 19th century there are many examples of Dutch branches of commerce and industry in which contacts with speakers of English played an important role. Traditionally, most contacts had been concerned with the trading of industrial or agricultural goods, but now new technology led to more and different contacts with speakers of English. For instance, the application of steam power in shipbuilding and industry gave rise to more contacts with English-speaking countries. Many Dutch firms began to buy steam engines in England and around 1820 the Dutch Government showed official interest when it commissioned naval technicians to visit the UK and the USA in order to study the technology of steam power⁴³. In 1829 a steam vessel service was opened between Rotterdam and London (Camijn 1987:81). Business contacts also resulted in the use of British capital and expertise and in the employment of British workers in the Netherlands. For example, during the 1820s a British coal gas company supplied gas to the city of Rotterdam and in the 1830s Englishmen set up cotton mills in Holland that were driven by steam (Camijn (1987:35-37). During the 1840s English labourers were employed in Dutch potteries and English engineers constructed

⁴² As long ago as 1677 the cities of Amsterdam and London entered into a contract to start a regular postal service between Harwich and Hellevoetsluis (Ten Brink 1950:152). We find a description of this service in Johannes Luchtman's journal of his voyage to England in 1772 (Hoftijzer & Van Waterschoot 1995).

⁴³ Around 1820 the naval technician G.M. Roentgen was commissioned by the Dutch Royal Navy and by the Ministry of Industry to study English building techniques in steam and iron technology (Camijn 1987:35-37), while at about the same time a party of Navy experts visited England and America (Bruijn 1991).

a railway track and iron bridges between Amsterdam and Arnhem with the help of British capital. In 1853 the first Dutch water supply system was built by English hands in Amsterdam; the capital and the materials for the waterworks came from England (Camijn 1987:passim). By the middle of the century the education journal *Nieuwe Bijdragen* (1856:1106) summarised the growing need for ELT as follows:

... in de laatste 25 jaren [zijn] voor de beoefening der hedendaagsche talen vele en geschikte hulpmiddelen in het licht verschenen. Dit is inzonderheid ook het geval met betrekking tot de taal- en letterkunde onzer overzeesche naburen. Daarmede, althans oppervlakkig bekend te zijn, behoorde wel reeds voorlang tot eene beschaafde opvoeding; maar het is toch vooral in den jongsten tijd, bij de belangrijke uitbreiding van handel, scheepvaart en nijverheid hier te lande, voor onderscheidene klassen onzer maatschappij eene meer dringende behoefte geworden... [During the last 25 years many suitable teaching aids have been published for the study of modern languages. This particularly holds for the language and literature of our overseas neighbours. Knowledge of that language – at least at a basic level – has been part of a civilized education for quite some time, but especially in recent years, what with the expansion of trade, navigation and industry in this country, it has become a more urgent need for various classes of society.]

2.2.1.2 *Learners of English in vocational education*

After 1800 we are faced with a new phenomenon, in that special ELT materials for vocational use were beginning to be published⁴⁴. If we take the number of publications in the fields of technology, navigation and transport into account, the demand for English for specific purposes was on the increase. Between 1800 and 1860 at least nine textbooks were published that aimed at teaching English for vocational purposes. These materials would be used for private study, at vocational training courses or even in courses of general education. Some early titles of ELT textbooks suggest that they could be used both in general and vocational education. Van der Pijl's *Oorspronkelijke Engelsche koopmans-brieven, ten dienste der*

⁴⁴ However, as early as 1783 J. Holtrop had published a handbook of commercial correspondence in seven languages, including English (Loonen 1991:304).

jonge lieden, die zich aan den handel wijden: ook ingerigt tot een vertaalboek op de scholen (1818II) shows that at the beginning of the century it was not unusual for (private) schools to teach commercial English. In this respect Van der Pijl's book fits perfectly well into the commercial tradition of the French schools. Undoubtedly Van der Pijl would have used the book at his own school in Dordrecht⁴⁵.

The earliest 19th century manuals for commercial correspondence were published in 1818. One was Van der Pijl's above-mentioned *Oorspronkelijke Engelsche koopmans-brieven*. Another one was published anonymously and bore the title *A Series of Commercial Letters, intended to give a general knowledge of business to those young persons, whose views are directed to commerce*⁴⁶. In 1819 followed an anonymous handbook for commercial purposes published in four languages: *Koopmans handboekje, bevattende in eene alphabetische orde, eene korte, en zakelijke beschrijving van den aard, oorsprong, vervoer, en het gebruik van onderscheidene waren, in den koophandel voorkomende, met de noodige ophelderingen, in de Nederduitsche, Hoogduitsche, Engelsche en Fransche talen, door H.K.* and in 1836 another manual for commercial correspondence was published by L. Hakbijl, this time in three languages: *Verzameling van gemeenzame brieven, uitnodigings- en andere soort van briefjes, koopmansbrieven, wissels, assign. promessen en kwitanties in het Nederduitsch, Fransch en Engelsch*. During the next few decades we frequently find other ELT textbooks concerned with commercial language, such as Ter Reehorst (1837II), Hakbijl (1846II), Anderson (1851II), Anon. (1854II) and Anon. (1857II). The earliest commercial school was founded in Amsterdam in 1846; here English and other foreign languages were taught. This college was set up on a private initiative and was named "Inrichting voor Onderwijs in Koophandel en Nijverheid" [Training Institute for Commerce and Industry] (Goudswaard 1981:229-230). It was replaced by a municipal com-

⁴⁵ Esseboom (1995:295-296) records that towards the end of the 18th century the city of Dordrecht numbered dozens of trading offices and that contracts were drawn up with business relations all over the world. For this purpose French, but also German and English were indispensable languages.

⁴⁶ For this and the following titles of textbooks in this study the reader is referred to Appendix Two. Textbooks are referred to by the insertion of Roman II after the year of publication, e.g. Hakbijl (1846II); see also the List of Abbreviations.

mercial school in 1869 and was one of the very few commercial schools that existed before 1900 (Hoksbergen 1975:4; 10).

As far as navigation was concerned, the earliest example of a vocational training school where English was taught was the Amsterdam merchant navy college, founded in 1785. Here English and French could be learned from 1793 onwards (Acda *et al.* 1985). Another school where English was very likely to be taught was the Rotterdam maritime college, founded in 1833⁴⁷. We also know for certain that English was taught at the Royal Naval College, established in Medemblik in 1829⁴⁸, where J.P. Arend was appointed lecturer in English and Spanish, and at the Royal Military Academy in Breda, established in 1827⁴⁹. The following examples of sailors' manuals testify to the need for vocational English. The oldest 19th century dictionary of English, French and Dutch nautical terms to be published in the Netherlands was written by Hendrik Willem Lantsheer (....-1836) and appeared in 1811. Its name was *Dictionnaire des termes de marine Français ... Woordenboek der Fransche zee- termen, bijeenverzameld en in Hollandsche en gedeeltelijk in Engelsche kunstwoorden overgebracht. Ten gebruike der bureaux, administratiën en directiën van de marine in Holland en in het bijzonder voor de heeren zee-officieren, zoo tot verstand der zeeboeken, zeetactiek, seinboeken, instructiën en ordres, als voor de dagelijksche manoeuvres*⁵⁰. In 1813 Anthony Cornelis

⁴⁷ Dodde (1991:293) records that at the Rotterdam maritime college only boys between the ages of 16 to 20 were admitted who had a good knowledge of Dutch and preferably of English as well.

⁴⁸ In 1837 J.P. Arend, a former lecturer in English at the Deventer Atheneum, was appointed to teach English and Spanish at the Royal Naval College at Medemblik. In 1850 this institute was transferred to the Royal Military Academy in Breda.

⁴⁹ Between 1828 and 1871 French, German and English were taught at the Royal Military Academy. In the latter year these languages were abolished as regular subjects. The Academy had several lecturers in English, starting with W. Condy (1828-1837), who was succeeded by the following teachers: dr. P.J. Veth (1838-1841), dr. J.J. de Hollander (1843-?), S. Farnecombe Sanders and M.P. Lindo (1856-1865). See Aalders (1997:passim).

⁵⁰ Perhaps it was the first nautical dictionary for Dutch and English ever to appear in Holland. It is remarkable that the book also offered translations in English, which at the time of publication was the language of the nation that was at war with France and Holland. This may indicate the importance of English for Dutch shipping.

Twent (1771-1852)⁵¹ published his *Zeemans Woordenboek, of Verzameling der meest gebruikelijke Hollandsche zee kunstwoorden en spreekwijzen, in het Fransch en Engelsch overgebracht, tot nut van zeevarenden en amptenaren bij de marine ... Dictionnaire de marine ... Naval dictionary, or collection of Dutch technical words and terms, translated into French and English, for the use of officers and seafaring people ...* The first book of nautical terms that exclusively offered English and Dutch was published in 1841: *Zakwoordenboek van Engelsche zeetermen, in het Hollandsch overgebracht door H.W. Schokker*. Four years later, in 1845, we once more encounter a multilingual dictionary, by K. ter Reehorst, but this time it includes technical terms as well: *Woordenboek der zee-, stoom- en scheepsbouwkundige termen, in de hollandsche, fransche en engelsche talen*. An English textbook specially written for the armed forces was that by S. Farnecombe Sanders (1848II), who describes his learners as “the cadets of all the branches of the service”. In 1859, J. Vos published a grammar specially designed for the cadets of the Royal Naval College at Willemsoord.

Other vocational institutions where English was taught were the Royal Academy in Delft, the Utrecht Technical School and the Utrecht Military Medical School. The so-called Royal Academy in Delft had been set up as a training-school for engineers in 1842 and was first to develop into a polytechnic and subsequently into a technical university. During the 1840s the school offered French, German and English as its regular subjects⁵². The Utrecht Technical School (1850-1866) was another early vocational college providing FLT for its students (Goudswaard 1981:234). Also the “Kweekschool voor Militair Geneeskundigen” [Military Medical School] offered English tuition around 1857⁵³.

⁵¹ Anthony Cornelis Twent (1771-1852) was a Dutch naval officer who around 1814 was in charge of the pilot service in the “Department of the South” (Zuider Departement). In October 1824 he was commissioned to supervise the training of naval cadets in view of the new developments in steam engine technology. He also advised the Secretary of State for Naval Affairs on shipbuilding and steam technology and was later promoted to the rank of vice-admiral (Bruijn 1991).

⁵² Founded in 1842, the academy was transformed into a polytechnic in 1863. Later it developed into the technical university of Delft. During the 1840s D. Buddingh was active as a lecturer in drawing, French, German and English. In 1847 J.K. de Wit took over his teaching job for these foreign languages (*Handelingen* 1848-1849:216).

⁵³ Education Report 1857-1858 in *Handelingen* 1858-1859.

2.2.2 From “scholars” to a reading-public for English

There are a number of indications suggesting that during the first half of the 19th century more and more people began to read English. The rise of a reading-public for English is apparent from the foundation of a number of English literary societies, from the publication of an English periodical in Holland in 1825, from the increasing sales of English books and from the teaching of English literature in schools.

2.2.2.1 *English literary societies*

That interest in English language and literature was growing appears from the foundation in the 1820s and 1830s of literary societies that aimed at reading English authors (also see 2.1). The first literary society of this kind was B.S. Nayler’s English Literary Society, founded in Amsterdam in 1823. This Englishman enjoyed a dubious reputation among his fellow booksellers and he was notorious for his sharp tongue, but his activities as a champion of the English language and its literature make him a unique character (Kruseman 1886:224-228). He succeeded in publishing a great number of works in English, which presumably contributed to a greater interest in English language and literature (Schoneveld 1984). The influence of his English Literary Society on the diffusion of the English language and the reception of English literature must therefore not be underrated⁵⁴. Nayler organised literary meetings in Amsterdam and Leiden, aiming at the educated reading-public, and, very wisely, did not forget female readers⁵⁵. The first meetings took place in Amsterdam in

⁵⁴ Schoneveld (1987:57): “Thus all these elocutionary activities in Nayler’s society must have contributed significantly to the knowledge and the spread of English letters among the foremost *literati* of Holland, such as Van Lennep, Van Kampen, Alberdingk Thijm and Potgieter”. Also see Schoneveld (1996). In spite of his critical remarks on Nayler, Kruseman (1886:224-228) cannot help arriving at the same conclusion.

⁵⁵ It was quite sensible for Nayler to attract the attention of literate women, as they in turn might rouse the literary interests of their husbands. Besides, Nayler’s own wife took an active part in the performances and other activities of the Society. Whereas during the first years of the Society’s existence no ladies were present at the meetings, in 1840 a newspaper reviewer counted about twenty of them (Schoneveld 1987:55-56).

the autumn of 1823, while the last piece of evidence for the society's existence dates from the literary season of 1840-1841. The aims of the Society were to promote interest in English literature on the one hand and to improve proficiency in English on the other. The procedure at the meetings was as follows: first a presentation was held on a literary topic and next poems and prose fragments were read out and discussed under Nayler's supervision⁵⁶. In 1828 and 1829 Nayler extended his activities to the city and university of Leiden. The invitations for his courses were explicitly addressed to the university community and were supported by prominent academics including the University's Vice-Chancellor. After Nayler's return to England the English Literary Society seems to have dissolved.

It is not unlikely that Nayler's example left its mark, too, on a set of Leiden undergraduates, known as the "Romantic Club", which existed between 1833 and 1837⁵⁷. The students read contemporary "Romantic" authors, like Scott and Byron, the same writers who occupied a prominent place in Nayler's society. Besides, there is evidence that a so-called English Society, also consisting of undergraduates, must have existed in Leiden between November 1833 and August 1836. A list giving dates and titles of literary works that were read by them is still extant⁵⁸.

At about the same time an English Literary Society was established in Rotterdam (Van den Berg 1996). Founded on 23 October 1833, the Society existed for at least ten years⁵⁹. Its professed aim was "the cultivation of English literature" and the club was chaired by Henry Gellett, a Rotterdam schoolteacher of English descent. The members, about twelve, had recently graduated and subsequently settled in Rotterdam. They met once a fortnight and read out English literary texts to each other. In

⁵⁶ See Schoneveld (1996) for a full description of the activities of the society.

⁵⁷ Van Zonneveld (1993). The most prominent member of this "Romantic club" was the student-author Nicolaas Beets. Also Willem Gerard Brill, who was to become a modern language teacher and afterwards professor of language and literature at Utrecht, was a member.

⁵⁸ It shows that Nicolaas Beets was a member and that one of the authors that were read was Shakespeare (Schoneveld 1987:50; and note 40).

⁵⁹ In his *History and description of Rotterdam* (1846:219) the English schoolmaster Thomas Marshall records that the English Literary Society was still extant but was leading an uncertain existence.

addition, members practised the translation of texts from and into English in order to improve their language skills⁶⁰.

2.2.2.2 *An English periodical*

Elsewhere too we find indications that knowledge of English was growing. In 1822 B.S. Nayler claimed that an increasing number of the inhabitants of Amsterdam had a knowledge of English: "... the English language is spreading more and more in this City, ..." ⁶¹ and sixteen years later he stated "Honderden onzer landgenooten zouden *Sterne's reis* hebben kunnen vertalen ..." ⁶². [Hundreds of our compatriots could have translated Sterne's *Sentimental Journey*]. Nayler's assertion is supported by the appearance of the first English periodical to be published in Holland. It was named *The English Adventurer* and was issued in twelve instalments from June 1825 to June 1826. In all probability the periodical was founded and edited by B.S. Nayler himself ⁶³. However it be, the appearance of this periodical, short-lived as it may have been, reinforces the impression that there was a reasonable number of people who were capable of reading English ⁶⁴.

⁶⁰ The English language master Henry Gellett (1792-18..) was born in London and had settled in Rotterdam, where he published reading material for English (1823¹-1843³). We may assume that in the club he played the leading part in linguistic and literary matters. Texts were used for reciting and translating. They were taken both from classic authors (Milton, Shakespeare, Pope, Sterne, Goldsmith, Sheridan) and contemporary ones (Scott en Byron).

⁶¹ See Nayler (1822).

⁶² The statement appeared in Nayler's pamphlet (1838) cited in De Voogd (1990:223-224).

⁶³ The periodical was largely filled with articles by B.S. Nayler himself. It was published in twelve monthly instalments, but was not always issued on time, judging from the editor's final article in May 1826. This information, as well as the fact that the magazine did not hold out longer than twelve months, indicates that there was little hope for survival. The contents show a mixture of literary contributions, articles on how to use English correctly ('elocution'), critical comments on various subjects (e.g. the quality of the drinking water in Amsterdam compared with drinking water in London; the quality of the *Algemeen Handelsblad*) and light journalistic contributions. Probably, Nayler had been able to persuade his publisher (Bentinck of Amsterdam) to allow him to try his hand at this kind of journalism.

⁶⁴ Jansen (1988) mentions that only one reading society entered its name for subscription to the periodical. Possibly, this was Nayler's own *Literary Society*, founded in 1823.

2.2.2.3 Sales of English books

Of course, it is impossible to specify exactly how many people were capable of reading English, but comparative research into the sale of English books between the early and the mid-nineteenth century provides a number of clues. It shows that around 1850 more English books were sold than forty years before, which suggests that the ability to read English was growing. Records of booksellers in Middelburg and Zwolle tell us how many and what kind of English books were sold and to whom. Brouwer (1995) gives information on book sales in the city of Zwolle at the end of the 18th century and, by comparison, around the middle of the 19th century. He mentions that during the years 1777-1787 just three ELT textbooks were sold at Tijl's bookshop in Zwolle⁶⁵. However, in 1847-1849 the number of English titles, sold at the bookshops of Tjeenk Willink and Waanders, had risen to 85, of which 126 copies were bought⁶⁶. The number of buyers of English books and periodicals amounted to 55 persons in those years.

A similar increase in the sale of English publications is noticeable at the Middelburg bookshop of Salomon van Benthem. Kloek & Mijnhardt (1986 and 1987) carried out a research project on this prominent bookseller's firm with regard to two periods, 1807-1809 and 1847-1849. Van Benthem's, too, had a regional function as a bookshop, and Middelburg and Zwolle were comparable as provincial capitals. The findings of the investigation were that during the years 1807-1809 104 copies of 57 different titles were sold to 56 persons⁶⁷. By comparison: in the same period 35 German and 379 French titles were sold. Forty years later, in

⁶⁵ They were Boyle's *Experimental Philosophy* (1663), Boyer's English-French dictionary (1756) and Holtrop's English grammar (1780) (These are unpublished data which have been released by courtesy of J.J. Kloek and H. Brouwer). The FrLT textbooks included many textbooks by Pierre Marin (Brouwer 1995:74-76).

⁶⁶ Tjeenk Willink's bookshop sold 25 ELT textbooks in a total of 83 English books. Waanders' bookshop sold an English prayer book and Goldsmith's *History of England* (1845) (These are unpublished data which have been released by courtesy of J.J. Kloek and H. Brouwer).

⁶⁷ More than half of these titles (30 or 52.6%) belonged to the category of language learning, while the remainder, 27 titles, belonged to literature and non-fiction, i.e. 21 works to the category of poetry and fiction, and 6 to the category of non-fiction (history, geography, theology and philosophy).

the period 1847-1849, the sale of English titles had more than doubled to 127, of which 36 titles (28.3%) were intended for language learning. The number of copies of the English titles now amounted to 311, while the numbers of buyers had risen to 83. Poetry and fiction topped the list, but there was also a considerable quantity of non-fiction⁶⁸. The same findings apply to the English titles sold at Tjeenk Willink's bookshop in Zwolle.

On the basis of these lists of customers there can be little doubt that the ability to read English must have grown considerably between 1807 and 1849. Not only a much larger number of English titles – and many copies of these books – were sold in 1849 as compared with 1807, but the number of buyers had also grown substantially. Besides, of all the titles that were sold the categories of fiction/poetry and non-fiction (religion, history, geography, politics, economics) had grown relatively strongly compared with the category of ELT materials. All this appears to suggest that, as time went by, there was a growing reading-public for English, who were interested in a wider variety of texts than before. This varied interest, in its turn, will have been caused by a greater supply of reading materials.

The distribution of English reading materials took place through book sales, reading clubs⁶⁹, literary societies, lending libraries and circulating libraries. The circulating libraries of C.C. Van der Hoek in Leiden, established in 1822, G.E. Cohen in Nijmegen, set up in 1827, and that of A.C. Kruseman in Haarlem, founded in 1840, each had supplies of

⁶⁸ The number of non-fiction titles was 21 (36%) at Van Benthem's in 1807-1809 and had risen to 61 (44.5%) in 1847-1849. At Tjeenk Willink's it had amounted to 37 (43.5%) in the period 1847-1849. Here the number of ELL titles was 32 or 23%.

⁶⁹ Some reading-clubs were quite exclusive. They had their own reading-rooms where foreign books, newspapers and periodicals were available in great supply. These were the so-called "Leesmuseum" at the Rokin in Amsterdam (1800-1932), the Rotterdam "Leeskabinet" (1859-??) and the "Leesmuseum" in Haarlem (1861-1914). See De Vries (1993:175-191). They were in fact fashionable gentlemen's clubs, which admitted only a tiny section of the population. For instance, in 1900 the prestigious Amsterdam reading-club had 1,500 members and subscribed to 100 Dutch and foreign newspapers and 200 periodicals.

English books for loan⁷⁰. A point of interest is that, whereas Cohen's library did not offer any English books in the 1820s and 1830s, his 1841 catalogue suddenly advertised books in four languages, in all probability including English (Cohen 1996:67-71). This interest in reading English has been observed in Germany as well; a general reading-public may have begun to develop there even earlier than in Holland (Klippel 1994:258-267). If we are to believe an article in a periodical from 1867 on changing reading habits, the educated Dutchman each week received a great deal of reading material from his reading society and had to work his way through four English periodicals as well as an equal number of periodicals in French and German⁷¹.

The above indications give us reason to believe that during the first half of the 19th century more and more people began to read English. However, exact information on the sale of English books and periodicals in the Netherlands and on the size and habits of a reading-public for English is scarce. In spite of the relatively high degree of literacy⁷² in the Netherlands around 1800, there was only a small section of the population that may be said to have been regular readers (Kloek & Mijnhardt 1986:71; 1988:75). However, in the course of the 19th century nothing short of a reading revolution took place in the Netherlands, which was due to various causes, such as improved reading skills among the population, social emancipation, technical innovations in the printing industry, a commercialised book trade, and an improved infrastructure of roads and railways (Van Lente 1993; 1996). It meant that much more reading

⁷⁰ See Luger (1978) on Van der Hoek's circulating library, Cohen (1996) on Cohen of Nijmegen and Luger (1993) on Kruseman's commercial library in Haarlem. Van der Hoeks circulating library in Leiden offered over 11,000 titles to its clients in 1856; a substantial number were in French, German and English (Luger 1978:128). Kruseman's 1841 catalogue boasted 143 French, 71 English and 57 German titles. In 1845 these numbers had grown to 432, 127 and 59 titles respectively (Luger 1993:100).

⁷¹ Cited from the *Vaderlandsche Letteroefeningen* 1867; see Dongelmans (1991:109).

⁷² Around 1880 the Dutch population numbered about two million people. It has been calculated that 68% per cent of the population were able to read and write at an elementary level (Knippenberg 1986:35). In Germany this percentage was 48%, in France 43%. Also see Van Lente (1996:250), who puts the percentage of literacy in Holland around 1800 at 25%.

material became available than before and also that many more people took to reading. Hence, it seems reasonable to assume that this revolution in communication must also have affected the habits of Dutch readers as far as English was concerned. Further research on the activities of reading-clubs, on the presence of English books in private and commercial libraries and on the records of booksellers and publishers would undoubtedly shed more light on the reading habits of the Dutch with regard to the English language⁷³.

2.2.2.4 *The teaching of English literature*

If the commercial motive had been the first and foremost incentive to learn English, after 1800 other motives were voiced as well. One of them was that learning English was a matter of good upbringing and that the language and its literature ought to be part of a person's general education. In 1808, the reviewer of the *Algemeene Vaderlandsche Letteroefeningen* (henceforth *VLO*) stated that learning English had become an almost indispensable part of civilized education: "... de kennis der Engelsche, zoo wel als der Fransche tale, [is] voor eene beschaafde opvoeding, heden ten dage, zoo goed als eene behoefte ... geworden ..." [learning English, like French, has virtually become a necessity in civilized upbringing...]⁷⁴. Similarly, in 1806, T. O. Schilperoort, master at a French school, stressed the importance of teaching English not simply for business purposes or even for the sake of reading literary works, but for developing a taste for English culture in general (Schilperoort 1806:II):

La connaissance de la langue anglaise ... n'en reste pas moins une des parties les plus essentielles de l'éducation, non seulement par son utilité dans le commerce, ou par sa littérature précieuse, mais parceque, dans ses principes mêmes, elle paraît propre à former ce goût au solide, simple mais élégant, qui caractérise la nation anglaise dans toutes ses productions.

[The knowledge of the English language... remains, nonetheless, one of the most essential parts of education, not only for its use in commerce

⁷³ For an overall account of reading culture in the Netherlands see Hoftijzer (1996).

⁷⁴ *Vaderlandsche Letteroefeningen* 1809:259.

or for its precious literature, but because it appears well-suited to develop a taste for the solid, simple and elegant, which are so characteristic of the English nation in all its appearances.]

For adults this implied reading English authors in the vernacular, as did the members of the *English Reading Society* around 1800. For school-age children the reading of literature served the purpose of personal education. At the beginning of the 19th century personal education especially meant social and moral education. Young people were expected to make their acquaintance with accepted and respected authors, as it was believed that reading their literature would educate youngsters to become valued citizens and morally good people. We find evidence for these cultural motives in the publication of additional reading materials, coursebook volumes and literary anthologies. For instance, in his *Engelsch lees- en vertaalboek voor meergevorderden* (1815II), a collection of passages by English prose writers, R. van der Pijl aimed at conveying useful knowledge to his young readers and arousing interest in the nation's well-being. Clearly, this aim stemmed from the 18th-century tradition of Enlightenment, which tried to educate citizens to be virtuous and useful members of society. A similarly moral aim we find in G. Engelberts Gerrits' *First English reading-book* (1825II), which gave its readers "wise precepts and good examples". In the third volume of their *Leercursus ter beoefening der Engelsche taal* (1857II) Cowan & Maatjes tried to achieve the aim of their teaching, i.e. "de kennis der taal, vereenigd met verstandelijke en zedelijke vorming" [knowledge of the language combined with intellectual and moral education] by having their learners read poetry and prose excerpts.

Not surprisingly, the cultural motive was often combined with the practical motive of language learning. We find an early example of this mixed approach of language learning and literature teaching in Lehman (1808II): *Engelsche chrestomatie, of Verzameling van stukken, getrokken uit de beste Engelsche schrijvers: met de klankteekening van ieder woord, benevens de uitspraak en de verklaring der moeilijkste woorden op elke bladzijde: voor de scholen*. Here the emphasis was rather on learning to read English through 'approved' writers than on the appreciation of literary texts for their own sake. Similarly we have: Anon. (1814II) *The Polite Preceptor, or a Collection of entertaining and instructive essays, selected from the best English writers: published for the use of schools*, and Kappelhoff

(1814II) *Miscellany of ancient and modern literature: a collection of easy narratives, allegories and compositions for young people, who are desirous of exercising themselves in the English language.*

The teaching of English literature in schools became increasingly important, if we go by the number of anthologies and literary histories published. As far as we know, the very first literary handbook for use in schools appeared anonymously in 1823. It bore the name *Handboek der Engelsche taal- en letterkunde of Verzameling van uitgelezene stukken uit de voornaamste Engelsche klassieke schrijvers; benevens berigten aangaande het leven en de schriften derzelve*. This handbook was followed by the following anthologies: J.P. Arend *Schoonheden der Engelsche dichters van Milton tot Pope: bevattende eene bloemlezing uit hunne voornaamste werken* (1831), F.K.B. de Paeuw *Flowers of English Poetry, for the use of schools and private tuition; with a translation of the most difficult phrases and words. – Keur van Engelsche Dichtstukken, ten gebruike der scholen en van het bijzonder onderwijs; met eene vertaling der moeilijkste spreekwijzen en woorden* (1838), L. Koning *Miscellany of prose and poetry, selected from the best writers* (1839), P.J. Veth *Specimens from the English classics, with an introductory essay on English literature, explanatory notes and a glossary* (1842) and J.P. Arend *Specimens out of the English poets of the nineteenth century, published and collected for the use of students in that language* (1841). Both Koning and Arend were practising teachers who would have used their own anthologies in the schools where they taught⁷⁵. J.P. Veth taught English and Malay at the Royal Military Academy in Breda. In the introduction to his anthology he states that he had written his book specifically for the teaching of English in Latin schools. There can be little doubt that the literature of the English-speaking world would have been taught in many schools where the English language was taught too. However, we have two examples of which we can be certain. In 1825 J. P. Arend was appoin-

⁷⁵ L. Koning was a teacher of French and English in Haarlem, where he had Nicolaas Beets among his students (Van Zonneveld 1993). J.P. Arend was a lecturer in English, German and mathematics at the Atheneum in Deventer from 1825 to 1837; he became a lecturer in English and Spanish at the Naval College at Medemblik in 1837; in 1850 he was appointed “lecturer” at the grammar school in Amsterdam (SWKK:I, 292).

ted lecturer at the Deventer Atheneum, among other things to teach English language and literature. Arend wrote a treatise entitled *Voorlezing over het aanbevelenswaardige van de beoefening der Engelsche taal en letterkunde voor den geleerde* (Deventer 1825), in which he emphasised the importance of the study of English language and literature⁷⁶. Another school in which foreign literature was taught was the prestigious private institute Noorthey at Voorschoten, founded in 1820 by P. de Raadt. Here N. G. van Kampen, at first lecturer at Leiden university and later professor⁷⁷ of history and literature in Amsterdam, taught foreign literature in the 1820s. It is known that at Noorthey the pupils read both classic and contemporary writers⁷⁸.

The publication of literary histories and anthologies and the teaching of English literature in schools testify to the changing motives in ELT, and indeed all FLT. It seems that foreign literature teaching was developing into a regular element in secondary school curricula and that the purely utilitarian aim of FLT was complemented with a cultural aim. Thus, also in Dutch, French and German language teaching the position of literature was strengthening. The lessons of W. G. Brill, a modern language master, who from the late 1830s until well into the 1850s taught Dutch, French and German literature at the local grammar schools of Leiden and Zutphen, illustrate this development (Coebergh van den Braak 1988:114).

⁷⁶ We happen to know that, when still a schoolboy, young Nicolaas Beets became acquainted with authors like Sterne, Scott and Byron through his English teacher, Leendert Koning in Haarlem (Van Zonneveld 1993:65-66). We also know that around 1839 J.C.E. Brown introduced the artist Alexander Ver Huell during his school years at the Paedagogium in Leiden to the works of Bulwer-Lytton and contemporary authors like Walter Scott and Charles Dickens. The latter was appointed lecturer in German at Leiden University in 1841 (Bervoets 1992:39-40).

⁷⁷ At the same time the University of Leiden employed Van Kampen as lecturer in German literature (Album Scholasticum Academiae Lugduno-Batavae 1941). He was appointed lecturer in German literature and language in 1816; in 1829 he became professor of Dutch literature and history at the Atheneum of Amsterdam. In this capacity he delivered a lecture entitled “Verhandeling over den invloed der Engelsche letterkunde op de Hollandsche letterkunde” [“Lecture on the influence of English literature upon the literature of the Dutch”] to Nayler’s *English Literary Society* on 8 February 1832. The lecture was subsequently translated, annotated and published by Nayler in 1836 (Schoneveld 1984:31).

⁷⁸ They read contemporary writers like Sir Walter Scott (Van Zonneveld 1993).

The result is visible in the curricula of the Higher Burgher Schools and grammar schools (1863 and 1876), in which the teaching of foreign literature became compulsory. Curiously enough, this process seems to have taken place without much public debate. It appears that teaching (foreign) literature as a way of contributing to a learner's personal education had been accepted as a natural part of secondary school teaching.

2.2.3 *Learners outside the educational system*

Apart from those who learnt English in an educational setting there must have been a category of learners outside the educational system who for various reasons wished to learn English. To them self-instruction would be the only option, since they (had) received little or no formal schooling. These learners would have to resort to libraries and reading clubs. Many of them would have used existing textbooks, no matter if they were meant for use in schools or otherwise. That is the reason why some textbooks made mention of two target groups in their titles, i.e. school pupils and private students, such as Anon. (J. Olivier Schilperoord?) (1808II) *Reading-book for the English language, with an introduction to English Grammar, for the use of schools and private students; (dat is:) Leesboek voor de Engelsche Taal, nevens eene Inleiding tot de Engelsche Spraakkunst, ten dienste der Scholen en van die zichzelve oefenen*. Another one was Van der Beek (1850II) *Handleiding ter beoefening der Engelsche taal, ten gebruike der scholen en zelfoefenaars ingerigt*. Occasionally, a textbook explicitly offered itself as a course for individual language learning without the help of a teacher, such as Köchler (1815II) *Voornaamste grondregels der Engelsche taal, bevattelijk aanwijzende, hoe men die taal, zonder behulp van een' meester, binnen zeer korten tijd, en volmaakt naar den regel, kan leeren uitspreken; uit het Hoogduitsch*. A similar book in which one senses the absence of a teacher is the following title: Anon. (1814II) *De kunst om in twee maanden de Engelsche taal te leeren verstaan, schrijven en spreken*.

Some of these learners took an interest in English reading and perhaps in literature. It has been pointed out above (2.2.2.3) that between 1800 and 1860 a growing number of people bought English books and periodicals. The lists of clients of the prominent booksellers Van Benthem in Middelburg and Tjeenk Willink in Zwolle for the years 1807-1809 and 1847-

1849 afford insight into the social groups to which these buyers belonged. Not surprisingly, it must be concluded that to a large extent the readers were to be found in the upper echelons of society: members of the learned professions, high-ranking civil servants, prominent businessmen, and in general all those who had had a good education. Nevertheless – and this is indeed surprising – we also find such occupations as postman, barber, ironmonger, lock keeper and shopkeeper among the customers in 1808 (Kloek & Mijnhardt 1988). To give another example: around 1808 a barber in Middelburg purchased a *Collection of Amusing and Moral Histories*, an English version of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* in a translation by Alexander Pope and a collection of short stories in English (Kloek & Mijnhardt 1986; 1988). Likewise, in 1848 we come across learners of English in a variety of trades, such as a plumber, a carpenter, a tailor and a watch-maker's apprentice⁷⁹.

A special category of people for whom a basic knowledge of English was of vital importance and who entirely depended on self-tuition was that of the emigrants to English-speaking territories, especially the United States of America. This new and diffuse group of learners originated around the middle of the century. Around 1850 we come across several language guidebooks for this target group, such as Picard's *The little American. Handleiding voor hen die naar N-Amerika vertrekken, om in korten tijd zooveel van de Engelsche taal te leeren, als noodig is om zich verstaanbaar uit te drukken* (1847II), a book that was reprinted three times in eight years. Similar books were Anesius J. Hillebrands'⁸⁰ *Woordenboekje voor landverhuizers of eerste beginselen om het Engelsch te leeren spreken* (1848II) and Anon. *De nieuwe volmaakte Engelsche en Amerikaansche tolk of beknopt en toch voor de behoefte volledig en zeer gemakkelijk onderrigt in de Engelsche taal, voor allen, die dezelve, ook zonder les nemen, willen aanleren* (1854II).

Apart from these course materials for individual ELL, there was the traditional category of phrasebooks, which had always been used privately by merchants and sailors. Some examples of these phrasebooks are: Anon.

⁷⁹ These are unpublished data released by courtesy of H. Brouwer.

⁸⁰ This person, a schoolteacher from the province of Drente, moved in 1848 in Michigan in the USA, where he worked as a teacher in a Dutch settlement named "Groningen" (Lucas 1955).

(1814II) *Handboekje voor Hollanders om de Engelschen goed te verstaan en een gemeenzaam gesprek met hun te houden: zijnde alle de woorden naar de uitspraak in 't Hollandsch gespeld* and Anon. (1814II) *Nieuwe verzameling van Engelsche en Nederduitsche woorden en Zamenkomsten, met derzelver uitspraak, om de Engelschen goed te leeren verstaan en een gesprek met hen te voeren*. In 1849 K.P. ter Reehorst's published his *Gids of handboek voor kooplieden, reizigers, zeelieden, landverhuizers, enz. enz.* (1849II). Although the latter book aims at the traditional target groups, its title also mentions a new category of learners: that of travellers. The reference to travellers or tourists points to a new (privileged) group of learners.

2.2.4 From “young learners” to learners of English in general education

The most important change after 1800 regarding the position of English in society relates to “young learners”, for it was at the beginning of the 19th century that ELT in schools started to spread. This means that more young learners were confronted with English than ever before. It implies a shift from ELL by adults to young learners, that is, from men to boys, for in the educational setting in which ELT took place, boys far outnumbered girls. Furthermore, non-institutional learning, as it had occurred in the preceding centuries in the form of private instruction by tutors and parents, evolved into institutional learning within a regular school system for young learners in which English began to occupy a place in the curriculum. This development was part of a general trend towards regular school education and had its roots in the latter half of the 18th century. The process eventually resulted in the formation of a secondary school system. The demand for ELT in schools is reflected in the references in textbooks to ELT in schools, in the growing production of ELT materials, in the number of teachers of English, in the rise of schools in which English was taught and in the growing number of young learners.

2.2.4.1 References to ELT in schools

The first references to ELT in schools were found in the titles of textbooks in the second half of the 18th century and especially in its last decade. After 1800 the number of these references would increase rapidly. Already during the first decade of the new century we find a dozen phrases in textbook titles referring to ELT by children or beginners. Thus, we come

across phrases like *to promote the happiness of youth* (Ley 1803II), *prayers for children* and *for young beginners* (Kappelhoff 1807II), *A first book for children* (Murray 1807II), *for young beginners* (Smith 1809II). Likewise, references to ELT in schools are found in phrases such as *ten dienste der schoolen* (Anon. 1803II), *tot gemak des Leerlings in het overzetten* (Perrin 1803II), *for the use of Schools and private instruction* (Anon. c1804II)⁸¹, *ten dienste der Scholen en van die zichzelve oefenen* Anon. (1808II [J.O. **S**chilperoort], *ten dienste der Engelsche en Nederduitsche scholen* (Kappelhoff 1807II), *voor de scholen* (Lehman 1808II).

There is also an occasional reference to ELT for girls. Scattered over the western part of the country there were a few girls' schools where ELT took place⁸². One textbook writer deliberately addresses female learners as a special target group. In his *Engelsche Spraakkonst* (1805II:VIII) G.W. Lehman remarks that he had tried to avoid too complicated rules out of consideration for the female learners in Holland, who in his opinion had a special liking for the English language:

Al te lange regels verveelen, en, daar ik dit boek ook voor de vrouwelijke Sexe geschreven heb, welke, zoo 't mij is voorgekomen, in dit land zeer veel van de Engelsche Taal schijnt te houden, heb ik niets onbeproefd gelaten om eene dorre langwijligheid te vermijden, die haar weldra verveelen en misschien ook een' afkeer tegen 't geheele werk inboezemen zou.

[Rules that are too long easily make the learner feel bored and as I wrote this book for the female sex, which in this country seems to love the English language, I tried everything to avoid bleak boredom, which could give her a dislike of this work.]

Before 1860, references to specific types of schools were rare. Apparently, most textbook writers preferred to keep their options open and write for

⁸¹ See Loonen (1991:314-315) for more bibliographical details.

⁸² See Van Essen (1982) on a girls' school in Gouda run by Mrs. A.B. van Meerten-Schilperoort where ELT was offered as an option in return for extra payment. See also Frijhoff (1983:24) on two boarding-schools for girls in The Hague, Loonen (1991:85) on a girls' school run by two daughters of Edward Evans around 1800, and Visser (1995) on girls' schools in Middelburg and Vlissingen.

as large a reading-public as they could. An exception was J.J. de Hollander who in 1850 published a course of textbooks to prepare pupils for the entrance examination of the Royal Military Academy in Breda. It is the first time that a specific type of school was mentioned in a textbook title. From about 1850 onwards we gradually find more references to special types of schools. Thus, Knuivers & Van de Tsjerkema (1852II) wrote their phonology book for learners at “Gymnasia en Instituten” [grammar schools and institutes]. E. Peel, too, destined his coursebooks (1855II and 1856II) for the use of pupils in grammar schools and ‘institutes’ and so did Engelberts Gerrits (1856II). In 1857 we come across the term “middelbare scholen” [secondary schools] for the first time in the title of an ELT textbook (Rijnenberg 1857II). Here, too, however, the target group was kept deliberately vague: *voor de middelbare scholen enz.* [for secondary schools and so on].

2.2.4.2 *The production of ELT textbooks*

The fact that English was taught more and more in schools also comes out in the production of ELT textbooks. It is quite remarkable that in spite of the miserable economic situation between 1795 and 1813, due to the Napoleonic wars and the French occupation of the Netherlands, the production of ELT textbooks did not suffer a set-back. On the contrary, it is surprising to find that the number of materials kept growing. Of the eighteen works that Loonen (1991:23) found to have been published during the eighteenth century, no fewer than half appeared in the last two decades, and seven of them were published between 1790 and 1800. This tendency would continue after the turn of the century. Between 1800 and 1810, 25 new titles came out, followed by 42 titles between 1810 and 1820, of which 13 appeared in the year 1814 (see 5.1). The need for a greater knowledge of English is unmistakable, not only judging from the greater number of new titles that was published but also from the fact that the places where these materials were published were spread over the country more widely than before. The increase in materials is confirmed by a contemporary source, the textbook writer D. Bomhoff Hz., who in the preface to his *English Dictionary* of 1822 observes⁸³:

⁸³ Cited in Van Essen (1993:90).

When, in the year 1813, the blessed revolution in our country brought about a revival in the former trade relations with our neighbours, the English, this also caused our compatriots to take renewed pleasure in the learning of their beautiful [...] language. To facilitate this study, a host of books on the English language was published.

2.2.4.3 *The teachers of English*

Before 1800 teachers of English were chiefly immigrants or their offspring, who were usually connected with an English or Scottish community in the Republic (Loonen 1991:33). One example is Edward Evans, an English-speaking immigrant, who was employed by the Scots church in Rotterdam and who taught at a local British school. Later two of his daughters would run an English school in Delft (Loonen 1991:84-85). In the course of the 19th century we still come across the names of a small number of Englishmen⁸⁴, but it appears that their task was gradually taken over by Dutch teachers of English. For economic reasons these Dutch teachers did not restrict themselves to ELT only, but taught a whole range of subjects. Because they also wrote textbooks, we know the names of at least six teachers of English in the first two decades of the 19th century⁸⁵.

Prior to the 19th century, foreign language teaching, like so many other forms of teaching, was entirely a matter of private enterprise on the part of the teachers and a matter of private initiative on the part of the learners. However, around 1800 the political revolution in the Netherlands brought about many changes that also affected education. The national government pursued a policy aimed at raising the general level of education. Hence, one of the first things the Government did was to draw up requirements for the training of teachers. An important measure was the 1806 regulation that all schoolteachers needed a certificate qualifying them to practise their profession. On top of this requirement, foreign language teachers had to take a separate examination in one or more languages to prove their competence. Subsequently, this competence was

⁸⁴ For instance W. Locke and Charles Ley around 1810.

⁸⁵ These schoolmasters were J. Van Bemmelen (Leiden and Delft), T. Olivier Schilperoort, G.W. Lehman, L. Koning (Haarlem), A. Kappelhoff (Amsterdam) and R. van der Pijl (Dordrecht).

noted on their teacher's certificate, which thus became a FLT certificate. This system of qualification gradually brought about the formation of a professional group of foreign language teachers. The examination requirements were to have a great impact on the way in which English was taught and learned (Wilhelm (1993).

Exact numbers of teachers who qualified for ELT are not readily available. Information on this point is hard to come by and not very consistent. Neither the Government's annual *Onderwijsverslag* [Education Report] nor the semi-official education journal *Nieuwe Bijdragen* provides us with figures before 1858⁸⁶. In order to get some idea of the number of candidates who obtained these qualifications we have studied the Reports of the Education Committee in the Province of Gelderland. Between 1837 and 1857 613 persons, mostly men, obtained an FLT qualification; this is approximately 30 persons on average per annum. Throughout this period a total number of 613 certificates were awarded, 268 for French (43.7%), 206 for German (33.6%) and 139 for English (22.6%)⁸⁷.

That foreign language teachers were developing a profession of their own is also illustrated by the publication in 1854 of the first foreign language teacher's journal in the Netherlands. It was intended for practising and future teachers and bore the elaborate title *Hedendaagsche en hoogere beoefening der Fransche, Engelsche en Hoogduitsche talen, ten dienste van instituteurs, aankomende onderwijzers, en allen die zich aan het onderwijs of de beoefening der moderne talen hebben toegewijd*. [Modern and higher study of the French, English and German languages, for the bene-

⁸⁶ In the year 1858 a new Primary Education Act came into force enabling schools to offer subjects, including FLT, at secondary level. These were the so-called MULO subjects; MULO stands for "Meer Uitgebreid Lager Onderwijs" [Extended Primary Education]. From that year on the number of teacher certificates obtained for these subjects was frequently recorded.

⁸⁷ The province of Gelderland was quite representative and may well be compared with the provinces of Noord en Zuid Holland and Brabant. For instance, in the year 1849 113 FLT certificates were awarded in the Netherlands; most of these were obtained in the provinces of Noord-Brabant (39), Noord-Holland (30), Zuid-Holland (20), Gelderland (18); the other provinces together only awarded 6 FLT certificates (*Verslag van den Staat der hooge, middelbare en lagere scholen* [Education Report] 1849-1850; see *Handelingen* 1850-1851, *Bijlagen* 658).

fit of schoolowners, prospective teachers and all who have devoted themselves to the teaching or the study of modern languages.]

2.2.4.4 Numbers of schools and learners

The demand for ELT can also be deduced from the number of schools where English was taught and from the number of pupils that attended these schools. Loonen (1991:336-342) succeeded in tracing about 20 schools and teachers of English for the period 1750-1800, while he found an equal number for the period 1550 to 1750. In other words, as the 18th century was drawing to a close, ELT in schools was on the increase. If we take into account the number of references to ELT in schools during the first half of the 19th century, we must conclude that the number of schools in which English was taught was growing further. Around 1840 ELT seems to have become a common thing, if we are to believe the textbook writer Dirk Bomhoff. In the preface to his pocket dictionary (1840) he claims⁸⁸:

For some years now the learning of the English language has become such a common thing, that it is taught in most schools where languages are taught, even to very young children.

However, clear and consistent information about the number of schools where foreign languages were taught is missing. This is not surprising, if we bear in mind that FLT mainly took place in the private sector, that is, in the so-called French schools⁸⁹. The interest of the government, on the other hand, was directed at public education. In the public sector, which consisted of State-funded primary schools for 6 to 12-year-olds and a number of Latin schools for 12 to 18-year-olds, no foreign languages were taught during the first few decades of the 19th century. An interesting point is that the period around 1840 saw the birth of the so-called Second Departments of Latin schools. These were classes where modern subjects

⁸⁸ Bomhoff (1840:5; vol. I); see Van Essen (1993:90-91).

⁸⁹ For information on the French schools various sources must be consulted, as there is no monograph on French schools in the Netherlands yet. For instance see Reinsma, Boekholt (1978), De Booy (1980), Frijhoff (1983), Petersen (1984), Boekholt & De Booy (1987), Esseboom (1995), Dodde (1997), Esseboom (1998).

such as foreign languages were taught. Soon Second Departments were added to an increasing number of Latin schools. In 1850 twenty-three former Latin schools had already modernised their teaching programmes⁹⁰. This means that English was likely to be among the subjects offered in the curriculum.

How can we find information about other places where English was likely to be taught? Official 19th-century publications on education disclose little about FLT⁹¹. Before 1860 the government's annual report on education, *Verslag van den Staat der hooge, middelbare en lagere scholen*, contained hardly any information on FLT. Similarly the inspector's reports, like those by Inspector Wijnbeek, merely mention FLT in passing. A number of his reports, however, mention the places where foreign languages, including English, were taught and how this teaching was conducted. During the 1830s and 1840s Wijnbeek mentioned ten schools where he found ELT⁹². However, on the basis of other sources we know that this number must have been considerably greater, for it is possible to point to at least twenty other locations where ELT took place during the first half of the century⁹³. Further research would undoubtedly reveal many more such schools.

A close scrutiny of some sources enables us to get some insight into the number of pupils that learnt English during the first half of the 19th cen-

⁹⁰ See the Government's *Onderwijsverslag* [Education Report] 1849-1850 in *Handelingen* 1850-1851, *Bijlagen* 658. The first of these were the Latin schools of Leiden and The Hague (Coebergh van den Braak 1988:87-88), but others were eager to follow. These were the schools in Arnhem, Nijmegen, Rotterdam, Delft, Haarlem, Deventer, Winschoten, Middelburg, Leeuwarden, Den Bosch, Harderwijk, Amsterdam, Franeker, Kampen, Oldenzaal, Groningen, Wageningen, Gouda and Maastricht.

⁹¹ It is true that there were many reports from local and provincial education committees, reports from the Department of Education (Ministry of Home Affairs) and reports from the school inspectors, but many of these were not published in print.

⁹² See Reinsma (30-53) for the places where Wijnbeek observed FLT on his inspection tours between 1816 and 1845. Wijnbeek seems to have ignored subjects that he did not find to be essential to elementary education and FLT did not belong to them. Nevertheless, Reinsma quotes Wijnbeek's comment on ten schools where he found FLT, i.e. in Vreeswijk, Montfoort, Maastricht, Kampen, Utrecht (2x), Voorschoten, Aalten, Enschede and Harlingen.

tury. An investigation carried out in 1811 by the Education Department of the Ministry of Home Affairs provides information about numbers of pupils who were possibly taught English (Frijhoff 1983:22-24). On the basis of this investigation it may be concluded that around 1811 approximately 3% of Dutch boys and girls between 12 and 18 received their education at French schools. Frijhoff tentatively claims that this figure might rise to 5%, if other forms of schooling, like instruction by tutors or parents, are taken into account. This means in absolute numbers that in 1811 about 4,400 pupils attended French education at secondary level⁹⁴. It is in this category that we must look for the answer to the question to what extent English was taught. Tuition in French schools implied that all pupils learnt French and some of them German and English as well. However, it is evident that by no means all of these institutions offered ELT. The teaching of English was limited to the more expensive schools, especially boys' schools⁹⁵. And even if these schools provided ELT, it did not necessarily mean that all the pupils in these schools attended English lessons, since these had to be paid for as extra options⁹⁶. All this makes it very difficult to arrive at a reasonable estimate as to the degree to which

⁹³ We have evidence that between 1800 and 1860 ELT took place at the following schools: around 1800 at Van Bemmelen's school in Leiden (where Van Bemmelen himself taught English), at two girls' schools in The Hague and three schools in Rotterdam (Frijhoff 1983), at the school of the Misses Evans in Delft (Baggerman 1994), at Van Kinsbergen's Latin/French institute at Elburg (Prud'homme van Reine 1990) and at Rudolph van der Pijl's school in Dordrecht (Kruselman 1886). Around 1830 ELT was provided at the school of C.H. Roggen in The Hague (cf. Roggen 1829), at the day/boarding-school of Van Merkestein in Nijmegen (Van Schevichaven 1893), at Van de Velden's school at Boxtel (Beij-Sutmuller 1998) and at the girls' school of Mrs. Van Meerten-Schilperoort in Gouda (Van Essen 1982:383). English was occasionally taught at the French school which Nicolaas Beets attended before he went up to grammar school (Vis 1993:64). Possibly this was Willem van den Hull's French school in Haarlem. Furthermore, around 1840 ELT took place at Van Woelderens school at Velp near Arnhem, where M.P. Lindo taught between 1838 and 1842 (NNBW; Boekholt 1978:149), at C. Budding's school in Rotterdam (De Jong 1961:104-105), at the institute of F.C. Roodhuyzen in Amsterdam and at Cnopius' school in Zwolle (Brouwer 1995:246). Finally, we know of three schools in Middelburg and two in Vlissingen, where English was taught between 1800 and 1850 (Visser 1995).

⁹⁴ The group consisted of 2,843 boys and 1,529 girls who together attended 147 boarding-schools or Latin/French institutes.

English was learnt, but half of the above number of pupils, that is 2,200 pupils or roughly 1.5% of the pupils between 12 and 18, does not seem too wild a guess.

If we compare this situation with the state of ELT forty and fifty years later respectively, we find the following figures. The annual Education Report for the years 1849/1850⁹⁷ provides us with numbers of schools and pupils⁹⁸. In 1849-1850 the number of pupils who attended private schools, both elementary and secondary, totalled about 10% of all school pupils⁹⁹. The majority of these pupils, however, did not stay on for secon-

⁹⁵ The term “French school” is ambiguous and refers to a diversity of institutions. Their only common characteristic was the teaching of French. Frijhoff (1983:21-22) distinguishes between Dutch-French schools, French boarding-schools and Latin-French institutes. The Dutch-French schools provided basic education and were intended for 6- to 12-year-olds. Here English was rarely taught. The French boarding-schools for boys and girls and the Latin-French institutes catered for the age group from 12 to 18. These were places where English could be taught and they were intended for the more well-to-do part of the population. The number of pupils at French boarding-schools for boys was 2,677, at boarding-schools for girls 1,529 and at the Latin-French institutes 166. Consequently, the potential number of learners of English was 4,372, 35% of whom were girls. The total number of teachers in these schools was 286. Private tutors who taught at the homes of the well-to-do are not accounted for, although this form of teaching must have been substantial, as the highest social circles usually employed private language masters.

⁹⁶ Brouwer (1995:246) gives an example of a day and boarding school for boys in Zwolle run by L.C. Cnopius around 1840. Here schoolboys had to pay extra for attending English and German lessons, 20 guilders for English and 15 for German. This was relatively expensive, as the ordinary school fee was 50 guilders. Van Essen (1982:383) quotes from a letter written around 1840 by a principal of a girls’ school in Gouda, Mrs. A.B. Van Meerten-Schilperoort, to a parent of one of the girls. The letter states that the boarders who wished to learn English or German were welcome to take these subjects as an option on Wednesday and Saturday evenings.

⁹⁷ In *Handelingen* 1850-1851, *Bijlagen* 658.

⁹⁸ The information contained in it cannot be compared directly with the 1811 inquiry, since this investigation was restricted to the territory north of the river Waal, whereas the *Onderwijsverslag* of 1849/1850 relates to the present territory of the Netherlands.

⁹⁹ In 1811 the total number of pupils in primary education was about 170,000; 14,500 of these, i.e. 8.5 % of the pupils, attended French schools (Frijhoff 1983:24).

dary education and left school at approximately the age of twelve. If we wish to estimate the number of learners of English, we will again have to look at the more exclusive private schools, which usually provided a form of secondary education in addition to elementary education. They were boarding-schools or combinations of day and boarding-schools. In 1849-1850 the total number of these schools was 263, which is nearly twice as many as in 1810. They were attended by 6,261 pupils (23.6 pupils per school), which is about 50 per cent more pupils than in 1811¹⁰⁰. Secondly, we must look at the Latin schools. As far as foreign languages were learnt at these schools, this happened in the so-called Second Departments. In 1849-1850 the number of pupils in these departments had risen to 379, the total number of pupils at the Latin schools being 1,768. From this it follows that the numbers of pupils at the more expensive schools added to those at the Latin schools amounted to 6,640¹⁰¹. Part of this number – say half – must have constituted the number of learners of English. As we have seen, in 1850 the total number of learners in private schools was about 10% of the entire school population in the Netherlands¹⁰². Approximately 2% of these 10% attended lessons at the more expensive day/boarding-schools. If we accept the above estimate of 3,000

¹⁰⁰ According to the Education Report of that year there were 20 boarding-schools for boys, attended by 458 pupils. The number of boarding-schools for girls was 22 and they had 356 pupils. The combined day and boarding-schools are divided into 146 boys schools (with 3,120 boys), and 75 institutions for girls (with 2,327 girls). The sum total amounted to 6,261 pupils.

In 1850-1851 there were 288 day/boarding-schools which had 6,776 pupils (boys and girls), which was 23.5 pupils per school. In 1852-1853 we find 315 of these schools. The number of pupils at these schools is unknown, but if we use the same average number of 23.5 pupils per school, we arrive at about 7,400 learners of English.

¹⁰¹ According to the *Onderwijsverslag* for 1849-1850, the number of pupils at French schools (day and evening classes) totalled 37,190 on 15 January 1849. The total number of these schools was 621 and the total number of teachers was 876. On the same date the number of pupils at all primary schools totalled 379,679, so that the number of pupils at these French schools may be said to constitute roughly 10% of the total primary school population.

¹⁰² In 1849-1850 about 37,000 learners attended private schools. The total number of learners at primary schools was 380,000 (*Handelingen* 1850-1851; *Bijlagen* 658-7).

learners of English, it would mean that in 1850 about 1% of the entire school population came into contact with English¹⁰³.

In 1850-1851 there were 288 day/boarding-schools, numbering 6,776 boys and girls as pupils (23.5 pupils per school). In 1852-1853 we find 315 of these schools. In 1857/1858 their number had risen further to 321¹⁰⁴. If we assume an average number of pupils of 24 per school¹⁰⁵, we arrive at about 7,700 pupils for 1857/1858. Added to the learners at the Second Departments of the Latin schools¹⁰⁶, the overall situation would yield a total of about 8,000 potential learners of English. If half of them seems not to be an unreasonable estimate, this number (4,000) would far exceed the number of learners of 1811 (1,000). However the case may be, the conclusion must be that by the end of the 1850s, at the time that the new Education Act of 1857 introduced MULO education, a few thousand school pupils must have been learning English at school. Table 2.1 gives a survey of numbers of grammar schools and private schools where English is likely to have been taught between 1810 and 1860¹⁰⁷.

¹⁰³ If the percentage of learners had perhaps not grown much compared with 1811, the absolute number of learners would have done so, keeping up with the growth of the school population; in 1857 far more youngsters (375,000) participated in primary education than in 1811 (170,000).

¹⁰⁴ See the Education Reports for these years in *Handelingen* 1851-1852, *Bijlagen* 766, *Handelingen* 1853-1854, *Bijlagen* 567 en in *Handelingen* 1858-1859, *Bijlagen* 749.

¹⁰⁵ This seems a realistic number compared with 1850-1851.

¹⁰⁶ In 1860-1861 652 pupils attended the Second Departments of grammar schools (Education Report 1860-1861 in *Handelingen* 1862-1863, *Bijlagen* 1226).

¹⁰⁷ For the years 1810-1811 see Frijhoff (1983:24). In those days the average number of pupils per school was 29.7. For the following years the figures have been taken from the Education Reports of the years concerned. For the years 1852-1853 the total number of 7,400 pupils is an estimate based on 23.5 pupils per schools, which was the number for 1850-1851. In 1857-1858 the exact breakdown between boys' and girls' schools is unknown; we only have the total number: 321. The total number of 7,700 pupils is an estimate based on 24 pupils per school. For 1862-1863 the figures have been taken from Bartels (1963:3 and 21).

years	number of grammar schools with second depts.	number of pupils in second depts. of grammar schools	number of day/boarding schools for boys	number of boys in day/boarding schools	number of day/boarding schools for girls	number of girls in day/boarding schools	total number of pupils in day/boarding schools
1810-1811			81	2843	66	1529	4372
1847		120					
1849-1850	23	379	166	3578	97	2683	6640
1850-1851			184	3935	104	2841	6776
1852-1853			192		123		7400
1857-1858			195		125		7700
1862-1863	30	708					

TABLE 2.1 NUMBERS OF GRAMMAR SCHOOLS (SECOND DEPARTMENTS) WITH NUMBERS OF PUPILS; NUMBERS OF DAY/BOARDING-SCHOOLS WITH NUMBERS OF BOYS/GIRLS/TOTAL NUMBER OF PUPILS IN THEM, 1810-1860

2.3 Learning and teaching a world language: learners of English and the demand for ELT, 1860-1920

The nineteenth century saw enormous economic, social and cultural changes. Especially in the fields of industry, transport, communications and technology revolutionary changes took place. Shipping, overseas trade, railways and travel brought more people into contact with one other than ever before. Technical inventions like the telegraph and telephone and innovations in printing techniques signified a revolution in communication, as they reduced distances among people. In this situation the English language played a role of growing importance as a means of modern communication. There are many examples of Dutch branches of commerce and industry during the second half of the century in which contacts with speakers of English must have played an important role. For example, since the 1850s the North Atlantic route Rotterdam-Southampton-Le Havre-New York had been the major passenger and freight route of the world and in 1873 a regular passenger line was opened between Rotterdam and New York¹⁰⁸. When the industrialisation in the Netherlands finally got under way, which did not happen until the end of the century, the import and export of agricultural and industrial products to and from English-speaking countries became every-day economic activities¹⁰⁹. Needless to say, these activities demanded a good working knowledge of English, which explains the growing demand for ELT from about 1890 onwards.

Whereas at the beginning of the 19th century the English language was a rare commodity acquired by few learners, by the end of the century English had become a necessary means of modern communication to be learnt by many. The language had evolved into an obvious vehicle of communication for trade, industry and technology. Simultaneously, the position of French as the international language was on the decline and that of English and German on the way up. Around 1870 an ELT textbook claimed that English had become indispensable to anyone in civilised

¹⁰⁸ *NRC/Handelsblad* 9 April 1998.

¹⁰⁹ It seems that there were especially many Dutch-English contacts in the fields of shipping and shipbuilding, mechanical and water engineering, electric light technology and the production of oil (Camijn 1987:passim).

society and that it was becoming more so every day: “Want de Engelsche taal *is* reeds – en wordt dagelijks hoe langer hoe meer – *onmisbaar* voor ieder, die zich in de hedendaagsche beschaving op zijne plaats wil gevoelen” [For the English language already is – and is becoming more so every day – indispensable for everyone who wants to feel at home in present-day civilisation] (Willemson s.d.). At about the same time a former professor at the Deventer Atheneum, A.J. Vitranga, asserted that French was losing its dominant position and that German and English were becoming more important languages for the Dutch to learn (Vitranga 1876:35ff):

Men beweert, het Fransch is toch eigenlijk de wereldtaal bij uitnemendheid. Wel zoo! Mij dunkt, de Engelschman en Noord-Amerikaan, wier taal aan alle stranden verstaan en gesproken wordt en in wier taalgebied de zon niet op- en ondergaat, zullen hiertegen nog wel wat hebben in te brengen... [It is said that French is the world language *par excellence*. Well now! It seems to me that the Englishman and North American, whose language is understood and spoken on all beaches and in whose territory the sun does not set, will have some objections to make.]

When the 19th century was drawing to a close, it became clear to many people that French was no longer the undisputed leading language of the world. In 1898 a Dutch parliamentarian commented¹¹⁰:

Het Fransch heeft opgehouden eene wereldtaal te zijn, en voor studie, ontwikkeling en beschaving treedt het thans meer op den achtergrond. Onze wetenschappelijke mannen hebben behoefte aan het Duitsch, onze kooplieden en industrieelen aan het Engelsch. [French has ceased to be a world language and for academic study, cultural development and civilisation is now receding into the background. Our scientists need German, our merchants and industrialists need English.]

At about the same time there appeared two articles in an educational journal advocating FLT to Dutch children in the following order: first English, then German and finally French, instead of in the traditional

¹¹⁰ Member of Parliament Pyttersen on 12 December 1898 (*Handelingen Tweede Kamer* 1898-1899:463).

sequence French, German, English (Huisman 1899-1900; Best 1900-1901). One of the effects of the First World War must have been that the interest in the English-speaking world was growing further. Probably a greater number of Dutch people than ever before was now looking towards the West for new ideas and we may assume that, when the Great War was over, the prestige of the British Empire and the influence of the USA led to more ELL in the Netherlands. Around 1920 English had established itself as an ordinary school subject in MULO schools. Another thing was that the 20th century was to offer such technical novelties as the gramophone, film and radio, so that for the first time people could listen to spoken English by mechanical means. In this way individual learners would be able to study English through gramophone and radio courses¹¹¹. The arrival of these audio-visual media would gradually support the acquisition of spoken English, which had offered such difficulties to 19th-century learners.

The Second World War enhanced the prestige of the English-speaking world even further and this time on an unprecedented scale, as the Netherlands owed its very liberty to the Allied Powers. During the post-war period the political freedom of the Netherlands was strongly associated with Anglo-American influence in its struggle against communism. Western culture from overseas was to dominate the European Continent more and more: politically, economically, technologically and also culturally. It was the influence of the mass media of film, music, television and information technology that would immerse the Dutch people in English and eventually make it into its second language.

2.3.1 Learners in vocational education

Although solid figures are not available, it is reasonable to assume that the trend that had set in before 1860 continued and that the number of vocational courses in which English was taught was growing. Examples are to be found in maritime, technical and commercial colleges as well as in part-time courses for student teachers of English. For instance, in 1880 there were five commercial day schools, in 1910 nine and in 1920 twenty-

¹¹¹ Cf. the Linguaphone courses and radio courses on Dutch radio in the 1930s (Avro Radio/Fry's Auto-study Method 1931-1932).

eight¹¹². Bartels (1963:53-55) makes mention of a great number of commercial evening classes; here too English was very likely to be taught. Since 1883 there had been separate courses and examinations for commercial correspondents¹¹³. The importance of EFL for vocational use is especially apparent from the textbooks, since their titles show that English was learnt for commercial, nautical and technical purposes.

After 1860, and particularly after 1900, a flow of commercial correspondence textbooks was launched for English. Books like the so-called “winkelgesprekken” [commercial conversations] by Hoffmann (1861II), in which, both English and Japanese are included, as well as other publications, such as Meijer (1863II), Calisch (1871II) and De Bruin (1891II and 1894II), continued the commercial tradition in the second half of the century. However, due to the late start of Dutch industrialisation, it is only after 1900 that we meet with a fast growing number of textbooks for commercial purposes. Between 1900 and 1920 a flood of new commercial and technical textbook materials were published¹¹⁴. Likewise, the number of commercial schools and the number of pupils in them did not really begin to grow until the beginning of the twentieth century¹¹⁵.

English was also learned in nautical¹¹⁶ and technical colleges. Evidence for this kind of ELT is mainly found in the titles of the textbooks con-

¹¹² Mandemakers (1996:544 and 562). Bartels (1963:285) mentions just two commercial day schools in 1880.

¹¹³ See *50 jaar Associatie* (1991), published by de Stichting Nederlandse Associatie voor Praktijkexamens. Both the society of commercial clerks, Mercurius, and the society of accountancy teachers conducted their first examinations in Rotterdam in 1883.

¹¹⁴ For the following titles see Appendix Two: A. de Froe (first publications 1904, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1911, 1912, 1915, 1919) and H. Jansonius (first publications 1911, 1912, 1913, 1915, 1916). The other textbook writers (apart from the anonymous ones) are Vogin (1901), Anema (1903), Bakker (1908, 1909, 1920), de Bruin (1905), Sonius (1905, 1913), Bergman/Van der Gaaf (1906), Leliveld (1908, 1909, 1914), Van Berkum (1909), Sieverdink (1909), Siersema (1910), Van Doorn (1911), Sandberg (1911), Widlake (1911), Smit (1912), Brands (1914), Wijga (1914, 1918), Broers/Hameetman (1915), Kamp/Van der Spek (1915), Gijzen (1916), Lijzen/Jacob (1916), Lijzen (1919). A number of these titles refer to multilingual works; many titles were reprinted.

¹¹⁵ Hoksbergen (1975:10); Mandemakers (1996:52-53).

¹¹⁶ Dodde (1991:293-296) records that English was one of the subjects taught at the Rotterdam maritime college and that the learners used Cowan & Maatjes' course, *Leercursus ter beoefening der Engelsche taal* (1854¹-1916¹³II).

cerned. Thus, J. Vos wrote an English grammar for the cadets of the Royal Naval College in Willemsoord (1859II). In 1860 we come across a textbook for sailors by D. Erdbrink entitled *Engelsch vertaalboek voor zeelieden, om die taal in korten tijd te leeren. Bevatende een verzameling van taalkundige opstellen met benamingen, termen, uitdrukkingen en volzinnen betrekkelijk zeevaart, zeezaken enz. doelmatig voor zeevaartkundige scholen*. In 1895 P. Montijn published an *Engelsch lees- en vertaalboek voor zeevaartscholen. Stukken uit de werken der voornaamste Engelsche schrijvers over zeevaartkunde*. Similarly, in 1912 H. Kunsel wrote *A Sailor's Reader. Especially for the use of nautical schools*.

Also for technical purposes we find relevant titles, such as a multilingual technical dictionary (Kramer 1866II), and an English-Dutch and Dutch-English dictionary for engineers (Helder 1888II). A practical dictionary for miscellaneous use was compiled by Henry F. Vogin (1901II): *Nederlandsch-Engelsch handelswoordenboek, bevattende handelsuitdrukkingen, scheepstermen, handelsartikelen, rechtstermen, benamingen op het gebied van machinerieën, werktuigen, electriciteit, architectuur, assurantie, enz.* Likewise, we find titles for technicians (Leliveld 1904II and 1912II) and for use in technical colleges and training schools for naval engineers (Leliveld 1915II). Bolkestein/van der Ent (1902II) wrote a *Technisch leeren leesboek voor het onderwijs in het Engelsch aan ambachtsscholen, machinistenscholen en burgeravondscholen*. Croes (1915II) wrote a coursebook for naval engineers, while in 1916 he stretched his imagination by compiling a practical guide for railway and tramway conductors, waiters and policemen. Separate publications appeared for the telegraph and telephone services and the tax office, such as a *Handleiding der Engelsche taal voor de praktijk van den telegraaf- en telefoondienst* (Zey 1895II), and *Engelsch voor ambtenaren der in- en uitvoerrechten en accijnzen en als zoodanig fungerende havenmeesters in Nederlandsch-Indië* (Van Waijenburg 1910II).

2.3.2 Learners outside the educational system

It is very likely that, with a view to the growing importance of English as a world language, more and more people felt the need to learn English, even if they were unable to do so at school. However, we have little evidence of self-study and private instruction. Adult learners would have

made use of library facilities and self-study materials, private teachers, language courses, reading clubs, literary societies and so forth. In this respect it is relevant to note that during the second half of the 19th century a great number of textbooks for self-study were published. Many coursebooks were specifically designed for individual language learning. A well-known instance of such a self-study course is the Langenscheidt method. It was a course designed for all the major European languages and published in “lessons”, i.e. instalments. For Dutch learners the English version was adapted by Servaas de Bruin¹¹⁷ in 1868(II): *Volledige leercursus in 18 brieven (les 1-36) om zonder onderwijzer, uitsluitend door eigen oefening gemakkelijk en spoedig de Engelsche taal volgens de regelen der spraakkunst en den beschaafden omgangstoon te leeren schrijven en spreken. Naar den 10en druk der methode van Dalen-Lloyd-Langenscheidt, voor Nederlanders bewerkt door Servaas de Bruin*. These course materials were quite popular and similar titles are frequent in the latter half of the century¹¹⁸.

Finally, we find the traditional conversation guides, language guidebooks and manuals for daily language use that still exist today, such as Plantenga (1860II) *Eene reis naar Londen, in twaalf lessen, gevolgd door eenige lees- en vertaal oefeningen en een aantal brieven. Eenvoudige handleiding om Engelsch te leeren spreken, ook zonder onderwijzer*, and Anon. (1868II) *Reisvriend naar Amerika. Een tolk voor Nederlandsche landverhuizers. Beknopte handleiding tot zelfonderricht, om de Engelsche taal vlug en gemakkelijk te leeren spreken en verstaan. Bevatende tevens eenige practische wenken omtrent den overtocht naar Amerika*. On the whole the titles speak for themselves and suggest that many learners were motivated to train themselves in practical conversation. There are numerous examples of these phrasebooks, e.g. Anon. (1865II), Thomson (1866II), Anon. (1868II), Anon (1872II), Vos (1872II), De Bruin (1869II, 1874II, 1877II, 1889II), Valkhoff (1879II), Spruyt (1888II), Landmann (1889II), Barentz (c1896II), Schnitzler (1897II), Regt (1899II), Schoevers (1900II).

¹¹⁷ See Dongelmans (1994) on Servaas de Bruin's language guidebooks.

¹¹⁸ See Appendix Two for the following titles: Anon. (1863), Willemson (1871), Peel (1872), De Bruin (1879, 1881, 1897, 1898), Spruyt (1888), Barentz (1894, 1899), Anon. (1898), Anon. (1901), Schidlof (1909), Anon. (1915) and Gijzen (1915).

2.3.3 Learners in general education

After French, German and English had come to be accepted as regular school subjects during the first half of the 19th century, in the course of the second half they became compulsory in certain categories of secondary schools. After 1857 schools became increasingly important as places where foreign languages were learned, so that a growing number of boys and girls began to learn English at a young age. In this way English, too, began to be part of general courses of education for a growing group of young learners and the language was officially acknowledged as a regular school subject. Inasmuch as the government proved willing to fund teaching at secondary level, more opportunities arose for young people to learn foreign languages within the state school system. This development took place in several stages, through the introduction of three new types of schools, in which ELT played its own role next to FrLT and GLT.

First, through the Education Act of 1857, foreign languages became optional subjects in lower secondary education, the so-called MULO schools. Formally speaking, they were primary schools, since they functioned within the framework of the Primary Education Act, but in reality they offered instruction at secondary school level. These schools were intended for the lower middle class: the children of skilled workmen, shopkeepers, small farmers and so on. This type of education was to grow considerably in terms of numbers of schools and pupils and MULO schools began to provide more and more ELT, especially when after 1910 legislation enlarged the possibilities of funding this type of education¹¹⁹.

Secondly, the year 1863 was a significant landmark in the history of FLT in the Netherlands, since in that year French, German and English became compulsory subjects in higher secondary education. This happened under the new Secondary Education Act, which created a new type of long-awaited secondary school, named Higher Burgher School (HBS)¹²⁰. It was meant for children of the well-to-do middle class and not for lower middle class or working-class children.

¹¹⁹ Mandemakers (1996:28).

¹²⁰ There was also a Lower Burgher School, which comprised only two or three forms. Here FLT was not compulsory. Another variety of (higher) secondary education was a school for girls, called *Middelbare Meisjesschool* (MMS) [Secondary school for girls]. This type of school would not gain popularity until the twentieth century.

Thirdly, the Higher Education Act of 1876 transformed the old Latin schools into grammar schools. The elite of the population used to send its offspring to the Latin schools and universities. Since 1838 the majority of the Latin schools had gone through a process of modernisation by the introduction of the Second Departments in which modern languages were taught. From 1876 onwards all grammar schools provided French, German and English as compulsory subjects for all pupils.

Sociologically speaking, the Dutch school system clearly reflected the class-system of society, as it selected learners according to their social backgrounds rather than to their abilities. By the year 1876 the system of secondary education was neatly divided in three tiers to accommodate the needs of the three highest social classes. For children from the lower middle classes MULO schools *de facto* provided the opportunity to receive education at secondary level. In these schools French language teaching was nearly always available, whereas ELT was not such a matter of course. However, as more MULO schools began to offer ELT, the children from this group of society were enabled to become acquainted with English, too. Children from the higher social classes, who attended Higher Burgher Schools or grammar schools, would automatically come into contact with English. We must not, however, overrate participation in education at (higher) secondary level, since it concerned as yet only a tiny proportion of the population. For instance, in 1880 as few as 6,800 pupils attended secondary or grammar schools, which was about 1.5% of the age group (Mandemakers 1996:553; 546). However, as more pupils stayed on at school after the age of 12, gradually more young people would get in touch with English.

After 1860 the number of references in ELT textbooks to specific types of schools increased. Gradually, we come across the names of 'middelbaar onderwijs' [secondary education] in titles more often. Susan (1869II), for instance, speaks of *de middelbare scholen en gymnasiën*, whereas Van der Hoeven (1875II) uses the term *inrichtingen van middelbaar onderwijs* [establishments of secondary education]. The first time that the Higher Burgher School as such was mentioned is in Herrig (1869II): "voor instituten, gymnasiën en hogere burgerscholen". Wichers (1869II) just speaks

of “burgerscholen”. Ten Bruggencate (1879II) mentions the “hoogere burgerscholen en uitgebreid lagere scholen” together as the target groups. It was also the first time that specific mention was made of (M)ULO in an ELT textbook. The name of (M)ULO would especially appear at the beginning of the 20th century.

2.3.3.1 *The teachers of English*

Around 1860 vocational courses for foreign language teachers did not yet exist. Instead foreign language students received private tutorials from experienced teachers and were thus prepared for State-conducted teacher examinations (Wilhelm 1993). Consequently, student teachers were obliged to read their subjects in relative isolation, although from the 1850s onwards they could subscribe to one or more foreign language teacher journals. These were, in chronological order, *Hedendaagsche en hoogere beoefening der Fransche, Engelsche en Hoogduitsche talen* (1854-1867)¹²¹, *Taalstudie* [Language study] (1879-1890), *De Drie Talen* [The three languages] (1884-1990)¹²² and (*Berichten en Mededeelingen van de Vereeniging van Leeraren in) Levende Talen* [Communications and notices of the society of teachers of living languages] (1914-)¹²³. In fact, the first three journals functioned as a form of distance-learning for student teachers and as refresher courses for practising teachers. From the 1880s foreign language students were enabled to attend lectures at the University of Groningen, after Chairs for French, German and English had been established there (Koops 1980). However, the students were not allowed to take academic degrees, nor did the university prepare them for the teaching profession. In actual fact, it was only a very small group of foreign-language students that attended these university lectures. The vast majority followed the route of State-conducted examinations. At the beginning of the 20th century, part-time training courses for modern language

¹²¹ The journal would not live long; it managed to survive until the end of 1867, when publication ceased because of a shortage of subscribers (Wilhelm 1996:12-14).

¹²² In 1990 the journal *De Drie Talen* was transformed into *De Talen*.

¹²³ See Wilhelm (1996). At one point the name of *Berichten en Mededeelingen van de Vereeniging van Leeraren in Levende Talen* was shortened to *Levende Talen*. This journal still exists.

teachers were set up, such as the Katholieke Leergangen¹²⁴ (1912) and the School voor Taal- en Letterkunde [School of Linguistic and Literary Studies] (1915) in The Hague (Van Essen 1983:passim). After 1920 universities were allowed to confer academic degrees on foreign language students, which at the same time qualified them for the teaching profession.

We do not have an overall survey of the number of FLT certificates before 1920. Although details were occasionally made public after 1857, the information remains incomplete¹²⁵. However, we do have a number of figures at our disposal for the 12-year period 1858-1869, as shown in Table 2.2. The numbers of FLT certificates show a rising tendency between 1858 and 1861, which was probably due to the introduction of MULO in 1858.

TABLE 2.2 FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHER CERTIFICATES, PRIMARY LEVEL, 1858-1869

year	French	German	English	total
1858	176	61	67	304
1859	187	75	90	352
1860	221	103	107	431
1861	202	79	130	411
1862	189	86	128	403
1863	193	89	112	294
1864	147	79	65	291
1865	168	87	86	341
1866	150	59	101	310
1867	179	75	86	340
1868	191	81	83	355
1869	173	76	94	343
total:	2176	950	1149	4275
%	(51%)	(22%)	(27%)	100%

¹²⁴ *75 Jaar MO* (Katholieke Leergangen, Tilburg 1987).

¹²⁵ For our sources we drew on the annual Education Reports for the years concerned (see *Handelingen* 1871-1872, *Bijlagen* 1446-1447) and on the reports of the foreign language teacher examination boards.

From 1881 onwards foreign language teachers could take their examinations at three different levels. The lowest level was the “Lager Onderwijs” (L.O.) [Primary Education]) certificate and prepared teachers for jobs in MULO schools. The “Middelbaar Onderwijs” (M.O.) certificate was intended for teachers in Higher Burgher Schools and grammar schools. It was now split into two parts, the intermediate “MO-A” certificate for the lower forms of these schools and the advanced “M.O.-B” certificate for teachers in the higher forms. The latter certificate entitled these teachers to teach English literature as well. Table 2.3 supplies figures showing the increase of teachers of English at these three different levels over a period of 40 years¹²⁶.

TABLE 2.3 ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHING CERTIFICATES, PRIMARY AND SECONDARY LEVELS, 1879-1921

years	primary certificate (L.O.)	secondary certificate (M.O.A)	secondary certificate (M.O.B)
1879-1880	109	-	-
1881-1882	20	18	6
1890-1891	113	9	1
1900-1901	183	12	2
1910-1911	239	47	13
1920-1921	275	63	28

2.3.3.2 *The production of ELT textbooks*

An investigation of the production of ELT textbooks reveals a relatively stable situation between 1860 and 1880 and a firm dip in the 1880s. After 1890 the numbers rose sharply, culminating in the decade 1900-1910. Seventy per cent of all ELT textbooks published between 1800 and 1920 appeared after 1860 (see Table 5.1). This fact testifies to a growing demand for ELT as the century went by. At the same time it shows that the successive introduction of MULO (1857), Higher Burgher Schools (1863) and Grammar Schools (1876) did not immediately lead to a sig-

¹²⁶ The figures have been taken from the official Education Reports for these years, from the Algemeen Rijksarchief (National Record Office) and from the Ministry of Education Record Office.

nificant increase in ELT textbook production. On the contrary, the output of ELT textbooks hardly underwent any change between 1860 and 1880, which suggests that the introduction of the new secondary school system itself was no reason for textbook writers to publish new ELT textbooks. The reasons why textbook writers published new titles seem rather to have been caused by economic and social factors, i.e. growing prosperity in the 1890s, the need for commercial English and increasing participation in secondary education. On the other hand, the demand for ELT appears to have been greater in the last decade of the 19th century than that for FrLT or GLT, as Table 5.2. shows. In this decade, the growth of ELT textbooks was 151% compared to the decade 1880-1889, whereas that of FrLT textbooks was 46.5% and that of GLT textbooks 22%. In the first decade of the 20th century the production of ELT textbooks was again considerably higher than in the decade 1890-1899, viz. 45%, so that it may be claimed that the demand for ELT was growing further (see Table 5.1)¹²⁷.

2.3.3.3 *Numbers of schools and learners*

During the second half of the 19th century the number of learners of English in schools continued to grow. The demand for ELT after 1860 can be measured by the number of schools where English was a compulsory subject, the Higher Burgher Schools and grammar schools, and by the number of schools where English was an option. This was the case in MULO schools. As we have seen, formally speaking MULO schools were primary schools, but they offered subjects at secondary level¹²⁸. They increasingly introduced ELT into their syllabi, particularly after government funding had been extended in 1889 and 1910 (Mandemakers 1996: 27-28). In particular this held for those MULO schools that catered for pupils above the age of 12, the so-called “kopklassen” [top

¹²⁷ There are no figures of the production of FrLT and GLT textbooks after 1900, so that comparison with ELT is impossible (see Table 5.2).

¹²⁸ Sometimes a teacher taught (some of) his pupils one or more extra subjects, such as French, in addition to the ordinary subjects. This meant that his school had adopted the MULO status. In 1920 a new Education Act sanctioned this trend towards “top schools”. From now onwards ULO schools – which was the new name – were a special type of institution for pupils of 12 to 15 years.

forms] or “kopscholen” [top schools]. These offered two-year courses (ULO) or three-year courses (MULO). Nearly all schools offering three-year courses provided ELT. Furthermore, confessional schools tended to provide more FLT than non-confessional schools¹²⁹. For want of consistent statistical data, however, the information on (M)ULO education before 1922 is incomplete (Mandemakers (1996:362). However, the trend is unmistakable: ELT in schools was on the increase and because of the growing popularity of (M)ULO education the number of learners of English was rising. In 1880 there were 521 (M)ULO schools where English was taught; in 1920 there were 772. Compared with 1880, the absolute number of (M)ULO schools offering English had grown by 50% in 1920. Table 2.9 gives a survey of the number of (M)ULO schools between 1880 and 1920 where foreign languages were taught. French was invariably the first foreign language to be taught; German occupied a middle position and English came last¹³⁰.

TABLE 2.4 NUMBERS OF ALL (M)ULO SCHOOLS PROVIDING FRLT, GLT AND ELT, 1880-1920

year	French	German	English
1879-1880	994	637	521
1889-1890	985	575	441
1899-1900	1024	584	434
1909-1910	1164	667	491
1910-1911	1198	729	528
1919-1920	1493	862	662
1920-1921	1650	985	772

¹²⁹ See the Education Reports of 1911, 1912, 1915 and 1916.

¹³⁰ The figures for the years 1879-1910 have been taken from the Education Reports for the years concerned: Education Report 1879-1880 (*Handelingen* 1880-1881, *Bijlage* D 163), Education Report 1889-1890 (*Handelingen* 1890-1891, *Bijlage* D 112), Education Report 1899-1900 (*Handelingen* 1900-1901, *Bijlage* D 167) and from Mandemakers (1996:540; Table 3.3). Figures for 1911 are found in the Education Report 1911 (*Handelingen* 1912-1913, *Bijlage* 213). For 1912 see Education Report 1912 (*Handelingen* 1913-1914, *Bijlage* 254). For 1915 see Education Report (*Handelingen* 1916-1917, *Bijlage* 280). For 1916 see Education report 1916 (*Handelingen* 1917-1918; *Bijlagen* 241). For 1920 see Education Report 1919-1920 (*Handelingen* 1921-1922, *Bijlage* 293).

1880-1900

The first solid figures regarding numbers of schools where English was taught are found around 1880. In the school year 1879-1880 there were 521 (M)ULO schools where English was included in the syllabus. These 521 schools made up 43.5% of all (M)ULO schools¹³¹. Mandemakers (1996:362) estimates the size of the (M)ULO population at 12,000 in 1880, of whom approximately 6,000 (1.3% of the age group) would be taught English. Furthermore, in 1880 there were 29 grammar schools as well as 67 Higher Burgher Schools where English was a compulsory subject¹³². These grammar and secondary schools were populated by 6,900 pupils (1.4% of the age group)¹³³. This estimate, then, would lead to a total of 13,000 young learners of English, which was 2.7% of the age group. Mandemakers (1996:362) estimates the number of (M)ULO pupils in 1900 at 12,000. If we assume that three quarters¹³⁴ of them learnt English, this estimate would yield 9,000 young learners of English at the turn of the century (1.5% of the age group). On top of this, we find 105 secondary and grammar schools with 12,600 pupils, (2.2% of the age group)¹³⁵. All in all, this estimate would yield about 22,000 learners, which amounts to 3.7% of the age group¹³⁶.

¹³¹ Mandemakers (1996:539; Table 3.2).

¹³² See Mandemakers (1996:544; Table 3.8) for the number of grammar schools in this period. According to Bartels (1963:Bijlagen) there were 37 Higher Burgher Schools with a five-year course, 18 Higher Burgher Schools with a three-year course and 12 secondary schools for girls ("Middelbare Meisjes Scholen"). Besides there were 2 commercial day schools, numbering 109 pupils, but it is uncertain if all these pupils learnt English. Not until 1925 was English made compulsory in commercial schools (Bartels 1963:86).

¹³³ Mandemakers (1996:553, Table 7.5 and 634, Table II.1). Also see Bartels (1963:Bijlagen). In the initial phase of the Higher Burgher School not all the pupils attended the same subjects. Thus, in 1879-1880 out of a group of 337 boys who wished to attend only a limited number of subjects, 185 entered their names for French, 175 for German and 145 for English. Similarly, from a group of 50 girls, 35 registered for the French lessons, 36 for German and 27 for English (Education Report 1879-1880 in *Handelingen* 1880-1881:*Bijlage* D 163).

¹³⁴ This seems a fair estimate, seeing that in 1911 78% of the (M)ULO schools for 12 plus pupils provided ELT.

¹³⁵ Mandemakers (1996, Tables 3.9, 7.5 and II.1). Also see Bartels (1963:Bijlagen).

¹³⁶ The number of pupils at the 38 confessional grammar and Higher Burgher Schools in 1900 is unknown (Mandemakers 1996:553).

The situation around 1920

The first exact figures with regard to (M)ULO date from 1922. In this year there were 750 ULO schools attended by some 42,000 pupils. In spite of the fact that English was not a compulsory subject in the MULO schools, it is highly likely that the vast majority, perhaps 80% or 33,000 pupils¹³⁷, attended English lessons in 1922, which was 3.6% of the age group¹³⁸. This would mean that at about this time the number of learners of English in MULO schools had caught up with the number of learners in HBS and grammar schools. Around 1922 there were 48 grammar schools and 188 higher secondary schools, which were attended by some 32,000 pupils (3.4% of the age group)¹³⁹. In addition to the MULO pupils we then arrive at an estimated 65,000 learners of English in general secondary education, which amounts to 7% of the age group. The actual number of those who learned English at a young age must have been higher, if we take other forms of education into account, such as vocational day and evening courses¹⁴⁰. All this leads to a rough estimate of 7 to 10% of youngsters learning English around 1920. If we draw a comparison between 1811 (see 2.2.4.4) and 1920 we must conclude that within a time span of roughly one hundred years the group of young learners between 12 and 18 had expanded from an estimated 1.5% to approximately 10%.

2.4 Summary

Until the end of the eighteenth century English was virtually an unknown language in the Netherlands. The majority of the population was unfamiliar with it; the only people who had some command of English were a number of traders, scholars and young learners in schools. However, during the

¹³⁷ On the assumption that 80% of the ULO schools provided ELT, as was the case in 1911 and 1912, we arrive at the following number: $42,000 \times 0.80$ is 33,500 learners of English. In order to qualify as an ULO school in accordance with the 1920 Education Act, the school had to offer at least three out of five of the following subjects: French, German, English, mathematics and commercial arithmetic.

¹³⁸ Mandemakers (1996:543, Table 3.7; and 473, Graph 3.1). Mandemakers equates 1% of the group 12 to 18 year-olds in 1922 with 9,300 pupils.

¹³⁹ Mandemakers (1996:553, Table 7.5).

¹⁴⁰ The number of pupils in these schools must not be overestimated. Bartels (1963:Bijlage III) records 5 commercial day schools in 1900 with 179 pupils.

nineteenth century the appreciation and knowledge of the language was to grow steadily, while the settings in which ELT took place gradually changed. Thus, vocational education ultimately became the setting in which English was learnt for trading and other specific purposes, while a growing reading-public took the place of the eighteenth century scholars. The most important change, however, concerned young learners, who began to learn English as a regular subject in schools. We have evidence of growing numbers of ELT textbooks, teachers of English, schools where English was taught and pupils who learnt English. Early 19th century ELT textbooks indicate that they were primarily written for children and school education, which shows that already by the beginning of the century young learners were the main target group of learners. Compared to the situation before 1800 it implies a shift from adult (male) learners to young learners (chiefly boys). If the motives to learn English had so far been mainly commercial, gradually cultural motives began to play a greater part. The existence of English reading societies, the sales of English books and periodicals and the teaching of English literature in schools all testify to a rising interest in English culture in general and English literature in particular. Most learners knew English chiefly in its written form. Spoken English continued to pose a problem, since learners rarely heard authentic English spoken.

The growing demand for ELT led to its acceptance in 1863 as a compulsory school subject in the new, higher secondary schools, named Higher Burgher Schools, and in 1876 in the modernised grammar schools. Also the number of teachers of English, the number of schools in which English was taught and the number of learners, inside and outside the educational system, continued to grow after 1860. However, the introduction of English as a compulsory subject did not immediately lead to a greater production of textbooks. It was not until the end of the nineteenth century that it began to grow dramatically. Increasingly, the language was seen as an indispensable means of communication for trade, transport, industry and technology owing to the growing economic and political influence of the English-speaking world. More and more people came in touch with it through education and self-study. It is estimated that by 1920 the number of young learners of English in schools had increased nearly tenfold within a period of a little over one hundred years. This situation was a far cry from the period around 1800 when the English language was still largely unknown in the Netherlands.

3. CHAPTER THREE

THE EDUCATIONAL CONTEXT

3.0 Introduction

This chapter describes the educational context of ELT in the Netherlands in the period 1800-1920. By this context we understand the way in which ELT was realised within the educational system. For the sake of a clear chronology of events this chapter has been divided into stages that may be said to mark characteristic developments in the history of FLT in the Netherlands in general and ELT in particular. The first part of the chapter, foreign language teaching and the Dutch educational system, 1800-1863 (3.1), is not specifically concerned with ELT, but with FLT in general, as until 1863 English, French and German, were not yet compulsory subjects in the Dutch school system. The part is divided into the following sections: FLT and the national school, 1796-1806 (3.1.1), FLT in Primary Education, 1806-1858 (3.1.2), early attempts to create a secondary school system (3.1.3), FLT in Latin schools (3.1.4) and FLT in tertiary education (3.1.5). The latter section has been divided into subsections on the position of FLT in the universities (3.1.5.1) and foreign language teachers in tertiary education (3.1.5.2).

The second part of the chapter (3.2), English language teaching in secondary schools, 1863-1920, describes the time when French, German and English became regular subjects within a new structure of secondary education. It was the period in which the Education Acts of 1857, 1863 and 1876 came into being. Subsequent sections describe ELT in MULO schools (3.2.1), ELT in Higher Burgher Schools (3.2.2) and ELT in grammar schools, 1876-1920 (3.2.3). The position of English as a school subject is analysed on the basis of contemporary curricula (3.2.2.1. and 3.2.3.1), tables of lessons (3.2.2.2. and 3.2.3.2) and examination requirements (3.2.2.3 and 3.2.3.3).

Part three, English language teaching at university, 1886-1921 (3.3), briefly discusses the beginnings of the academic study of English language and literature in the Netherlands, from the time in which the first profes-

sor in English was appointed to the year in which foreign language studies were acknowledged as full-grown academic subjects.

The fourth part, the teachers of English and their training, 1800-1920 (3.4), deals with the way in which teachers of English were prepared for their profession and with the various teacher certificates that were connected with specific types of education. It successively discusses the beginnings of foreign language teacher training (3.4.1), the Lower-grade Certificate, 1858-1920 (3.4.2), the Certificate for “More Advanced Education”, 1858-1863 (3.4.3), the Secondary Education Certificate, 1864-1880 (3.4.4) and Lower, Intermediate and Full grade Certificates, 1881-1920 (3.4.5). These sections present a number of teacher examinations programmes in the subsections 3.4.1.1, 3.4.2.1, 3.4.2.2 and 3.4.4.1. Finally, section 3.4.6 discusses the development towards a regular form of foreign language teacher training. The chapter is concluded with a Summary (3.5).

3.1 Foreign language teaching and the Dutch educational system, 1800-1863

3.1.1 FLT and the national school, 1796-1806

In 1795 a political revolution took place in the Netherlands that would fundamentally change the old Dutch Republic. In the subsequent decade this confederation of highly autonomous provinces and cities was to evolve into a centralised, national state. This meant that matters that until then had been taken care of by each province or city separately would henceforth be looked after by a national government. Of course, this development was also to affect education. In the latter half of the eighteenth century there had been growing concern about the educational system and many people addressed the question how the quality of education could be improved. Initially, the debate especially centred on teaching methods in private schools, as may be inferred from a prize-contest held by the learned society “Zeeuwsch Genootschap der Wetenschappen”¹⁴¹. However, especially after the foundation of a society named “Maatschappij tot Nut van ’t Algemeen” [Society for the Benefit of the Commonwealth]¹⁴² in 1784, the debate concentrated on a system of national education. One treatise, written in reply to a contest held in 1790 by another learned society, the “Provinciaal Utrechts Genootschap

voor Kunsten en Wetenschappen” [Provincial Utrecht Society for Arts and Science], deserves special mention here. It is one of the most revolutionary documents on education ever published in the Netherlands, but what interests us here is its proposal to introduce French, German and English language teaching in Latin schools¹⁴³. Such a plan was definitely modern by contemporary standards, as FLT in grammar schools was not fully realised until 1876.

In 1796 the “Maatschappij tot Nut van ’t Algemeen” issued a blueprint of a national education system¹⁴⁴. This report, *Algemeene Denkbeelden over het Nationaal onderwijs*, which appeared in print in 1798, was to lay the basis for the educational reforms of the following decades (Dodde 1971:32). The report consists of two parts. The first part deals with education for all children, to be realised in a national school, especially for the benefit of those children whose parents were unable to pay for their education. The second part discusses the need to teach certain subjects to particular groups of the population in the private sector. Although FLT as such is not mentioned, it is obvious from the context that FLT was considered to belong to the private sector. The implication was that not all forms of education needed to be available to all children. In spite of the prevailing egalitarian mood, the report wished to continue the situation as it had existed before the revolution. In other words, FLT was not to be included in the curriculum of a national school and had to be paid for privately as a special form of education.

¹⁴¹ The contest was held in 1780 and the three best replies were published in the society’s *Verhandelingen* in 1782. The prize-winners were H.J. Krom, a clergyman and professor of church history in Middelburg, K. van der Palm, a boarding-school owner at Delfshaven (and father of J.H. van der Palm, who in 1799 was to become “Agent of National Education”), and D.C. van Voorst, a clergyman at Cadzand. See also W. Kuiper (1961) and Turksma (1961) for a discussion of the three treatises.

¹⁴² This “enlightened” society was to develop into a prominent social pressure group and was to exert great influence on education policies in the following decades.

¹⁴³ The treatise was written by Gerrit Vatebender, headmaster of the Latin school in Gouda, and published in the *Verhandelingen* of the “Utrechts Genootschap” in 1801. Among other things it proposed to take away children from their parents at the age of 6 and educate them in separate institutions (Bolkestein 1914:19).

¹⁴⁴ Bolkestein (1914:29-31); Boekholt (1978:57-58); Boekholt & de Booy (1987:95-96).

Meanwhile, the discussions on the organisation of a system of national education continued in the National Assembly. There were radical and moderate educational reformers and in 1797 the ‘radicals’ suggested to found ‘language schools’ offering instruction in “living languages”. The plan resembles Vatebender’s proposal to introduce FLT in Latin schools and must be seen as an early attempt to introduce a system of secondary education as a follow-up to primary education. The plan of the ‘radicals’ demonstrates their idealism, as the concept of primary education for all had not even been worked out properly. However, it is needless to say that, as the political mood was becoming more “moderate”, the plan was not implemented¹⁴⁵.

It is interesting to see how two years after the publication of the report the then Minister of Education, J.H. van der Palm¹⁴⁶, adopted most of the ‘moderate’ viewpoints in his first great policy document, the Memorandum of 9 June 1800. Van der Palm stated that particular skills, such as foreign language skills, were only of use to “certain classes of Society”¹⁴⁷. FLT, he said, could not be included in the core curriculum of the national school, as it could not reasonably be considered a basic requirement for all citizens of the new State¹⁴⁸:

Want hoe zeer eene Maatschappij, die verlichting en beschaving onder hare leden, zoo veel mogelijk, wil bevorderd hebben, het onderwijs in vreemde talen en allerlei wetenschappen, aanmoedigen en ondersteunen moet, zal echter niemand lichtelijk vaststellen, dat dit onderwijs aan alle Burgers, ten koste der Maatschappij, om niet moet worden gegeven...

[For however much a Society that wishes to promote enlightenment and civilisation among its members, should encourage and support the teaching of foreign languages and all kinds of sciences, no one will easily conclude that this education must be offered to citizens free of charge and at the expense of Society...]

¹⁴⁵ The proposal, contained in article 760, was rejected in 1797 (Bolkestein 1914:46-47).

¹⁴⁶ J.H. van der Palm (1763-1840) was Minister of Education from 1799 to 1801.

¹⁴⁷ The text of the Memorandum is cited in Van Hoorn (1907).

¹⁴⁸ See J.H. Van der Palm’s Memorandum of 9 June 1800 (cited in Van Hoorn 1907:22-23; 35).

Thus, the Education Minister, who was responsible for the national school, in effect referred FLT back to the private education sector. This sector consisted of a great number of privately-owned institutions, commonly named “French schools”, which provided education in various modern subjects, including foreign languages. Van der Palm’s viewpoint would have a great effect on the position of FLT in the decades to come. For the time being, foreign languages continued to be taught in the private sector, while government policy exclusively focused on elementary education as provided for in the national school.

The first decade of the new century witnessed the making of three Education Acts, those of 1801, 1803 and 1806. The 1803 Act was the first Education Act in which we find a reference to FLT. Article 1 of the Act¹⁴⁹ stated that

Openbare scholen zijn alle zoodanige, waarin [...] onderwijs wordt gegeven in de eerste beginselen van kennis en beschaving, als Lezen, Schrijven, Rekenen en de gronden der Nederduitsche Taal... daarbenevens vreemde Talen en hoogere wetenschappen...

[Public schools are those in which the first elements of knowledge and civilization are taught, such as reading, writing, arithmetic and the principles of the Dutch language [...] and besides foreign languages and higher sciences...]

By using the term “public schools” the Act wished to distinguish between school education on the one hand and private tuition given at home on the other. The implication was that also private schools in which foreign languages were taught, were considered to be “public” education. The 1803 Act would soon be replaced by the 1806 Education Act, which was to have a more lasting effect.

¹⁴⁹ *Reglement voor het Lager Schoolwezen en Onderwijs binnen de Bataafsche Republiek* [Regulations for Primary Education within the Batavian Republic] (cited in Van Hoorn 1907:161). Also see Dodde (1971:35-36).

3.1.2 FLT in Primary Education, 1806-1858

The 1806 Act divided the educational system into two parts, the public and private sector (Dodde 1971:36-37), whereby the State funded the schools in the public sector in which every child was taught a number of basic subjects, such as reading, writing and arithmetic. This Act was to lay the basis for primary education for the next fifty years. Not surprisingly, foreign languages were not included in the curriculum of these State-funded primary schools, as the bias of the government was towards the above elementary subjects for 6 to 12-year-olds. A complicating factor is that the Act used the term “primary schools” to refer to all school education – with the exception of Latin schools – even if the teaching in primary schools operated beyond elementary level and comprised subjects such as foreign languages. Thus, the term “primary education” came to refer to all forms of tuition that were not provided in Latin schools and universities. The 1806 Act mentioned foreign languages as optional subjects that could be taught within the legal framework of Primary Education¹⁵⁰:

Lagere scholen ... zijn alle zoodanige, waar, onder welke benaming ook, ... de Jeugd van allerlei ouderdom en van beiderlei kunne, ... in de eerste beginselen van kennis en beschaving, als Lezen, Schrijven, Rekenen en de Nederduitsche Taal, of in derzelver hulpmiddelen, als de Fransche en andere hedendaagsche of ook geleerde Talen, de Aardrijks-, Geschiedkunde en dergelijke, ... onderwezen ... wordt.

[Primary schools ... are all schools in which, under whatever name, ... young persons of all ages and of both sexes are instructed in the first elements of knowledge and civilisation, such as Reading, Writing, Arithmetic and the Dutch Language, or in their supportive subjects, such as French and other modern or learned Languages, Geography, History and so forth...]

After the French occupation of Dutch territory had come to an end in 1813, the division in public-funded schools on the one hand and private

¹⁵⁰ Article 1 of the *Reglement voor het Lager Schoolwezen en Onderwijs binnen de Bataafsche Republiek* [Regulations for Primary Education within the Batavian Republic] (cited in Van Hoorn 1907:217).

schools on the other continued to exist. For well-to-do parents the State primary schools were of no consequence, as they could not be forced to send their children to them. There were countless private institutes that offered education at elementary and secondary level to children whose parents could afford private tuition. These private institutions, or French schools, were the places where foreign languages were taught and learnt.

The 1806 Act had no further consequences for FLT apart from the training of foreign language teachers and, to some degree, the inspection of schools. However, since the French schools were essentially private enterprises, they were free to organise their own education. There was no such thing as state control, although there were school inspectors on a national, provincial and local level, but the importance of school inspection should not be overrated as far as private schools were concerned. Usually the municipalities had more influence on schools than the school inspectors, since the former would (partly) subsidise the private schools and in this way had a direct say in the organisation of the schools.

During the first half of the century the Chief Inspector of Schools was Adriaan van den Ende¹⁵¹, who remained in office till 1833. His successor was H. Wijnbeek, Inspector of the Latin schools, who in 1833 was obliged to carry out Van den Ende's tasks next to his own job¹⁵². In view of the fact that the government's interest was primarily focused on basic education, it is obvious that there could hardly be any thorough inspection. The inspection tours that Wijnbeek undertook were in themselves admirable enough, considering his age and the travelling conditions of his time. In spite of these difficulties, Wijnbeek was occasionally in a position to observe FLT in schools, but reports of his observations are hard to come by and they give us little insight into day-to-day teaching. Another point is that reports were drawn up by local and provincial school inspectors and sent to the Education Department in The Hague, but as yet there has been no systematic investigation of these sources, so that FLT in pri-

¹⁵¹ Adriaan van den Ende (1768-1846) fulfilled several functions in the Department of Education between 1800 and 1832 (Boekholt 1978:passim). From 1817 until 1833 he was Chief Inspector of Schools (Bolkestein 1914:97-98).

¹⁵² Reinsma (12) mentions a number of 5,000 schools that Wijnbeek (1772-1866) had to supervise. See Reinsma (10-14) for an account of Wijnbeek's life.

vate schools is largely *terra incognita*. Still, there must have been numerous schools where the teaching of French, German and English was common practice¹⁵³.

3.1.3 *Early attempts to create a secondary school system*

Now that Primary Education had been organised, it would be a logical step to try and reform secondary and tertiary education. The division into three tiers of education had been inspired by the French educational system (Bolkestein 1914:86). In the course of the following decades various plans were set up to organise a system of secondary education and in each of them an appropriate role would be assigned to FLT. However, due to various circumstances, none of these plans were realised¹⁵⁴. A controversial item in these plans was the position of the Latin schools. Would they have to merge with other schools into a new system of secondary education or keep their separate position as a form of pre-university training in a system of ‘higher education’? An early attempt to reorganise secondary education, including the Latin schools, was made in 1809. In this plan, drawn up by the Van Swinden Commission, an important role was assigned to FLT¹⁵⁵. In 1811, at the time of French rule in Holland, another report was published on the reorganisation of the education system, this time by two Frenchmen, G. Cuvier and J. Noël. In this report, too, the Latin schools were to be integrated in a new secondary school system, which, like in the Van Swinden proposal, would offer FLT, especially French¹⁵⁶. After the departure of the French in 1813, yet another education commission charged with the reorganisation of ‘higher education’, eventually preferred to patch up the Latin schools with a few new subjects rather than set up an entirely new system of secondary education. The

¹⁵³ Boekholt & de Booy (1987:128-129) and Boekholt (1998:20). Also see 2.2.4.4.

¹⁵⁴ Bolkestein (1914), Goudswaard (1981:21-50) and Frijhoff (1983).

¹⁵⁵ Bolkestein (1914:55ff.), Goudswaard (1981:23) and Boekholt & de Booy (1987:122).

¹⁵⁶ They applauded efforts like those by Adriaan van den Ende, who helped to found an “Instituut van fraaye letteren” [Institute of Fine Letters] which was connected with the Latin school in Haarlem. See E.J. Kuiper (1961:71) and Goudswaard (1981:27).

commission's advice led to the Royal Decree of 1815, which decided to offer no FLT in Latin schools (Bolkestein 1914:103). Subsequent efforts in 1829 did not lead to a reorganisation of secondary education either, although each time there were proposals to include FLT¹⁵⁷. In the end, there would be no such thing as a secondary school system until 1863, when the Higher Burgher Schools came into being.

3.1.4 FLT in Latin schools

On 2 August 1815 a Royal Decree was issued to regulate the tier of Higher Education. Being more conservative than innovative, the regulation maintained the close link between the Latin schools – as the only form of pre-university training – and the universities in a separate system of higher education reserved for the “learned class”. However, in an attempt to meet complaints about the one-sided curriculum of the grammar schools a number of new school subjects were introduced¹⁵⁸. By adapting the teaching programme in this way the government hoped to revitalise these schools, many of which were just lingering on (E.J. Kuiper 1961:65). Despite the advice given by previous education commissions the national curriculum of the Latin schools did not offer FLT. Nevertheless, it appears that even at an early stage several Latin schools did provide FLT and other modern subjects that were not mentioned in the official curriculum. Thus, we know of a number of Latin schools in which foreign languages were taught around 1830, not mentioning the so-called French-Latin institutes¹⁵⁹. An alternative solution was that masters who were employed by Latin schools to teach an “official” subject, e.g. mathematics, taught foreign languages privately at their homes and were paid accor-

¹⁵⁷ See the education reports by Roëll and d’Ursel (Goudswaard 1981:45-51).

¹⁵⁸ The subjects were mathematics, history, geography and classical mythology (E.J. Kuiper 1961:63).

¹⁵⁹ These schools were found in Utrecht, Groenlo, Enschede, Ootmarsum and Almelo (E.J. Kuiper 1961:71-72). The Latin-French institutes were established in Amsterdam, Beverwijk, Naarden, Purmerend, Voorburg and Elburg (Frijhoff 1983:24) and in Haarlem (1809). The latter institute was presumably set up at the instigation of Adriaan van den Ende, who was a trustee of the Latin school in Haarlem (Padmos 1996:447).

dingly by the municipality¹⁶⁰. In other words, grammar schools often provided FLT in one way or another and the government and the inspectors were not as opposed to change as the 1815 Decree may lead us to believe (E.J. Kuiper 1961:71-72), as long as the town councils paid the costs.

A break-through came with a far-reaching initiative by two schools in 1838. In order to bring their decline to a halt, the Latin schools of The Hague and Leiden devised a plan that introduced the so-called “Second Department” (Coebergh van den Braak 1988:87-88). It meant that in addition to the familiar, classics-oriented subjects, more pragmatic subjects could be taught, including foreign languages. The “Second Department” met with the hesitant approval of the government and was not entirely without success¹⁶¹. In fact, it meant that for the first time in history FLT was subsidised in public-funded schools. In the course of the next few decades most Latin Schools or “Gymnasia”, as they were now called, introduced the new department, if only to survive. Twelve years after the introduction of the “Second Department”, in 1849-1850, their number had grown to 23, in a total of 68 grammar schools. In 1862-1863 it had grown to 30, in a total of 60 grammar schools¹⁶². Likewise, the number of pupils had risen from 379 in 1849-1850 to 708 in 1862-1863 (see Table 2.1). Exact numbers of foreign language learners are not known, however.

A well-documented example of a Second Department is the one at the Leiden grammar school. We are even informed about the timetables of lessons and about the names of the language masters. The first timetable dates from 1 November 1838 and shows that Dutch and French language and literature were taught, but that English was not. According to the timetable of 1849, however, English is included. This timetable shows the

¹⁶⁰ This was the case with Anthonie Hamelberg, who was officially appointed in 1827 to teach mathematics at the Amersfoort grammar school, but who received an allowance from the town council to teach French, German and English at his private home (*Gedenkboek van het Stedelijk Gymnasium te Amersfoort* 1928:250).

¹⁶¹ The Education Report of 1838 was the first Report to mention the institution of the Second Department (*Verslagen der Handelingen van de Staten-Generaal. Tweede Kamer* 1839, *Bijlagen* 441-442). Subsequent Reports did this occasionally.

¹⁶² Education Report 1849-1850 (*Handelingen Tweede Kamer 1850-1851, Bijlage* 658). Education Report 1860-1861 (*Handelingen 1862-1863, Bijlage* 1226).

division of the foreign language lessons over the week and indicates in which classes FLT took place. The second, third and fourth forms were split into a classical (A) and a modern stream (B), i.e. the Second Department¹⁶³.

TABLE 3.1 TIMETABLE OF WEEKLY FOREIGN LANGUAGE LESSONS AT LEIDEN GRAMMAR SCHOOL, 1849

Sub- ject	Class 1	Class 2 A	Class 2 B	Class 3 A	Class 3 B	Class 4 A	Class 4 B	Class 5	Class 6
French	6	2	5	2	5	2	4	2	2
Ger- man	5	2	4	2	4	1	3	2	2
Eng- lish	-	4	6	2	6	2	4	1	1
Total	11	8	15	6	15	5	11	5	5

The total number of weekly foreign language lessons was 16 for French A and 24 for French B, 14 for German A and 20 for German B, 10 for English A and 18 for English B. Therefore, the total number of weekly foreign language lessons was 40 in the Classical Department and 62 in the Second Department. Out of a total of 196 Second Department lessons the percentage of FLT hours was 31.6%, while out of a total of 193 lessons in the Classical Department the percentage of FLT hours was 20.7%.

¹⁶³ The tables are shown in Coebergh van den Braak (1988:114-116). The first modern language master at the Leiden grammar school was Willem Gerard Brill (1811-1896) He taught Dutch, French, German and Hebrew from 1838 to 1840, but no English, although he knew it well enough. His successor, J.J. Nieuwveen, did not teach English either; it was not introduced until October 1846. The first English master was William Fleming, who also held the post of lecturer in English at the University of Leiden.

3.1.5 FLT in tertiary education

3.1.5.1 The position of FLT in the universities

Both Riemens (1919) and Loonen (1991) deal with the position of FLT in university education before 1800, French and English respectively. The study of foreign languages had no place in the academic curricula, but this by no means implied that these languages were not taught there at all. Tuition took place in the margin of the academic studies, where foreign languages were taught as subsidiary subjects and without much academic status. The teachers, who were usually native speakers, did not usually belong to the academic staff. Learning foreign languages was seen as a form of personal education, which had to be paid for privately. It aimed at acquiring language skills and the learning materials were mostly of a practical nature.

The Royal Decree of 2 August 1815 aimed at reorganising the universities. An important innovation was the reorganisation of the mediaeval “Artes” Faculties into new Arts Faculties, which now received the same authority as the old Faculties of Theology, Law and Medicine and which likewise were qualified to confer the doctor’s degree. The new Arts Faculties taught a number of subjects, but, foreign languages were not included. Another change was the introduction of the so-called Atheneums, which occupied a place somewhere between the Latin school and university. The only Atheneums that were of any importance were those of Amsterdam, Franeker (the former university) and Deventer. All three of them provided FLT. The Amsterdam Atheneum would be promoted to university in 1876. The other two disappeared in 1843 and 1876, respectively.

The Royal Decree, which on account of its length may be regarded as an education act in its own right, contained just one regulation with regard to FLT. Article 78 urged the universities to appoint foreign language teachers at least on the same footing as before, thereby maintaining the auxiliary position of FLT:

De curatoren der verschillende hoogeschoolen zullen de maatregelen voordragen, die hun het meeste dienstig zullen voorkomen, om het onderwijs in de moderne talen, en in de teeken-, rij-, en schermkunst op den tegenwoordigen voet staande te houden, of te verbeteren en uit te breiden door het benoemen van lectoren en andere onderwijzers.

[The trustees of the various universities will present the measures that seem fit to them to keep up tuition in modern languages and in the arts of drawing, riding and fencing, or to improve and extend it by appointing lecturers and other teachers.]

The passage leaves no room for misunderstanding about the viewpoint of the law-giver towards the status of FLT at the universities. Foreign languages were regarded as practical skills which had to be paid for privately. This brings us to the complaint of the first foreign language professor in the Netherlands, B. Sijmons, who in retrospect heavily criticised the law-giver for looking upon foreign language study as merely skills training (Sijmons 1914:418-419). Although, formally speaking, Sijmons was right in his criticism of the position of FLT in the universities before 1876, the actual situation was less miserable than it seems to have been at first sight. Sijmons himself claims that already before 1876 modern literature was taught at Groningen University and it may indeed be shown that between 1800 and the 1880s FLT in tertiary education had developed from mere proficiency training to literary and linguistic scholarship. No doubt, this situation was stimulated by the introduction of the new Arts Faculties in 1815, even though – again formally speaking – the study of foreign languages was no set subject in the curricula (Groen 1988:116-117). However, the subjects lectured on by the foreign language teachers in the Arts Faculties, the titles of their inaugural addresses and their publications all point to academic scholarship. It does not come as a surprise, therefore, that the Higher Education Act of 1876 was able to institute academic Chairs, now that the study of foreign languages had acquired more academic status. Indeed, it seems highly unlikely that three professorships for foreign languages would have been instituted in the 1880s, if by 1876 the actual situation had been as bad as the formal regulations suggested.

A number of examples show that individual scholars paid a great deal of attention to literature and language study. Although their names are usually recorded in the university annals, we know relatively little about most of them. As the status of foreign language teachers within the university before 1876 was generally fairly low, the university registers yield little information about them. The position of lecturers varied a great deal: some had a marked academic interest, others were merely tutors who would simply help to improve the proficiency of students. Many of them

simultaneously held the post of foreign language master at the local grammar school. We have the following biographical information at our disposal; it has been arranged according to institution and language.

3.1.5.2 Foreign language teachers in tertiary education

Foreign language teachers at the university of Leiden

The Leiden university register records that in 1812 J.F. Mielle was appointed to the post of French teacher. Between 1815 and 1849 D.P.G. Humbert de Superville (1770-1849) operated both as teacher of French and Italian and as drawing master¹⁶⁴. From 1875 to 1878 D.P.G. Balland (1832-1910) taught French at Leiden¹⁶⁵.

In 1814 Henricus Taylor was appointed to teach “litter. Anglic.” No further information is given but the university chronicler, Matthijs Siegenbeek, informs us in 1829 that after some time Taylor was given to understand that his teaching was no longer wanted: “welken post hij echter later te rade werd te verlaten”¹⁶⁶. Henry Tayler probably continued work as a teacher, for in 1819 appeared his *Inleiding tot de Engelsche taal: gevolgd door zamenspraken*. The next English teacher was not appointed till 1842; in that year William Fleming obtained the post (Jensma 1997:287). He filled it till 1848 and was succeeded by Henry Atwell in 1858, who left the university in the same year, however¹⁶⁷. In 1854 Atwell, a teacher at Noorthey school, became private tutor to Prince William of Orange (1840-1879), then a student at Leiden (De Clerck & Troch 1979:62).

For the teaching of German language and literature at Leiden the German clergyman W.B. Gautzsch was appointed in 1833¹⁶⁸; his tea-

¹⁶⁴ Besides, Humbert de Superville was in charge of the collection of university sculptures and in 1825 he became Keeper of the Print Collection as well (NNBW X:395-396; *Album Scholasticum Academiae Lugduno-Batavae* 1941).

¹⁶⁵ *Album Scholasticum Academiae Lugduno-Batavae 1575-1940* (1941).

¹⁶⁶ *Album Scholasticum Academiae Lugduno-Batavae 1575-1940* (1941) and Siegenbeek (1829:II, 277).

¹⁶⁷ *Album Scholasticum Academiae Lugduno-Batavae 1575-1940* (1941). Henry Atwell wrote a textbook called *A Lesson in English* (Leiden 1858II). Also see Jensma (1997:274).

¹⁶⁸ Jensma (1997:288) has 1831-1837.

ching included Italian as well. In 1838 W.G. Brill (1811-1896) succeeded him for GLT. In turn he was succeeded by J.C.E. Brown in 1841 and C.A.X.G.F. Sicherer (1807-1886) in 1848; Sicherer stayed on till 1878¹⁶⁹. A person who occupied himself extensively with the teaching of literature and history was Nicolaas Godfried van Kampen (1776-1839)¹⁷⁰. Having been appointed lecturer in German language and literature in 1815, he became professor of Dutch literature and history at the Atheneum¹⁷¹ in Amsterdam in 1829 (also see 2.2.2.1). Van Kampen was a prolific writer; apart from works on history he wrote literary handbooks and anthologies on Dutch, French and German literature. He also published on English literature, including Shakespeare (Leek 1988:44).

Foreign language teachers at the university of Utrecht

In 1817 the university of Utrecht appointed an Italian teacher, L. Pino¹⁷². After he had resigned, a new lecturer, F. Bianchi, was appointed in 1824, who did not receive any payment. In 1829 the government imposed this

¹⁶⁹ Sicherer came to Holland as a tutor to the children of a Dutch army general. He became a teacher of German in Leiden and took a doctor's degree in Utrecht in 1840. He compiled a literary anthology (*Blumenlese* 1872, 1880²) as well as a *Deutsches Lesebuch* (1875). Furthermore, he adapted a grammar book for secondary schools, *Hoogduitsche Spraakleer voor Gymnasia en Hoogere Burgerscholen* (Leiden 18612, 1867³, 1874⁴). Originally the book had been published by W.G. Brill as an adaptation of the 5th edition of Heyse's grammar with the addition of H.A. Hamelberg's *Opstellen* (Thieme 1855). See *NNBW*, Knops (1982), Van Driel (1988:163).

¹⁷⁰ From 1823 to 1829 Van Kampen taught literature and history at the prestigious boarding-school Noorthey in Voorschoten (Siegenbeek 1829:609). He translated literary works and was the sole editor of the *Magazijn voor wetenschappen, kunsten en letteren*. Besides, he contributed to the *Vaderlandsche Letteroefeningen* and the *Boekzaal der Geleerde Wereld*. One of his publications was the *Handboek der Hoogduitsche Letterkunde* (Haarlem 1823-1830), which according to the students' *Jaarboek 1823-1824* he used as a teaching aid for his lectures at Leiden university. Other publications included the *Handboek der Dichtkunde en Welsprekendheid* (Rotterdam 1828-1829), *Bloemlezing uit de Fransche letterkunde* (Zutphen 1831-1836), *Bloemlezing uit het Handboek der Hoogduitsche Letterkunde* (Haarlem 1841). For more biographical details see *NNBW* and *Gedenkboek Atheneum en Universiteit Amsterdam 1632-1932* (1932:609-610).

¹⁷¹ In 1876 the Atheneum was transformed into the Municipal University of Amsterdam.

measure to all the foreign language lecturers in the State universities, because it felt compelled to make cuts in the national budget. In future foreign language teachers had to be content with the title of “lector honoris causa” (Fockema Andreae 1936:17-18).

The year 1818 saw the appointment of a French teacher, F.X. d’Angely (Fockema Andreae 1936:81). He was succeeded in 1830 by George Verenet, who resigned in 1846¹⁷³, and in 1861 by M.A.E.-Robertson¹⁷⁴. The latter two also held posts as French masters at the Utrecht Gymnasium.

As for ELT, the earliest record dates back to 1818 with the appointment of E.C. Thomson (1755-1839) (Jensma 1997:323). J. Venning followed in 1842 and stayed on till 1850 (Jensma 1997:324). In 1866 another native speaker was appointed for English: J.S. Robinson (1834-1907); he resigned in 1892¹⁷⁵.

In 1825 J.H. Koch was appointed for German; he combined the post with that of university librarian. In 1842 he was succeeded by the German-born teacher J.J. Dodt (1800-1847), master at the local grammar school who, like Koch, filled the post of librarian¹⁷⁶. In 1848 J.H. Hisgen, a teacher at the local grammar school, took his place; he stayed on until 1880.

The person who is probably best-known for the study of foreign languages at Utrecht is Willem Gerard Brill (1811-1896), professor of Dutch language, literature and history from 1859 to 1882. His academic merit was publicly acknowledged by J. Beckering Vinckers, the first professor of

¹⁷² Fockema Andreae (1936:17-18 and 81). Pino received an annual allowance of 250 Dutch florins, which was raised to 400 in 1821. He also became personal tutor to children of the Asser family in Amsterdam (Cf. 2.1); also see Van Eeghen (1964:62).

¹⁷³ Fockema Andreae (1936:81); Jensma (1997:325). Verenet wrote several literary readers for school use (see Breet & Ceton 1982).

¹⁷⁴ Fockema Andreae (1936:81); Jensma (1997:314) has: M.A.E. Roberti, lecturer in French from 1870 to 1880.

¹⁷⁵ Jensma (1997:314). Robinson became a (substitute) member of the examination board for secondary school teachers of English in 1881 (ARA: Archief Afdeling Onderwijs van het Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken, 1877-1918, 2.04.09-894).

¹⁷⁶ Dodt was born in German Flensburg and came to Holland as a private tutor. After writing his *Beknopte Hoogduitsche Spraakkunst* (Amsterdam 1825) he was appointed at the Utrecht grammar school. His merits lie in the fields of history and bibliography (NNBW).

English in the Netherlands, in his inaugural address of 1886. Brill had been a grammar school teacher of modern languages in Leiden and Zutphen between 1838 and 1859 and had published on German, French and English grammar before embarking on his academic career¹⁷⁷. It is known that Brill taught German literature at Utrecht in the 1870s (Vonk 1993:120) and published on Shakespeare (Leek 1988:113).

Foreign language teachers at the university of Groningen

Like Brill at Utrecht, W. Jonckbloet, appointed in 1854 as professor of Dutch language, literature and history at Groningen, lectured on foreign literary writers including Shakespeare and Goethe. According to Sijmons his successor H. Moltzer continued this habit in Groningen after 1865 (Sijmons 1914:419).

Foreign language teachers at the Atheneums of Franeker and Deventer and at the Royal Military Academy

As early as 1754, the then university of Franeker appointed a lecturer who was to become the first professor of French in the Netherlands. This lecturer, a Swiss clergyman by the name of Jean Garçin, started his teaching in 1756 with an inaugural address entitled *Oratio de utilitate Gallicae*¹⁷⁸. Afterwards, in 1805, the Mennonite clergyman B. Cremer was appointed to teach French; probably he also taught English and German. He stayed on until 1815, when the university was transformed into the Atheneum¹⁷⁹. Not until 1829 did a new lecturer arrive; it was J.H. Behrns¹⁸⁰, who left the institution in 1840, after which no foreign language teachers were appointed. The Atheneum was closed down in 1843.

¹⁷⁷ These were successively the *Hoogduitsche Spraakleer* (Zutphen 1855), *Kritische aanmerkingen over de Fransche spraakkunst, aan onderwijzers en examinatoren opgedragen* (Leiden 1856) and *Opmerkingen op het gebied der Engelsche spraakkunst* (Leiden 1858). That he felt very involved with grammar school education appears from a brochure which he had printed at his own expense and which shows his concern about the direction that this type of school was about to take: *Over de inrichting der Gymnasien met het oog op ontwerp van wet tot regeling van het hooger onderwijs* (Utrecht 1870).

¹⁷⁸ See Noordegraaf & Vonk (1993:XIV).

¹⁷⁹ Cremer received 300 florins for his FLT at the Atheneum. In 1807 his allowance was raised to 500 florins (Boeles:1878-1889:passim).

Johannes Pieter Arend (1796-1855) received his appointment at the Deventer Athenaeum in 1824 to teach English, German and mathematics¹⁸¹. Arend started his career with an inaugural address on the value of the scholarly study of English language and literature entitled *Voorlezing over het aanbevelenswaardige van de beoefening der Engelsche taal en letterkunde voor den Geleerde*. While at the Atheneum, he published a German-Dutch dictionary, English and German literary anthologies and a treatise on German language and literature¹⁸². In 1844 he was awarded an honorary doctorate at the university of Leiden for his scholarship. After he had left in 1837, G.F.B.W. Frederiks took his place; he was entrusted with the teaching of German and English. Frederiks, probably of German stock, never received the title of lecturer¹⁸³. In his turn he was succeeded in 1840 by S(eligman) Susan (1813-1880), who was promoted to “lector” in modern languages¹⁸⁴ in 1842; he was well-known for his translations¹⁸⁵.

¹⁸⁰ Johannes Henricus Behrns (1803-1883) was of German descent and was appointed in Franeker in 1829, where he devoted himself to comparative language study. He adapted Heyse's *Hoogduitsche Spraakleer* (1832). See *NNBW*; Boeles (1878-1889: 339-340).

¹⁸¹ See Van der Aa (1878); *NNBW*; Van Slee (1916:139).

¹⁸² The dictionary was entitled the *Woordenboekje der Hoogduitsche taal* (Deventer 1828); the anthologies were *Over de schoonheden der Engelsche dichters van Milton tot Pope: bevattende eene bloemlezing uit hunne voornaamste werken* (Deventer 1831), *Specimens out of the English poets of the nineteenth century, published and collected for the use of students in that language* (Deventer 1841) and *Blumenlese der besten prosaischen Schriftstellern und Dichtern der Deutschen* (Deventer 1831). His treatise on the history of German language and literature appeared as *Geschiedkundige beschouwing van de Deutsche taal en letterkunde* (c1840).

¹⁸³ Frederiks adapted Lehman's *Handbuch der deutsche Sprache* (Zutphen 1814) successfully; in 1843 it went through the eighth edition (Knops 1982). In addition he compiled a reader, *Sammlung auserlesener Geschichten* (Zutphen 1804), which was equally well received; it went through the 9th edition in 1850 (Knops 1982). Also see *NNBW*.

¹⁸⁴ Born in Hamburg as the son of a Jewish watchmaker, he was educated in Middelburg and became a private tutor. From 1864 he was a teacher at the Higher Burgher School and Gymnasium in Deventer and at the State HBS in Groningen. Susan wrote a number of language and literature textbooks, including three school editions of Shakespeare, a German-Dutch dictionary, and the translation of Macaulay's/Stanhope's *History of England* (see *NNBW*; van Slee 1916:139; Leek 1988:74-75 and 113-114).

A foreign language teacher who made a name for himself as a language scholar and anthropologist was Pieter Jan Veth (1814-1895). He began his career as a lecturer in Malay and English¹⁸⁶ at the Royal Military Academy of Breda in 1838. Two years later he received an honorary degree after the publication of a work on oriental languages. Later in life, Veth was to become a professor at the Atheneums of Franeker and Amsterdam, successively.

Another teacher at the Royal Military Academy was Mark Prager Lindo¹⁸⁷, who was appointed to teach foreign languages in 1853. He edited a critical text edition of *Macbeth* under the supervision of C.W. Opzoomer¹⁸⁸ at Utrecht and in 1861 the Military Academy granted him the title of professor.

¹⁸⁵ S(eligman) Susan (1813-1880) taught French, German, English and Italian language and literature and was responsible for the translation of Macauley's *History of England* as well as the first Dutch translations of *Macbeth*, *Hamlet* en *The Tempest* as school publications. Besides, he compiled a German-Dutch dictionary (see *NNBW*, Van Slee 1916:passim; Leek 1988:74).

¹⁸⁶ At first P.J. Veth's knowledge of English was not sufficient to teach the higher forms at the Academy, but after he had improved his oral proficiency he was entrusted with all the English lessons (Van der Velde 2000:68). During his stay at the Military Academy Veth compiled an anthology named *Specimens from the English classics, with an introductory essay on English literature, explanatory notes and a glossary*, which appeared in 1840-1841. Also see *NNBW* and *SWKK*.

¹⁸⁷ M.P. Lindo (1819-1877) is chiefly known for his writings and translations and especially for editing the *Nederlandsche Spectator*, founded by him in 1856. He also left a great number of translations of English works of literature as well as a history of the English people. Lindo made a career for himself in education. Born from Jewish parents in London, his mother tongue was English. After attending secondary school in Düsseldorf, he took a post at van Woelderen's private school in Velp near Arnhem to teach English and German. In 1842 he was appointed at the grammar school in Arnhem, where he stayed on until his appointment in 1857 as a modern language lecturer at the Royal Military Academy of Breda. In 1864 he became the first national examiner for English on the examination board for prospective secondary school teachers ((ARA: Archief Afdeling Onderwijs van het Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken, 1848-1876, 2.04.08-483). He also published his own English coursebook for Dutch learners. In 1865 he left the Military Academy to become an inspector of primary schools (Van der Aa 1878; *NNBW*; Starink 1977; Boekholt 1978).

¹⁸⁸ Opzoomer himself is known to have translated and adapted Shakespeare (Leek 1988:75).

3.2 English Language Teaching in secondary Schools, 1863-1920

3.2.1 *ELT in MULO schools*

In 1857 a new Primary Education Act came into being. The Act introduced a number of new subjects into the primary school, called MULO subjects, which in effect represented a form of lower general secondary education. MULO stands for “Meer Uitgebreid Lager Onderwijs” [Extended primary education]. Formally speaking, however, the new subjects were still taught under the Primary Education Act. Initially, the government had proposed not to include FLT in the new MULO subjects but to wait till the introduction of a new Secondary Education Act. However, in the discussions on the parliamentary Bill, Member of Parliament J. Bosscha¹⁸⁹ pleaded in favour of FLT in MULO schools despite the government’s objections. The debate centred on the questions whether FLT belonged to primary or secondary education and how great the need was to have them taught in MULO schools. The problem was that, if FLT was felt to belong to secondary education, one would have to wait for a Secondary Education Act before these languages could be taught. On the other hand, Bosscha pointed out that it was the task of the Government to provide public education that could meet the standards of private schools. The problem was solved when Bosscha reminded MPs that there was no objection to teaching foreign languages in MULO schools, as the 1806 Act had already accepted these subjects as options (see 3.1.2). He then tabled an amendment to the effect that French, German and English would be included in the new Act as MULO subjects and in the subsequent vote the amendment was passed¹⁹⁰. Henceforth municipalities were enabled to subsidize FLT according to their individual needs and foreign languages could be taught as optional subjects in MULO schools.

¹⁸⁹ Dr. J. Bosscha (1797-1874), a classicist, was appointed professor of Greek and Latin at the Atheneum in Amsterdam in 1838. Between 1853 and 1858 he was a member of the Second Chamber of Parliament (*NNBW*).

¹⁹⁰ *Verlag van de Handelingen der Staten-Generaal* (1856-1857:1016-1026).

Between 1857 and 1820 there were no curricula for MULO schools, nor were there any requirements regarding examinations¹⁹¹. Like the other subjects in MULO schools, FLT remained essentially optional and the government did not make demands on the learning content of these subjects. We have quite a good idea of the number of MULO schools in which French, German and English were taught between 1880 and 1920 (see 2.3.3.3), but the number of lessons spent on these subjects is unknown. When in 1889 and 1910 the Government began to grant subsidies to denominational MULO schools, this resulted in the foundation of many more schools. It was not until the 1920 Education Act, however, that MULO was made into a separate type of school for 12-to-15 or 16-year-olds, as an (unofficial) form of secondary education. The 1920 Act also prescribed something like a curriculum, but even then it was not necessary for what were then called ULO schools to teach the three foreign languages. Examinations was another thing that the Government did not feel called upon to organise. These were left to (denominational) teacher associations, which started to organise examinations of their own accord. In 1907 the first of these examinations were held; 27 pupils took part. Fifty years later, in 1957, the number of candidates had risen to 30,000 (De Joode 1959:9-10). The (M)ULO examinations were modelled on those of the Higher Burgher Schools and, as far as teaching method is concerned, FLT in (M)ULO schools tended to conform to the example of the secondary schools. This situation lasted until 1968.

3.2.2 ELT in Higher Burgher Schools

Ever since the beginning of the educational system in the first decades of the 19th century there had been plans to restructure the system into clearly distinguishable tiers of primary, secondary and tertiary education. There was a general feeling in the government as well as in Parliament that FLT belonged to the tier of secondary education. When in 1863 the

¹⁹¹ In 1878 the name of MULO disappeared from the Education Act of that year, but the type of school continued to exist. In 1910 the name returned in the Act, but then denoted 4-year courses; 3-year courses were known as ULO schools. In 1920 the name of MULO disappeared from the Act once again; the new school was now named ULO. However, in popular speech the term “MULO” never disappeared (De Joode 1959:9).

Home Secretary, J.R. Thorbecke, introduced his Secondary Education Bill in Parliament, he had the middle classes of Dutch society in mind as his target group. The teaching of French, German and English was expected to satisfy their social needs. This time there were no debates in Parliament that questioned the use of FLT, as had been the case with the introduction of MULO in 1857, and, what was more, the three languages were made into compulsory subjects in the Higher Burgher Schools¹⁹². Finally FLT had found its way into a regular system of secondary education and the number of Higher Burgher Schools was growing fast¹⁹³. Unlike grammar schools, the Higher Burgher School was originally conceived to provide a general form of education for the middle classes and definitely not a form of pre-university training. However, notwithstanding Thorbecke's intention, within a few decades the five-year-course Higher Burgher School would develop into pre-university education for a limited number of subjects (Bartels 1963:132-147).

3.2.2.1 ELT and the curricula of Higher Burgher Schools

Thorbecke's administration did not prescribe a curriculum for Higher Burgher Schools but simply listed the subjects to be taught (Bartels 1963:64). The government took the view that local rather than a national needs ought to determine the learning content in schools. Consequently, each Higher Burgher School was to have a curriculum of its own, but from the outset there was a strong tendency for schools to conform to a uniform curriculum. Undoubtedly, this tendency was stimulated by the existence of examination requirements for the school-leaving examinations (Bartels 1963:67). In order to control the quality of education and to make sure that the schools would not diverge too much in their teaching the government demanded that school-leaving examinations be held under supervision of school inspectors. These examinations served as practical guidelines for the actual teaching in the schools.

¹⁹² Higher Burgher Schools were divided into schools with a three-year course (HBS³) and a five-year course (HBS⁵). In both types of school FLT was compulsory. This did not apply to the so-called Lower Burgher Schools in which foreign languages were optional subjects.

¹⁹³ In 1865 there were 16 Higher Burgher Schools; in 1870 there were 32; in 1920 their number had risen to 73 (Bartels 1963).

The first uniform curriculum for Higher Burgher Schools did not appear until 1916 and it only came about after repeated requests from the “Vereeniging van Leeraren aan inrichtingen van Middelbaar onderwijs” [Association of Secondary School Teachers] (Bartels 1963:75).

The curriculum only applied to State schools. The section in the text that concerns English language and literature (*Engelsche Taal- en Letterkunde*) lists the following requirements¹⁹⁴:

Klas 2: Uitspraak. Oefeningen in het schrijven, lezen, spreken en vertalen. Beginselen der spraakkunst. [Class 2: Pronunciation. Exercises in writing, reading, speaking and translating. Elementary grammar.]

Klas 3: Lees- en spreekoefeningen. Voortzetting en herhaling der spraakkunst. Dictées. Eenvoudige opstellen. [Class 3: Exercises in reading and speaking. Continuation and repetition of grammar. Dictations. Simple essays.]

Klas 4: Letterkunde. Lezen en verklaren van letterkundige voortbrengselen uit één bloeitijdperk. Opstellen. [Class 4: Literature. Reading and interpretation of literary products from one prime period.]

Klas 5: Idem uit een 2e bloeitijdperk. [Class 5; idem from another prime period.]

This syllabus was practically identical for each foreign language. GLT was to start in the first year with the syllabus indicated above under “Klas 2”. ELT did not start until the second year. For FrLT the curriculum provided an additional teaching programme in the first year.

In 1920 a new curriculum followed, but this time it affected all the public-funded Higher Burgher Schools, including both State and municipal schools. However, neither the 1916 nor the 1920 curriculum went beyond an enumeration of skills and classroom activities, all serving as a very general guide-line. The ELT syllabus in the 1920 curriculum listed the following requirements¹⁹⁵:

¹⁹⁴ Kruijtbosch (1918:26). As regards the requirements for French and German, see Vlaanderen (1964) and W. Kuiper (1961).

¹⁹⁵ Royal Decree 16 June 1920 (*Staatsblad* 1920, 299).

Voor Engelsche taal en letterkunde [regarding English Language and Literature]:

Klas II – Uitspraak oefeningen. Oefeningen in het spreken, schrijven, lezen en vertalen. Beginselen der spraak kunst. [Pronunciation exercises. Exercises in speaking, writing, reading and translating. Elementary grammar.]

Klas III – Oefeningen in het spreken, schrijven, lezen en vertalen. Voortzetting van de behandeling en herhaling van de spraakkunst. [Exercises in speaking, writing, reading and translating. Continuation and repetition of grammar.]

Klas IV – Oefeningen in het mondeling en het schriftelijk gebruiken van de vreemde taal en in het vertalen in het Nederlandsch. Lezen en verklaren van letterkundige werken. Behandeling van de letterkunde, in verband met de gelezen werken. [Exercises in the oral and written use of the foreign language and in translating into Dutch. Reading and interpretation of literary works. Discussion of literary history in relation to the works that have been read.]

Klas V – Idem als in klas IV. [Idem as in Class V.]

Although the motive to introduce the new curriculum was inspired by the wish to achieve more uniformity in teaching, the government was still reluctant to impose strict demands, which was in line with Thorbecke's policy to refrain from too much government interference. The Minister of Education's Memorandum accompanying the curriculum gave the following explanation¹⁹⁶:

Natuurlijk zal er voor zijn zorg te dragen, dat dit leerplan niet dermate in details treedt, dat de leeraar er al te zeer door zou worden gebonden, terwijl er tevens op zal zijn te letten, dat de bijzondere eischen, die in bepaalde streken des Lands aan het onderwijs in sommige vakken moeten worden besteed, tot hun recht zullen kunnen komen.

[Of course, care should be taken that this curriculum does not go into such detail that teachers would be bound by it too much, while at the same time it must be seen to that justice is done to particular subjects in certain geographical areas.]

¹⁹⁶ Cited in Bartels (1963:77).

The curriculum was revised again in 1937, when a new literary-economic stream, called HBS-A, was formally introduced. This stream, which had existed unofficially for some time, gave much more attention to FLT than the old HBS did, which now continued under the name of HBS-B (Bartels 1963:46-50). In 1954 the curriculum was revised once more. It is important to note that all these curricula served as models for Higher Burgher Schools in the private sector. If the latter schools wished their pupils to pass school-leaving examinations, they would have to conform to the teaching programmes of the public-funded schools.

3.2.2.2 ELT and the number of lessons in Higher Burgher Schools

It appears that from the start Higher Burgher Schools spent roughly the same time on FLT. In 1867-1868 the then 32 Higher Burgher Schools on average spent 15 weekly lessons on French, 14 on German and 10 on English (see Table 3.2). Thus, FLT in Higher Burgher Schools took 23.8% of the total number of lessons per week, which was considerably higher than in grammar schools. The relative division of French, German and English lessons was as follows: French took 38.5%, German 35.9% and English 25.6% of the available time. Basically this division, in which French claimed most lessons, followed by German and English, would not be changed until 1920.

The arguments for this division were both cultural and educational. In the first place French had been the *lingua franca* during the preceding three hundred years and it would remain the dominant language in the Dutch school system until well after the Second World War. Secondly, most lessons were allotted to French as this language was felt to be the hardest to learn. By dividing the number of lessons in this way, learners were expected to attain an equal level of proficiency in French, German and English. For this reason Higher Burgher Schools did not usually start with English until the second form, as it was assumed that English language rules were easier to learn than those for French or German (W. Kuiper 1961:48). Yet, it must be noted that in 1867-1868 12 out of the 32 schools already began to teach English in the first form (Bartels 1963:69). Another reason for the fact that English had the least number of lessons might be the idea that the language was felt to be the least “cultured” of the three. After all, English was traditionally learnt for commercial or practical purposes and in the Dutch mind the English language

was associated with colonial expansion, world-wide trade and technical progress. GLT occupied the second position in FLT because, firstly, it was considered quite a difficult language to learn on account of its system of inflections and, secondly, because Germany enjoyed a high cultural and scientific status in the Netherlands. After the Second World War GLT had to yield its place to English (W. Kuiper 1961:49).

TABLE 3.2 NUMBER OF WEEKLY FOREIGN LANGUAGE LESSONS IN HIGHER BURGHIER SCHOOLS WITH A FIVE-YEAR COURSE, 1867-1868¹⁹⁷

Subjects	class 1	class 2	class 3	class 4	class 5	Total
French	4	4	3	2	2	15
German	4	3	3	2	2	14
English		3	3	2	2	10
Total	8	10	9	6	6	39

Between 1867 and 1916 the percentage of weekly foreign language lessons remained virtually unchanged at Higher Burghier Schools with a five-year course; 23.8% of the total number of lessons were spent on FLT. Relatively speaking, however, the position of English somewhat improved, as in 1916 it took up 30% of the foreign language lessons. The position of French had deteriorated a little, while that of German had remained stable. FrLT and GLT now each took 35% of the foreign language lessons (see Table 3.3). At Higher Burghier Schools with a three-year course 28.5% of all the lessons were spent on FLT. Here the position of ELT was worse; it had to be content with 25% of all FLT lessons.

¹⁹⁷ Bartels (1963:69).

TABLE 3.3 NUMBER OF WEEKLY FOREIGN LANGUAGE LESSONS IN HIGHER BURGHER SCHOOLS WITH A FIVE-YEAR COURSE IN 1916¹⁹⁸

Subjects	class 1	class 2	class 3	class 4	class 5	Total
French	4	3	3	2	2	14
German	4	3	3	2	2	14
English		4	4	2	2	12
Total	8	10	10	6	6	40

In 1920 the total number of foreign language lessons as prescribed by the official table of lessons was practically identical with the 1916 table: 41 as opposed to 40 in 1916. But the number of French lessons had gone up by two, from 14 to 16, while the number of English lessons had been reduced by one. Presumably, this was a form of compensation for the fact that from 1920 onwards French was no longer officially part of the entrance examination for public-funded Higher Burgher Schools and grammar schools. Primary schools were now no longer forced to teach French as a preparatory subject for secondary and grammar schools. This measure had met with a great deal of opposition from teachers of French who feared that it would have very negative consequences for the level of proficiency of French in Dutch schools. As recently as 1961, G.G. Baardman, looking back on the history of FrLT in the first half of the 20th century, held the view that as a result of this measure the position of French had been harmed beyond repair (Van Els 1992:37-38). In fact the complaint was grossly exaggerated, for the lost number of French lessons in primary schools was compensated for by a greater number of them in Higher Burgher Schools. As a matter of fact, it was ELT that had to suffer most, as it had to give up one weekly lesson. The consequence was that in 1920 ELT took up 26.8% of the FLT lessons, compared to 31.5% in 1916. The 1920 table of lessons for HBS⁵ was as follows (see Table 3.4):

¹⁹⁸ Bartels (1963:76).

TABLE 3.4 NUMBER OF WEEKLY FOREIGN LANGUAGE LESSONS IN HIGHER BURGHER SCHOOLS WITH A FIVE-YEAR COURSE IN 1920¹⁹⁹

Subject	Class 1	Class 2	Class 3	Class 4	Class 5	Total
French	5	4	3	2	2	16
German	4	3	3	2	2	14
English		4	3	2	2	11
Total	9	11	9	6	6	41

When we compare the number of weekly foreign language lessons over a period of 100 years, we must conclude that in absolute numbers FrLT had always dominated, but that relatively speaking ELT had grown most. In 1868 ELT claimed only 25.6% of the foreign language lessons, but in 1954 it had come to take up 33%²⁰⁰. French, on the other hand, its closest competitor, had grown somewhat less: from 38.5% in 1868 to 41% in 1954. Between 1868 and 1954 the overall number of foreign language lessons in Higher Burgher Schools hardly changed. In 1867-1868 39 weekly lessons were spent on FLT, equalling 23.8% of all the lessons. This percentage basically remained unchanged until 1954 and in effect until 1968, when the existing secondary school system was reorganised (see Table 3.5)²⁰¹.

¹⁹⁹ Royal Decree 16 June 1920 (*Staatsblad* 1920, 299).

²⁰⁰ Bartels (1963:69-83). The figures apply to public-financed Higher Burgher Schools with a five-year-course. Between 1954 and 1968 the lesson table would not be changed any more.

²⁰¹ This conclusion only applies to HBS-B. See Bartels (1963:69-83) for lesson tables in Higher Burgher Schools between 1867 and 1954. The percentage of FLT time in 1920 was 24.8. In 1937 it was 24.5% in HBS-B and 32.1 % in HBS-A. In 1954 the percentage was 23.4% in HBS-B and 30.3% in HBS-A. Also see Claessen (1980:5).

TABLE 3.5 NUMBER OF WEEKLY FOREIGN LANGUAGE LESSONS IN HIGHER BURGHER SCHOOLS WITH A FIVE-YEAR-COURSE, 1868-1954

Subject	1868	%	1916	%	1920	%	1937	%	1954	%
French	15	38.5	14	35	16	39.0	16	39.0	16	41
German	14	35.9	14	35	14	34.2	14	34.2	10	25.7
English	10	25.6	12	30	11	26.8	11	26.8	13	33.3
Total	39	100	40	100	41	100	41	100	39	100

3.2.2.3 ELT and the school-leaving examinations of Higher Burgher Schools

School-leaving examinations 1870-1900

The earliest HBS examinations were not conducted by the schools themselves but by external examination boards, which consisted of teachers from the province in which the school was situated. The examinations were held in the provincial capitals, for the first time in 1866. In 1920 these external examinations were replaced by school examinations. In 1868, two years after the introduction of the school-leaving examinations, the examination papers for the written tests were standardised so as to achieve more uniformity among the examination boards (Bartels 1963:110-111). The first official examination requirements were laid down in 1870. The text reads as follows (Vlaanderen 1964:47):

Uit schriftelijke opstellen over eenig opgegeven onderwerp moet blijken dat de kandidaat zich zonder grove fouten tegen de regelen der spraak-kunst, van de Fransche, Engelsche en Hoogduitsche taal bedienen kan. Bij het mondeling onderzoek mag geëischt worden, dat de kandidaat zich in de vreemde taal redelijk wete uit te drukken en van de toepassing der taalregels behoorlijk rekenschap wete te geven. Het onderzoek in de letterkunde bepale zich tot de hoofdtijdvakken der letterkundige ge-schiedenis en enkele der voornaamste voortbrengselen der letterkunde, inzonderheid van dat tijdvak, waarin de letterkunde bijzonder heeft gebloeid, en van den laatsten tijd.

[The examinee is to prove in essays on any set subject that he is able to write French, English and German without making crude mistakes. At the oral examination the examinee is required to express himself reasonably well and to account for the application of language rules. The examination in literature is restricted to the principal periods in literary history and to some outstanding literary works, particularly from prime periods and from recent times.]

At the oral examinations²⁰² the examinee had to demonstrate a reasonable fluency and prove that he had an explicit knowledge of language rules and some knowledge of literary history. Besides, he should be familiar with a few works of English or American literature. The records of these examinations are found in reports that were drawn up by the provincial examination boards during the years 1870-1920. They give us insight into the business of the written and oral examinations, into the level of knowledge and proficiency of the examinees and into the views of the examiners. What stands out in these reports is a general feeling that the requirements were too demanding, considering the limited amount of time that was set aside for FLT²⁰³. For instance, in 1872 J. Beckering Vinckers – then an examiner at the HBS examinations – complained about this lack of time in relation to the examination requirements²⁰⁴. Also many other teachers felt that the “backwash effect” of the school-leaving examinations laid too heavy a burden on their lessons. For this reason many teachers were in favour of simpler requirements. As a result the 1870 examination programme was adjusted in 1901 and subsequent alterations followed in 1917, 1920, 1929, 1934 and 1962²⁰⁵.

²⁰² Between 1870 and 1901 oral examinations were not compulsory for the three foreign languages; the examination boards were entitled to leave them out. In reality, however, this seldom happened (Vlaanderen 1964:53).

²⁰³ *Verslagen der commissies belast met het afnemen van het eind-examen der hogere burgerscholen* [Reports of the Higher Burgher Schools examination boards] (1870-1920).

²⁰⁴ *Verslag der commissie belast met het afnemen van het eind-examen der hogere burgerscholen in de provincie Overijssel, in het jaar 1872* [Report of the Higher Burgher Schools examination board in the Province of Overijssel in the year 1872].

School-leaving examinations 1901-1916

The 1901 examination programme left the choice of the form of the written examinations to the provincial boards. These had a choice of setting examinees either an essay or a translation L2-L1. The major change in the oral examinations, however, was the fact that examinees were now no longer required to display an explicit knowledge of grammar rules. Furthermore, the requirement as to the knowledge of literary history was restricted. The wording of the examination programme is as follows²⁰⁶:

Uit een schriftelijk opstel over eenig opgegeven onderwerp of uit eene opgegeven vertaling uit de vreemde in de Nederlandsche taal moet blijken, dat de candidaat zich van elke der drie vreemde talen zonder grove fouten kan bedienen, of wel den inhoud van een stuk proza of gemakkelijke poëzie in die talen voldoende begrijpt. Bij het mondeling onderzoek mag geëischt worden, dat de candidaat zich in de vreemde taal redelijk goed wete uit te drukken. Het onderzoek in de letterkunde blijft beperkt tot één of twee hoofdtijdvakken, door den candidaat meer in het bijzonder beoefend, en tot enkele belangrijke voortbrengselen daaruit, door hem met zorg gelezen.

[The examinee is to prove in an essay on any set subject or in a set translation from French, German or English into Dutch that he is able to write these foreign languages without making crude mistakes or that he understands a piece of prose or easy poetry in these foreign languages well enough. At the oral examination the examinee is required to express himself reasonably well. The literature part of the examination is restricted to one or two principal periods in literary history that have been studied by the examinee, and to some major literary products from these periods which have been read with care.]

²⁰⁵ The information on the examination requirements for Higher Burgher Schools and grammar schools has been largely derived from W. Kuiper (1961) and Vlaanderen (1964). These dissertations discuss the examination programmes in detail and comment on their methodological implications, with a view to German and French respectively.

²⁰⁶ Royal Decree of 27 March 1901 (*Staatsblad* 1901, 190).

In the meantime alternative examination forms were tried out for the written examinations. Thus, in 1907 and following years examinees were required to paraphrase a poem in prose, while in 1910 candidates had to listen to a spoken text which they had to reshape into a written text with the help of an abstract.

School-leaving examinations 1917-1919

In 1917 the latter experiment became the standard form for the written examinations. Meanwhile the oral part had also been subject to revision. In 1917 pronunciation became a separate part of the examination, to be tested next to fluency in speaking, while at the same time a new, receptive element was introduced, i.e. textual comprehension. Presumably this served to counterbalance the written examination requirement, in which the candidate's productive skills were examined. The literature part was further reduced in as far as literary history was no longer required.

School-leaving examinations 1920-1962

In 1920 the requirement for the written examination was changed once again, this time into a translation L2-L1. It would acquire its ultimate form in 1929 when the requirement spoke of "translating into correct Dutch". This requirement was not to be changed until 1968. Table 3.6 gives a survey of the successive alterations between 1870 and 1968 (cf. Vlaanderen 1964:47-64). The oral examinations would not be changed until 1929, when a new requirement was introduced: knowledge of idioms. In 1934 the Higher Burgher School was split into an A (science) and a B (language) stream.

TABLE 3.6 FORMS OF WRITTEN EXAMINATIONS FOR FRENCH, GERMAN AND ENGLISH IN HIGHER BURGHER SCHOOLS, 1870-1929

1870	essay
1901	essay or translation L2-L1
1907	paraphrase of poem
1910	essay based on spoken text
1917	essay based on spoken text
1920	translation L2-L1
1929	idem: "translate into correct Dutch"

In retrospect, the first decades of FLT in Higher Burgher Schools, and to a certain extent also in grammar schools, must be characterized as a period of experiment. The changes in examination requirements arose from practical experience, more or less through trial and error. It appears that after 1870 the form of the written examinations was changed four times within a period of fifty years. The alterations that we find in the examination programmes between 1870 and 1920 were not primarily the result of government initiative, but were suggested by the foreign language teachers themselves. Between 1870 and 1920 we find many discussions about FLT objectives and curricula, about examination requirements and about methodological issues in the reports of the examination boards²⁰⁷ as well as in contemporary teacher journals, notably the *Weekblad van de Vereeniging van Leeraren aan Inrichtingen van Middelbaar onderwijs* [Weekly Journal of the Association of Secondary School Teachers] and *Berichten en Mededelingen van de Vereniging van Leraren in Levende Talen* [Communications and notices of the Modern Language Teachers Association]. The fact that in 1920 the translation L2-L1 became the only form of written examination in Higher Burgher Schools and grammar schools was to determine teaching methodology in Dutch FLT for the next fifty years.

²⁰⁷ See Vlaanderen (1964:47-67) for an impression of the reports of foreign language examinations at Higher Burgher Schools in the period 1870-1920.

3.2.3 *ELT in grammar schools, 1876-1920*

In 1876 the Royal Decree of 2 August 1815 was replaced by a Higher Education Act. It reorganised education in the universities and the grammar schools or Gymnasia, as they were now called. As was the case with Higher Burgher Schools, FLT became compulsory in grammar schools, but here the curriculum leaned heavily on the classics, so that FLT came to occupy a much less important place than in the Higher Burgher Schools. A comparison of the number of foreign language lessons in the two types of schools shows that in 1877 the lesson tables for grammar schools prescribed a minimum of 27 weekly foreign language lessons, which was about 16% of the total number of lessons²⁰⁸. Around 1877 Higher Burgher Schools spent 39 lessons on FLT, which amounted to approximately 24% of all the lessons.

3.2.3.1 *ELT and the grammar school curricula*

The position of the grammar schools was different from that of the Higher Burgher Schools in that the former received an official curriculum in 1877, as soon as the Higher Education Act came into operation. Compared to the new Higher Burgher Schools, grammar schools had a clear goal, that is, preparing pupils for university. Grammar schools had had a common syllabus since 1815, but the problem was that local policies had often thwarted educational uniformity. As a result, the position of the grammar schools had become unclear and many schools now had so few pupils that they were hardly able to survive (Vlaanderen 1964:91). This situation induced national policy makers to clarify the position of the grammar schools by taking measures which were hoped to bring the decline to a halt, such as the introduction of a new, well-defined curriculum and of school-leaving examinations, which – if passed – guaranteed admission to university.

The text of the first curriculum (1877) of the new grammar schools was practically identical for each of the three foreign languages, the main difference being that French was taught during the first four school years,

²⁰⁸ See the Table of lessons attached to the Royal Decree of 27 April 1877 (*Staatsblad* 1877, 85).

compared to three years for German and English. FrLT already started in the first form so as to continue the education in French schools, but the number of French lessons would fall afterwards and French would not be taught at all in the two highest forms. FrLT was assigned more lessons than GLT and ELT, the underlying idea being that the level of proficiency of French must not be lower than that of the other languages. Thus, FrLT took place in the first four forms, GLT from the second to the fourth forms and ELT from the fourth to the sixth forms. For this reason the ELT syllabus of the fourth school year agreed with that for FrLT in the first year and the English syllabus of the fifth year corresponded with the French syllabus of the second year. The text of the 1877 English syllabus prescribed the following subjects²⁰⁹:

Fourth school year (4 lessons a week)

1. De taalvormen [language forms]
2. De uitspraak [pronunciation]
3. Vertalen uit het Nederlandsch in het Engelsch [translating from Dutch into English]
4. Lezing en verklaring van Engelsche schrijvers [reading and interpreting English authors]

Fifth school year (2 lessons a week)

1. Herhaling en voortzetting van de behandeling der spraakleer [repetition and continuation of grammar teaching]
2. Stijloefeningen [exercises in composition]
3. Lezing en verklaring van Engelsche schrijvers [reading and interpretation of English authors]

Sixth school year (1 lesson a week)

1. Lezing en verklaring van Engelsche schrijvers. [reading and interpretation of English authors.]

As early as the following year (1878) the curriculum was replaced by a new one. FrLT would now extend over six school years, GLT over five

²⁰⁹ Royal Decree of 27 April 1877 (*Staatsblad* 1877, 85).

years and ELT over four. Again the syllabi for the three languages did not differ greatly. In contrast to the 1877 syllabus, FrLT and GLT now included reading literature “from more recent times”, but this did not apply to ELT. The most important alteration, which held for each language, consisted of additional requirements to translate from L2 into L1 and from L1 into L2. Teachers of English were now expected to occupy themselves with the following content²¹⁰:

In de derde en vierde klassen: de uitspraak, de gronden der spraakleer, vertaling uit het Engelsch in het Nederlandsch en omgekeerd; [In the third and fourth forms: pronunciation, elementary grammar, translating from English into Dutch and vice versa;]

In de vijfde en de zesde klassen: lezing en verklaring van meesterstukken van de letterkunde. [In the fifth and sixth forms: reading and interpreting literary masterpieces.]

In 1919 another curriculum appeared which would remain in force until 1968. This time, there were no differences among the syllabi of the three languages. What was new was that specific mention was made of exercises in oral and written language use, next to translation exercises. The ELT syllabus reads as follows²¹¹:

As regards English in the third and fourth forms:

De uitspraak, de gronden der spraakleer, oefeningen in het mondeling en in het schriftelijk gebruik van het Engelsch, vertalingen van het Engelsch in het Nederlandsch. [Pronunciation, elementary grammar, exercises in the oral and written use of English, translating from English into Dutch.]

As regards English in the fifth and sixth forms:

Behandeling van eenige tijdperken van de letterkunde door lezing en verklaring van meesterwerken, oefeningen in het mondeling en in het schriftelijk gebruik van het Engelsch, vertalingen in het Nederlandsch van moderne prozaschrijvers. [Discussion of some literary periods by

²¹⁰ Royal Decree of 29 June 1878 (*Staatsblad* 1878, 98).

²¹¹ Royal Decree of 7 June 1919 (*Staatsblad* 1919, 313).

reading and interpreting masterpieces, exercises in the oral and written use of English, translations of modern prose writers into Dutch.]

3.2.3.2 *ELT and the number of foreign language lessons in grammar schools*

The first table of lessons was issued together with the 1877 curriculum (see Table 3.7)²¹². It shows that FLT and particularly English played a subordinate role in the total number of lessons. This number, divided over six classes, was 168; 27 of them, that is, 16% were reserved for FLT. Of the three foreign languages FrLT claimed 11 lessons, taking up 40.7% of the time available for FLT, GLT 9 lessons (33.3%) and ELT 7 lessons (25.9%).

TABLE 3.7 NUMBER OF WEEKLY FOREIGN LANGUAGE LESSONS IN GRAMMAR SCHOOLS, 1877

Subject	class 1	class 2	class 3	class 4	class 5	class 6	Total
French	6	2	2	1			11
German		4	4	1			9
English				4	2	1	7
Total	6	6	6	6	2	1	27

The next table came out already in the following year 1878²¹³. The total number of lessons had grown from 168 in 1877 to 178 in 1878, of which FLT took up 31 lessons, that is, 17.4%. Of the three foreign languages FrLT now claimed 12 lessons, taking up 38.7% of the time available for FLT. GLT claimed 10 lessons (32.2%) and ELT 9 lessons (29.1%). Gradually the number of foreign language lessons would grow further. In 1919 their number had risen from 27 to 33 out of a total of 164 weekly lessons, divided over six forms, which meant that 20% of the available time was now devoted to FLT²¹⁴. But the highest number was reached in 1921, when the total number of foreign language lessons had grown to 37 (see Table 3.8).

²¹² Royal Decree of 27 April 1877 (*Staatsblad* 1877, 85); also see Vlaanderen (1964:92-95).

²¹³ Royal Decree of 29 June 1878 (*Staatsblad* 1878, 98); also see Vlaanderen (1964:93).

²¹⁴ Royal Decree 7 June 1919 (*Staatsblad* 1919, 313).

TABLE 3.8 NUMBER OF WEEKLY FOREIGN LANGUAGE LESSONS IN GRAMMAR SCHOOLS, 1921

Subject	class 1	class 2	class 3	class 4	class 5	class 6	Total
French	4	3	3	2	2	2	16
German		3	2	2	2	2	11
English			3	3	2	2	10
Total	4	6	8	7	6	6	37

When we compare the tables of weekly lessons from 1877 to 1948, it appears that the number of French lessons was always the highest of the three languages (see Table 3.9). It grew steadily and reached its highest point after the Second World War. GLT reached its highest number in 1921 but was forced to accept a reduction of lessons after the war, so that by then it was back where it started in 1877. ELT grew steadily and in 1946 took over the second position from GLT. Between 1877 and 1948 ELT saw its number of lessons increase by more than 50%, which was a higher rise than that for FrLT²¹⁵. Over this period of seventy years the number of English lessons grew from 26% to 30.5% within the time available for FLT. By comparison: the number of French lessons grew from 40.7 to 44.4%. After 1948 the numbers remained unchanged until 1968. By this year FLT in grammar schools took up 18% of the available time. About 45% of FLT time was then occupied by FrLT, 30 by ELT and 25% by GLT (Claessen 1980:5).

In short, it can be pointed out that FLT in grammar schools initially took up a smaller percentage of the lessons compared with that in Higher Burgher Schools, but that in the course of time the number of weekly foreign language lessons increased substantially from 27 in 1877 to 36 in 1948.

²¹⁵ Vlaanderen (1964:92-95); De Vries (1972:48).

TABLE 3.9 NUMBER OF WEEKLY FOREIGN LANGUAGE LESSONS IN GRAMMAR SCHOOLS, 1877-1948

Subject	1877	1878	1919	1921	1946	1948
French	11	12	14	16	17	16
German	9	10	10	11	9	9
English	7	9	9	10	11	11
Total	27	31	33	37	37	36

3.2.3.3 ELT and the school-leaving examinations of grammar schools

Unlike the Higher Burgher School the new grammar schools had no State-conducted school-leaving examinations but examinations organised by the schools themselves, although the examinations were supervised by external examiners. As far as foreign languages were concerned, the examinations only had a written part; oral examinations were not considered necessary. The written examinations merely required a translation L2-L1 in order to test reading comprehension. Thus, the sole requirement for pupils leaving grammar school was the ability to read texts of the kind they would be confronted with at university. As Vlaanderen (1964:100) rightly observed, there was a great discrepancy between the specification of learning content, as laid down in the successive grammar school curricula on the one hand, and the examination requirements on the other, which exclusively centred on comprehension through translations. Although the curricula mentioned oral and written skills as well as the teaching of literature, these aspects were never examined at the final school examinations. This situation must have affected foreign language proficiency in grammar schools in a negative way.

3.3 English language teaching at university, 1886-1921

Until the second half of the twentieth century Dutch universities never functioned as training institutes for future teachers, although in the early years of the nineteenth century an attempt was made to set up some kind of professional teacher training. After 1815 an increasing number of university graduates entered the teaching profession. This held for graduates

from the Arts Faculties as well as from the Science Faculties, who would end up as masters in Latin schools and “Gymnasia”. In 1827 the Government took the initiative to introduce professional teacher training courses at the universities²¹⁶. Students who wished to teach in Latin schools were obliged to attend lectures in pedagogy and teaching methodology and do some teaching practice (Bolkestein 1915). No doubt the regulation was prompted by the existence of similar requirements for primary school teachers. The measure did not apply to prospective foreign language teachers, since foreign language and literature studies were no degree subjects within the Faculties of Arts. It is characteristic of the contemporary academic attitude that the attempt to train student teachers at university level was doomed to die a peaceful death, as neither professors nor students felt the urge to make the regulation into a success. In 1876 this languishing form of university teacher training was finally abolished. In retrospect this is quite ironical, seeing that the 1876 Higher Education Act had stipulated the foundation of one or more academic chairs for the study of foreign languages primarily in order to train teachers in these subjects.

The Act required that in at least one State-funded university one or more Chairs for foreign languages be founded within five years. At first the Government was not very willing to implement this demand. Then, in 1881, the University of Groningen appointed the first professor of foreign languages in the Netherlands²¹⁷. He was instructed to teach German and English languages and literature. In 1884 a second Chair was instituted, this time for French²¹⁸. The Chair for English was instituted in 1886, but only after a serious debate in Parliament had been held about the necessity of it and about the level of English studies in general²¹⁹.

²¹⁶ This was the initiative of the Administrator of the Education Department, D.J. van Ewijck in 1826. The subsequent Royal Decree that enforced the measure dated from 19 September 1827 (Bolkestein 1915).

²¹⁷ For an extensive account of the beginnings of academic FLT at Groningen University see Koops (1980:12-16).

²¹⁸ B. Sijmons was appointed for the study of High German in 1881, A.G. Van Hamel for the study of French in 1884, and J. Beckering Vinckers for the study of English in 1886.

²¹⁹ Engelberts (1996) provides a good analysis of the conditions under which the first foreign language professorships were instituted.

On the whole, the arguments for and against the need for academic foreign language studies were quite muddled. One argument, put forward by language scholars themselves, was that the study of foreign languages and literature definitely belonged to the domain of the universities now that there had been such progress in linguistic and literary scholarship. They argued that countries like Germany and France already had Chairs for these subjects. In the parliamentary discussions the main argument was that grammar school teachers ought to have had an academic education themselves, if they were to prepare their pupils for university. Many MPs shared this opinion not only in relation to grammar school teachers but also to those in Higher Burgher Schools, even if these schools did not officially educate pupils for university. In the opinion of these parliamentarians, prospective foreign language teachers studying at university would greatly benefit from the academic climate. A second assumption was that the quality of teaching would improve automatically, if teachers were trained at university. But not all MPs shared this opinion; especially the conservative side of Parliament rejected the idea of academic education for foreign language teachers and the institution of a Chair for English met with a great deal of opposition. Ultimately it was a small majority that tipped the scales; the debate was concluded with 42 to 39 votes in favour of the English Chair²²⁰.

It is ironical that, in spite of the argument of the Government and the majority of Parliament that foreign language studies at university would be beneficial for FLT in schools, the first foreign language professors were not at all concerned with the professional training of teachers (Van Els 1992:39). The dilemma of the academic staff was that they would have to prove the academic status of foreign language studies, if they wished to have them accepted as full degree courses. At the same time students might need help with FLT methodology and in general with aspects concerning the teaching profession. However, the priority of the university staff did not lie with FLT methodology. On the contrary, the emphasis turned out to be on academic scholarship, both linguistic and literary. Kwakernaak (1996:50) rightly points out that in this way it was impos-

²²⁰ For an extensive account of the debate, which was held on 9 March 1885, see *Handelingen* 1885:469-471.

sible for an academic tradition to develop in which FLT problems could be addressed. Instead of relating their scholarship to vocational aspects – as was the case in the faculties of medicine and law – a tradition arose in which foreign language staff preferred to keep aloof from vocational issues as far as they could, while their graduates derived their status from the theoretical character of their studies rather than from their (future) profession.

During the first few decades of the existence of foreign language courses, the number of foreign language students at Groningen University remained at a conspicuously low level. Beckering Vinckers had started with two students in 1886, but in 1898-1899 his successor, Karl Bülbring, still taught no more than nine²²¹. Many people wondered why there were so few foreign language students at Groningen University, now that the opportunity to study French, German and English had at last been created. Some parliamentarians blamed the geographical position of the town, others expressed criticism of the academic teaching in Groningen. MPs came up with various solutions, varying from removing the FLT department to a more accessible university town, like Utrecht, to abolishing foreign language studies in Groningen altogether. Others pleaded for an integration of the department into a new university teacher training institute, so that the M. O. examinations would no longer be needed²²². In 1893 Member of Parliament T.G.G. Valette heavily criticised the absence of proper teacher training in the Netherlands. In his view the situation in Holland compared most unfavourably with that in Germany. To Valette it was obvious why Groningen attracted so few foreign language students: it was the lack of vocational training that was to blame. Around the turn of the century there was the curious situation that university students were in a position to attend foreign language lectures without being able to take a degree or a teacher qualification, whereas prospective teachers who sat for an L.O. or M.O. examination were in a position to obtain a certificate without being able to attend a teacher training course.

²²¹ Education Report 1898-1899 (*Handelingen* 1899-1900, *Bijlage* D 153,2).

²²² Education Report 1897-1898 (*Handelingen* 1898-1899:462).

After Groningen had obtained its foreign language Chairs in the 1880s, similar professorships, including a Chair for English, were established at the University of Amsterdam in 1912. In the course of the next few decades degree courses for English language and literature were set up at the other universities. Nijmegen University began in 1923, while the universities of Utrecht and Leiden followed after the Second World War. In 1921 foreign languages studies received a tremendous boost when the Academic Statute enabled students to take university degrees in them (Groen 1988:111-112). What many had been striving for during a great number of years had been realised at last. Foreign language studies had become fully-grown academic subjects on an equal footing with the traditional academic subjects. During his entire academic career the first Dutch professor of foreign language studies, B. Sijmons, had advocated a teaching qualification for university students on their graduation (Koops 1980:19-20) and, when in 1921 foreign language studies became degree subjects, his wish was fulfilled. The university certificates qualified graduates as full-grade teachers, although a vocational component preparing these students for the teaching profession was missing. For the next few decades the pedagogical-methodological side of the students' training was to remain in the margin of the academic studies. Although occasionally students were enabled to do a period of teaching practice in schools on a voluntary basis, this was by no means a standard procedure (Zeeman 1962:96). It was not until the 1950s that university students who wished to go into teaching were obliged to meet a number of profession-related requirements. A Royal Decree in 1952 demanded 'a proof of pedagogical and didactic preparation', requiring students to attend lectures in pedagogy and methodology and to do a period of teaching practice²²³. The regulation came into effect on 1 September 1955 and may be regarded as a direct sequel to the above-mentioned Decree of 19 September 1827, except for the fact that this time lecturers and students took the vocational aspect more seriously. As far as foreign languages were concerned, this meant that for the first time in the history of FLT methodological questions received consistent attention at university level.

²²³ Royal Decree of 28 August 1952. Also see De Vries (1972:4).

3.4 The teachers of English and their training, 1800-1920

3.4.1 *The beginnings of foreign language teacher training*

For the beginning of something that resembles foreign language teacher training we will have to go back some two hundred years²²⁴. The origin of this training coincides with the beginning of the training of primary school teachers. The very first teacher training college in which foreign languages were taught was the Amsterdam college of the “Maatschappij tot Nut van ’t Algemeen”, founded in 1796. This school offered FrLT, GLT and ELT, in addition to the elementary school subjects²²⁵. The first State-owned teacher training colleges were established in 1816²²⁶. Later, other training colleges for primary school teachers began to offer FLT in their syllabi as well. Thus, it is known that the first Protestant teacher training college in the Netherlands, the “Klokkenberg” in Nijmegen, founded in 1849, offered FrLT and GLT (Turksma 1961:70; Brouwer 1981:119-129). During the greater part of the 19th century the training of primary school teachers was primarily focused on instructing students how to teach the elementary school subjects. FLT appears not to have played a role of any significance. After 1879, however, FLT gradually became a regular part of the curriculum of State-owned primary teacher training colleges.

One of the proposals in the 1796 Education Report issued by the “Maatschappij tot Nut van ’t Algemeen” was to raise the quality of teachers by introducing teacher examinations. In this way the knowledge and

²²⁴ For an outline of the history of foreign language teacher training see Wilhelm (1993).

²²⁵ The school was not granted a long life, for it was closed in 1809. Altogether it trained only eleven student teachers between 1796 and 1809 (Turksma 1961:19; De Vroede 1970:130).

²²⁶ These colleges were established in Haarlem, to serve the Northern part of the country, and Lier (present-day Belgium) to serve the South. Furthermore, the government subsidised the training college set up by the “Maatschappij tot Nut van ’t Algemeen” in Groningen. French was taught in Lier from the 1820s and in Groningen from the 1830s. In the Haarlem institute no French was taught owing to the principal’s lack of competence (De Vroede 1970:144-165; 199-200; Boekholt & De Booy 1987:109-111; 160-161).

aptitude of prospective teachers were to be examined. The measure would also apply to student teachers who wished to qualify for FLT and other subjects beyond elementary level. It seemed much more efficient (and cheaper) to test the ability of future teachers by means of examinations. They would have to be conducted by provincial education committees (Dodde 1971:91). For the next 170 years these examinations would be the government's main instrument to control the quality of future (foreign language) teachers. The 1806 Act stipulated that every person who wished to enter the teaching profession must sit for an admission examination. Examinees who wished to teach foreign languages took their examination before the provincial education committee. As soon as a candidate had passed a foreign language examination, a note to this effect was made on his teacher's certificate. Consequently, these notes on the teacher's certificates must be regarded as the first foreign language teacher qualifications (Wilhelm 1993:71).

3.4.1.1 The examination programme of 1806

The earliest examination programme for foreign language teachers dates back to 1806. Special regulations attached to the Education Act of that year specify the demands which the candidate had to meet. The examiners were instructed to test their candidate on the following aspects²²⁷:

Eenig stuk in de Fransche of zoodanige andere Taal, als waarin men verlangt onderzocht te worden, eerst ter voorlezing en vervolgens ter vertaling opgeven, als mede een Opstel uit eenige andere Taal in deze doen overbrengen of wel voor de vuist in die Taal eenig Opstel doen vervaardigen bij wijze van Brief, Verhaal of dergelijke; uit welk alles de uitspraak, Orthografische en Grammatikale, gelijk ook in het algemeen de mate van kennis dier Taal zal kunnen blijken.

[To set him any text in the French language or another one in which he may wish to be examined, first to be read out and next to be translated; also to make him translate a text from another language into this one, or

²²⁷ See Article 9 on the *Verordeningen op het afnemen en afleggen der Examens van degenen, welke lager Onderwijs begeeren te geven in de Bataafsche Republiek* [Instructions on conducting and taking examinations of those who wish to teach in primary education in the Batavian Republic] (cited in Van Hoorn 1907:233).

to make him write any text in this language off-hand in the way of a letter, story or the like; from all of which the pronunciation, orthographical and grammatical knowledge as well as the degree of knowledge of this language may appear.]

Exact numbers of successful candidates for FLT examinations are unknown. Neither the Government's annual Education Report nor the semi-official education journal *Nieuwe Bijdragen* provides us with figures before 1858. It is true, the *Nieuwe Bijdragen*, which had existed since 1800, specified the certificate grades, but never mentioned any FLT qualifications. Consequently, we have no clear idea of the number of FLT certificates obtained before 1858. Yet, it is perfectly clear that in the course of time the number of teacher certificates for English as well as for French and German were growing (see 2.2.4.3).

3.4.2 *The Lower-grade Certificate, 1858-1920*

The 1857 Education Act abolished the four-grade teacher system. From now onwards there were only two grades, one for head teachers and one for assistant teachers. FLT qualifications were still to be obtained through examinations before the provincial education committees. The 1857 Act enabled examination boards to call in the help of experts from outside, for instance, native speakers. After 1857 successful candidates received a special document stating that they had obtained a lower-grade certificate for one or more MULO subjects, the so-called "L.O." (Lager Onderwijs) certificate.

3.4.2.1 *The Lower-grade examination programme of 1858*

In 1858 a new examination programme appeared which aimed at the subjects of MULO schools. The text of the 1858 programme is more specific than the 1806 programme; it has the following requirements:

with regard to the living languages:

- a. a good pronunciation of the language in which the student is examined;
- b. competence in translating from and into this language;
(a foreign tutor or governess who speaks only one language is required to translate poetry into prose);

- c. a knowledge of the principles of grammar;
- d. some skill in speaking the foreign language.

Reading for a foreign language certificate by and large meant self-study, although experienced teachers occasionally gave private tutorials and in this way prepared student teachers for the State-conducted examinations. On the whole, reading for an examination was a lonely affair, since students were obliged to study their subjects in relative isolation. It was quite common for student teachers to try and obtain one certificate after another, so as to be more attractive on the labour market. From the 1850s onwards several professional journals for foreign language teachers began to be published in the Netherlands (Wilhelm 1996). The first, *Heden-daagsche en hoogere beoefening der Fransche, Engelsche en Hoogduitsche talen*, appeared in 1854. The contents show that it aimed at improving the proficiency and knowledge of the subscribers by publishing both practical articles on contemporary English – pronunciation problems, grammatical items and points of idiom – and articles on linguistic and literary subjects. Perhaps the journal's objective was not specific enough in that it did not offer student teachers enough practical help in obtaining their certificate, for in 1867 it ceased to exist. Afterwards students could subscribe to *Taal-studie* [Language Study] (1879-1890), which had a more scholarly approach and aimed at students taking the intermediate-grade examination in French, German or English. It was followed successively by *De Drie Talen* [The Three Languages] (1884-1987), *De Engelsche Taalgids* [The English Language Guide] (1896-1905) and *Levende Talen* [Living Languages] (1914-...). *De Drie Talen* and *De Engelsche Taalgids* exclusively focused on students reading for lower and intermediate grade examinations. Especially a journal like *De Drie Talen* was popular for a long time, as it supplied answers to students' questions and corrected their translations²²⁸. Because of the lack of proper training facilities these journals must be looked upon as instruments of distance-learning for students and as refresher courses for practising teachers.

²²⁸ It still exists under the new name of *De Talen*; also *Levende Talen* still exists.

3.4.2.2 *The Lower-grade examination programme of 1879*

On 17 August 1878 yet another Primary Education Act appeared. Among other things it arranged for French, German and English to be taught at the State-owned primary teacher training colleges that were now in existence²²⁹. From now on FLT would be a normal part of the curriculum in all these institutions, particularly with a view to the student teachers who tried to obtain a lower-grade certificate for one or more MULO subjects. However, the irony is that in 1879 the seven colleges of primary teacher education requested to be exempted from providing ELT (Turksma 1961:95). Apparently, the study of English was not yet an obvious choice for the majority of primary school teachers. Nevertheless, in the course of time primary teacher colleges would increasingly offer ELT.

In accordance with the 1878 Education Act the 1858 teacher examination programme was modernised. Examinees now had to meet the following demands²³⁰:

A knowledge of the language rules, both of syntax and morphology. The translation of a piece of prose or poetry from the foreign language into Dutch. The translation of a piece of easy prose from Dutch into the foreign language. Some skill in speaking this language; a good pronunciation. The use of dictionaries during the examination is forbidden.

If a primary school teacher wished to obtain a qualification for a foreign language, he could now no longer take his examination before the provincial examination board. From the year 1881, teachers had to submit themselves to an examination conducted by a national examination board, which consisted of practising teachers as well as scholars. On the one hand, the institution of national examinations meant great progress, as students' skills could now be tested with more expertise. On the other hand, there was a drawback in that prospective lower-grade foreign lan-

²²⁹ Apart from the *Rijkskweekschool* [State primary teacher training college] in Haarlem, two similar colleges had been opened in 1861, one in Groningen and one in Den Bosch. By the year 1880 there were new colleges in Middelburg, Deventer, Nijmegen en Maastricht (Turksma 1961:92-95).

²³⁰ As cited in the programme of 14 October 1884 (*Staatsblad* 1884, 216).

guage teachers were exempted from an inquiry into their pedagogical and didactic skills by virtue of their general qualification as primary school teachers. It implied that would-be MULO teachers who wished to teach a foreign language were no longer examined on their knowledge of FLT methodology. This negative effect was to last well into the 20th century²³¹.

The proceedings of the Lower-grade (L. O.) examination were as follows²³². The examination was divided into a written and an oral part. The written part consisted of a translation test from English into Dutch, a dictation of not-too-difficult prose and a test made up of about twenty Dutch sentences to be translated into English. These sentences would hold particular grammatical difficulties. The 1885 examination report records that one hour was reserved for the English-Dutch translation and one and a half hours for the Dutch-English test²³³. Only examinees who had passed the written tests were allowed to take the oral part. The oral examination consisted of four tests, i.e. grammar, another English-Dutch translation, pronunciation and fluency in spoken English. The oral translation test, during which Dutch was spoken, examined candidates on their knowledge of idiom and vocabulary. Although there were to be a few alterations in the examination programmes after 1880, the requirements for the lower-grade certificate would not essentially change in the next one hundred years. The first changes occurred in 1898. In the first place, the oral translation test was abolished and replaced by a vocabulary and idioms test. Examinees now had to supply paraphrases, synonyms and derivations of English words, so that the entire oral examination could be

²³¹ That is, until 1958. See Royal Decree of 10 September 1955, which came into effect in 1958 (*Staatsblad* 1955, 412).

²³² The description given here concerns the L.O. examination of 1885 and is based on the official Examination Report, which was included in the annual Education Report (*Handelingen 1886-1887, Bijlage D* 100, 20). Prominent members of the 1885 examination board were the retired professor W.G. Brill, J. Beckering Vinckers, who was to be appointed a professor in the following year, the Utrecht university lecturer J.S. Robinson, the Shakespeare translator A.S. Kok and the textbook writers K. ten Bruggencate, L.P.H. Eijkman and P. van Moerkerken.

²³³ In 1885 the English-Dutch translation was a passage taken from Macaulay's *History of England*.

held in English. The second change concerned the pronunciation test, which was divided into a theoretical and a practical part. The result was that explicit attention could be paid to phonetics and that in this way theory could be linked up with actual pronunciation. Given the fact that phonetics was now generally regarded as a basic science for FLT, it is not surprising to see that the boards wished to give more emphasis to knowledge of the English sound system and that it attached great value to the examination being held in English²³⁴. Another change in the programme occurred in 1900. In this year the examination paper Dutch-English was transformed from a mere collection of grammatical problems for translation into a coherent text, as was already the case with the English-Dutch translation. For the rest, the requirements for the L.O. examination were not changed anymore, except for the introduction of a methodology test (see above), which was not made compulsory until 1958, however. The last examinations for the English lower-grade certificate would take place in 1990.

3.4.3 *The Certificate for “More Advanced Education”, 1858-1863*

Under the new Education Act of 1857, teachers could also obtain a higher degree in FLT next to the lower-grade certificate. It was named “Certificate for More Advanced Education” and must be regarded as a provisional certificate for secondary school teachers, as long as the definite Secondary Education Act was still in the making. An argument for the introduction of the higher-grade certificate was the fact that there were already a number of schools in which this unofficial form of secondary education, called More Advanced Education, was given shape²³⁵. After the 1863 Secondary Education Bill had been passed, the examination programme for “More Advanced Education” was replaced by a new examination programme and the provisional certificates were transformed into Secondary Education certificates. The 1858 programme for “More Advanced Education”²³⁶ had the following text:

²³⁴ The new examination programme was explained in the issue of November 1898 of the journal *De Drie Talen* by its English editor, L.P.H. Eijkman.

²³⁵ Education Report for 1860-1861 (*Handelingen* 1862-1863, *Bijlagen* 1299-1300).

²³⁶ Royal Decree of 3 April 1858. The Programme was presented under the letters E.A.

as regards the living languages:

- a. a good pronunciation of the language in which the student is examined;
- b. competence in translating into and from that language;
(a foreign tutor or governess who speaks only one language is required to translate poetry into prose);
- c. knowledge of the grammar rules;
- d. familiarity with the idiom and the chief works of literature;
- e. the ability to speak and write fluently and correctly.

3.4.4 The Secondary Education Certificate, 1864-1880

Thorbecke's Secondary Education Act (1863)²³⁷ provided for a national examination board to be established whose task it was to examine prospective teachers in the subjects of the new Higher Burger School (HBS). From then on foreign language teachers who wished to teach at a HBS or a grammar school would need this Secondary Certificate or "M.O." (Middelbaar Onderwijs) certificate, as it was called. The owners of a certificate for More Advanced Education in accordance with the 1857 Act were given the same qualification as the owners of M.O. certificates. The same applied to those who in accordance with the 1806 Act held a first-grade teacher's certificate; all of them were qualified to teach in the new secondary schools.

3.4.4.1 The secondary certificate examination programme

The secondary certificate examination programme was issued in 1864²³⁸. It listed the following requirements for foreign language teachers:

A thorough knowledge of the language, its grammar and style, as appears from a competent and correct use, both oral and written; knowledge of its literary history and of the chief works of its literature; knowledge of the history of the language.

²³⁷ The Liberal statesman Jan Rudolf Thorbecke (1798-1872) was three times Prime Minister of the Netherlands. The Secondary Education Bill was passed during his second Cabinet period.

²³⁸ Royal Decree of 2 February 1864 (*Staatsblad* 1864, 8).

Furthermore, the examination was split into a subject component and a pedagogical-methodological component. Nearly all those who took the secondary certificate examination were primary school teachers and they were exempted from an examination in pedagogics and teaching methodology (see 3.4.2.2). Only examinees who did not have a primary teacher's qualification would have to subject themselves to the pedagogical-methodological part of the examination, which was referred to as the "Q examination". Candidates were expected to have a clear understanding of class-room procedures, of various methodological principles and their pros and cons, origin and history. Moreover, these examinees were supposed to have the capacity of imparting knowledge to others. The requirements can hardly be called specific of FLT, however:

De vereischten zijn: duidelijke begrippen van klassikaal onderwijs, van de onderscheidene leerwijzen, hare voor- en nadeelen, en hare geschiedenis; geschiktheid om verkregene kennis mede te deelen, blijkbaar door mondelinge voordragt.

[The requirements are: a clear understanding of class-room teaching, of various methods, their pros, cons and history; a capacity of imparting knowledge to others as may appear from oral presentation.]

The first secondary schools inspector, D.J. Steyn Parvé (1825-1883) became chairman of the new Secondary Certificate examination board. As a prominent policy-maker in the department of Education he had given shape to the 1863 Act, in the same way as Adriaan van den Ende before him had left his mark on the 1806 Act. The first examiner for English was M.P. Lindo (1819-1877). After his death in 1877 he was succeeded by other native speakers, i.e. J.G. Sennett, teacher at the HBS in Alkmaar, and B.C. Brennan, grammar school teacher in Zwolle²³⁹.

In the meantime a special examination programme for lady teachers had been introduced in 1869²⁴⁰. The requirements had been designed to suit women who wished to teach in secondary schools for girls. Knowledge of

²³⁹ Report of the Examination Board for Secondary School Teachers in 1870 (ARA 2.04.09 890). Lindo also examined candidates in geography and calligraphy.

²⁴⁰ Royal Decree of 11 October 1869 (*Staatsblad* 1869, 156).

linguistic history was not required and the ladies were supposed to be well-informed about the kind of literature that would typically appeal to girls. The 1863 Act had created the possibility of founding *Middelbare Meisjesscholen* [Secondary schools for girls], but it had not prescribed a curriculum for such schools. There were relatively few secondary schools for girls; the first was founded in 1867 and by 1884 their number had risen to 12²⁴¹. In 1884 this special programme for women teachers was abolished.

3.4.5 *Lower, Intermediate and Full-grade Certificates, 1881-1920*

By Royal Decree of 3 August 1879²⁴² the examination system for secondary school teachers was to be reorganised. The examination board that had conducted examinations at secondary level between 1864 and 1880 for all the subjects taught in Higher Burgher Schools was to be replaced by a number of new boards, that is, as many as there were school subjects. Thus, there would be separate examination boards for French, German and English. Furthermore, the two-grade system, i.e. lower-grades and secondary grades, would be changed into a three-grade system, comprising lower-grades (L.O.), intermediate grades and full grades. The 1864 Secondary Education Certificate was split into an intermediate (MO-A) and a full-grade (MO-B) certificate. From 1881 onwards foreign language students could take examinations at three different levels. The intermediate or M.O.-A certificate was intended for teachers in the lower forms of Higher Burgher Schools and grammar schools, while the MO-B or full-grade certificate was meant for teachers in the higher forms of these schools. The requirements of the MO-A programme were formulated as follows²⁴³:

²⁴¹ In 1870 the first *Middelbare Meisjes School* (MMS) numbered 70 pupils; by 1884 the number of schools had increased to 12 and they numbered 1200 girls. It was only after the Second World War that the girls' schools began to grow in numbers and pupils (Bartels 1963:286; Boekholt & De Booy 1987:192-193).

²⁴² *Staatsblad* 1879, 148.

²⁴³ Royal Decree of 3 August 1879, *Staatsblad* 1879, 148. The quote has been taken from the Royal Decree of 14 October 1884, *Staatsblad* 1884, 216.

A thorough knowledge of the various subjects of contemporary grammar. The translation of a not-too-easy piece of prose from Dutch into the foreign language. (Foreigners claiming to have no command of the Dutch language are allowed to replace the translation by an essay or by a paraphrase of a poem in the foreign language). Fluency and a good pronunciation. The use of dictionaries is forbidden.

Like the Lower Grade Certificate programme, the A and B programmes, would see little change in the years to come. The MO-B examination, which was the most demanding of the three, put the emphasis on linguistics and literature, as the certificate entitled foreign language masters to teach literature:

A thorough knowledge of the various subjects of grammar, also on an historical basis, particularly in view of the sound laws, morphology and etymology. A knowledge of stylistics.

The oral or written translation of a not-too-easy piece of prose from Dutch into the foreign language. (Foreigners claiming to have no command of the Dutch language are allowed to replace the translation by an essay or a paraphrase of a poem in the foreign language). A knowledge of literary history, and its relationship with national history.

Familiarity with some of the principal works of literature, also of recent date.

The ability to write an essay on a literary subject.

Fluency and a good pronunciation.

The use of dictionaries during the examination is forbidden.

The examination boards consisted of prominent anglicists, many of whom had distinguished themselves in the study of English language and literature²⁴⁴. Some of these examiners had written the very textbooks that were recommended to the examinees as study tools to prepare for the teacher examinations²⁴⁵. For instance, this held for M.G. van Neck, the author of the idioms book *Nederlandsch-Engelsche Klank- en Zinverwante Woorden* (1889) as well as for P. Roorda (1855-1930), whose *Klankleer en hare Practische Toepassing* (1889) was the only Dutch handbook on phonetics at the time. In many respects, the State-conducted teacher examinations reflected the state of English studies in the Netherlands, for

it was on these occasions that the most prominent Dutch anglicists met and exchanged ideas. It may therefore be argued that the annual circuit of the teacher examinations had a beneficial effect on English studies in the Netherlands and especially on the study of contemporary English, since the examinations required that most attention be paid to the modern language. Many examiners wrote textbooks for schools and it was during these yearly examination sessions that the school tradition and the scholarly tradition met²⁴⁶. This point is also made by Van Essen (1983:75), who observes: “Thus grew up around the State-conducted teacher examinations this pragmatic and predominantly nonhistorical tradition in the study of English in the Netherlands which was to procure this country the leading position in the study of contemporary English that it was to hold for almost three quarters of a century [...]. In this tradition belong such names as Ten Bruggencate, (W.A.) van Dongen, Eijkman, Roorda, Stoffel, and Vechtman-Veth – as do the greater names of Poutsma and Kruisinga”.

3.4.6 *Towards a regular form of foreign language teacher training*

Gradually, what in retrospect might be called foreign language teacher training started to take a more fixed shape. At the beginning of the twentieth century part-time training courses for secondary school teachers originated, such as the “Katholieke Leergangen” [Roman Catholic Study Courses], founded in 1912²⁴⁷, or the “School voor Taal- en Letterkunde”

²⁴⁴ The 1898 board was chaired by the only professor of English language and literature at the time, Karl Bülbring. He was assisted by P. Roorda as his vice-chairman. Roorda made a name for himself as the writer of textbooks for schools, of which his *Engelsche Spraakkunst* (1886) stands out. Other prominent members were K. ten Bruggencate (1849-1922), well-known for his dictionaries, L.P.H. Eijkman (1854-1937), textbook writer and editor of the English section of the journal *De Drie Talen*, and the scholar P. Fijn van Draat (1860-1945). For biographical details of these anglicists see Stuurman (1993). Other members of the examination board were the textbook writer C. Grondhout, the English-born B.C. Brennan, who had succeeded M.P. Lindo as a member of the examination board in the 1870s, another native speaker, J. S. Robinson (1834-1907), lecturer at the university of Utrecht.

²⁴⁵ The teacher journal *De Drie Talen* regularly published lists of recommended works.

²⁴⁶ See Aarts (1969), who mentions Poutsma, Kruisinga and Zandvoort as representatives of the Dutch scholarly tradition.

²⁴⁷ See *75 Jaar MO, 1912-1987*.

[School of Linguistic and Literary Studies] founded in The Hague in 1915 (Van Essen 1983:passim). Student teachers could resort to these part-time institutes, which had been set up on the basis of private initiative and which were partly subsidised by the Government²⁴⁸. The institutes offered French, German and English courses, which were taught in the evenings or on free afternoons. The courses were dominated by the “subject component”, that is, language and literature studies. This component took nearly all the student’s time and energy. However, in 1935 the vocational requirements for foreign language students who wished to obtain an M.O. certificate were stiffened. From 1937 on, anyone who wanted to qualify for a secondary education certificate had to take the pedagogical-methodological part of the examination, even if he held a primary education certificate²⁴⁹. Practical experience as a primary school teacher did not suffice any longer. Also, in 1937 new requirements pertaining to the “professional component” were introduced, which made much more specific demands on foreign language teachers, compared with the requirements contained in the 1864 Royal Decree²⁵⁰. For the first time in the history of foreign language teacher training we find explicit requirements concerning FLT methodology. From then on students were questioned about their appreciation of various teaching methods, such as the direct, indirect and eclectic methods and about the use of deductive and inductive grammar. Besides, they were examined in the various ways in which the knowledge of learners could be tested, and in the advantages and disadvantages of using the mother tongue or the foreign language during the lessons:

Vergelijkende waardering van de directe, indirecte en eclecticische methode; van de deductieve en inductieve grammatica; van de verschillende middelen om de actieve en passieve kennis van de leerlingen te onderzoeken (tests, proefwerken); van de voor- en nadelen van de moedertaal als hulpmiddel of voertaal bij het onderwijs.

²⁴⁸ Ministerial Order of 14 May 1915.

²⁴⁹ In accordance with the Act of 23 May 1935 (Zeeman 1962:9; De Vries 1972:5-6). The Royal Decree referred to is that of 2 February 1864.

²⁵⁰ Act of 23 May 1935 (De Vries 1972:5-7).

[Comparative appreciation of the direct, indirect and eclectic methods: of deductive and inductive grammar; of the various ways in which to test the active and passive knowledge of pupils (testpapers); of the advantages and disadvantages of the mothertongue as an aid or vehicle of communication during the lessons.]

The pedagogical-educational and methodological requirements for secondary education certificates were specified even further in 1958 (De Vries 1972:7-8). From 1958 on similar requirements also applied to those who wished to obtain a lower-grade (L.O.) certificate, intended for ULO school teachers²⁵¹. This was a considerable improvement, considering that until then no specific attention had been paid to FLT methodology at L.O. teacher examinations.

Thus, by the end of the 1950s, the pedagogical-methodological component had become compulsory for intending foreign language teachers in the whole range of schools for 12- to 18-year-olds: ULO, HBS and grammar schools. However, although after the Second World War the number of part-time teacher training institutes had grown, institutes providing regular day-courses for secondary school teachers still did not exist. It was not until the 1970s that these colleges were founded. They specially catered for grade-two certificates, intended for the lower forms in secondary schools. These institutes were founded to supply teachers for the new secondary education system that was set up in the 1960s²⁵². The fundamental innovation was that these institutes set out to offer an integrated form of teacher training aimed at secondary schools, instead of merely providing a number of language and literature courses besides courses on FLT methodology. Hence we must conclude that Dutch foreign language teacher training in the sense of a combination of the subject component and vocational preparation is only a recent phenomenon.

²⁵¹ Royal Decree of 10 September 1955 (*Staatsblad* 1 955:412), which came into effect in 1958.

²⁵² The new Secondary Education Act, covering all education between primary and higher education, was passed in 1963 and came into force in 1968. On account of its scope it was commonly referred to as the “Mammoth Act”.

3.5 Summary

When, around 1800, the educational system in the Netherlands was re-organised, FLT was not assigned a place in the state-funded primary schools, but referred back to the private sector where it had always had to fend for itself. Gradually ELT and GLT developed into regular subjects in private schools, next to FrLT, which traditionally had been taught in the French schools. After 1857 ELT became a regular subject, although not compulsory, in the so-called MULO schools, which provided a form of prolonged primary education. However, it was only at the beginning of the twentieth century that MULO education began to expand and that MULO examinations were organised. The only form of public-funded education in which FLT was offered before 1863 were the Latin schools. In these schools FLT was subsidised by local governments in the so-called ‘Second Departments’ from the 1830s onwards. Meanwhile, in all the plans that were drawn up to create a secondary school system FLT was given a place, but such a system was not realised until 1863. In that year French, German and English became compulsory subjects in the new Higher Burgher Schools. Also, from 1876 these subjects were offered in the reorganised Latin schools, from then on called “Gymnasia”.

At first the Higher Burgher Schools did not have an official curriculum, since it was left to the schools themselves to fill in their teaching programme. However, it appears that in reality the curricula did not diverge too much. In 1916 the first uniform HBS curriculum was introduced. Grammar schools had had a uniform curriculum from the outset in 1877. The curricula were phrased in general terms, so that teachers were very free to fill in their teaching programmes.

School-leaving examinations at Higher Burgher Schools started in 1866. They were conducted as State-examinations by external examiners in the capital of each province and thus constituted an instrument of quality control by the Government. In 1870 the first uniform examination programmes, oral and written, appeared. They were changed three times within a period of 50 years, so that one may look upon this period as a time of experiment. The school-leaving examinations of grammar schools consisted of a reading test in the form of a written L2 text to be translated into Dutch. Other language skills or knowledge were not examined. The FLT requirements for grammar schools never changed over a

period of one hundred years. In 1920 the State-conducted examinations for Higher Burgher Schools were abolished and from then on the exams were conducted by the schools themselves under the supervision of external commissioners. At the same time, the format of the written examinations of the grammar schools, i.e. an L2 text to be translated into L1, was taken over by Higher Burgher Schools, so that from now on the two school types had the same form of written examinations. This form was to determine teaching methodology in Dutch FLT for the next fifty years.

Between 1868 and 1920 the time reserved for FLT in Higher Burgher Schools remained basically unchanged; roughly one quarter of all the lessons was spent on FLT. Proportionally speaking, the number of lessons spent on ELT went up from about 26% to 30% of the time assigned to FLT. In this way it occupied the third position after FrLT and GLT. In grammar schools FLT had a less prominent position than in Higher Burgher Schools, as, between 1877 and 1921, only 16% to 20% of all the lessons were spent on FLT. However, in this period ELT grew from 26% to 30.5% within the time available for FLT, which was the same as in Higher Burgher Schools. Here, too, ELT occupied the third position after FrLT and GLT. The conclusion is that over a period of some fifty years the percentage of foreign language lessons had increased slightly in grammar schools, while in Higher Burgher Schools it had remained stable. In all those years the position of ELT did not change basically. This situation would be different in the 1950s and 1960s, when ELT was to take over the second position from GLT.

Prior to the 1876 Higher Education Act, foreign languages were taught on a private basis in the universities, where they were gradually gaining more academic status. The activities of many teachers in higher education indicate that FLT was not merely restricted to skills training. From the 1880s students were enabled to study foreign languages at university for the first time in Dutch educational history. The first professor of English studies, Beckering Vinckers, was appointed at the University of Groningen in 1886. However, until 1921 students could not take academic degrees, nor qualify as teachers. Although the Government had set up foreign language courses primarily for the benefit of future teachers, these studies did not prepare students for their future profession. Instead, all the emphasis was put on linguistic and literary scholarship. This situation

met with a lot of criticism, especially since the courses did not prove to be an immediate success in terms of student numbers. In 1921 foreign language studies were finally acknowledged as degree subjects and henceforth students received a full-grade teacher qualification. However, the pedagogical and methodological preparation for the teaching profession was to remain in the margin of the academic studies. It would not receive consistent attention until well after the Second World War.

Foreign language teacher examinations have a long-standing tradition. The first examination programme for foreign language teachers and the earliest certificates date back to 1806. With the arrival of the Education Acts of 1857 and 1863, new requirements were drawn up for teachers to accommodate the new types of schools, respectively MULO schools and Higher Burgher Schools. This led to three new types of certificates, the Lower-grade certificate for MULO schools, the intermediate secondary certificate for the junior forms of Higher Burgher Schools and grammar schools and the full-grade secondary certificate for the higher forms of the latter two types of schools. Basically, the examination requirements never changed a great deal in the course of time. Nearly all attention was focused on the subject-component, whereas little or no attention was given to the methodological aspects of FLT. This situation was to last well into the 1950s and it would take until the 1970s before full-time teacher training institutes were founded.

4. CHAPTER FOUR

THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHING CONTEXT

4.0 Introduction

This chapter aims to describe the methodological context of foreign language teaching in which ELT had its own role. The chapter is divided into six parts. Part 4.1 gives an overview of the ideas on the teaching and learning of foreign languages, as far as they have been traced in theoretical treatises, such as monographs and articles. The part has been divided in sections on the treatises (4.1.1) and on ideas concerning the aims of FLT (4.1.2) and on ideas concerning the selection (4.1.3), gradation (4.1.4) and presentation of FLT content (4.1.5). Section (4.1.6) presents an analysis of the treatises. Part 4.2 discusses the influence that the teaching of other languages had on ELT. We will successively examine the teaching of Latin (4.2.1), French (4.2.2), German (4.2.3) and Dutch (4.2.4) in relation to ELT. Part 4.3 gives a survey and analysis of the references to 'authorities' and discusses their significance for ELT. Part 4.4 addresses the relationship between ELT and its teachers, while Part 4.5 examines the relationship between ELT and its materials. The chapter is concluded with a summary (4.6).

4.1 Ideas on teaching and learning foreign languages

4.1.1 *The treatises*²⁵³

The history of ideas on the teaching and learning of foreign languages is of great value to the historiographer. It is the theoretical background against which FLT took place and historical treatises may be looked upon

²⁵³ For an overview of the treatises discussed in this chapter and for bibliographical details the reader is referred to *Appendix One: Treatises on Teaching and Learning Foreign Languages 1800-1920*. The references to the treatises are marked with Roman I, e.g. Arend (1825I); also see the List of Abbreviations.

as an early form of theory-building, as they address subjects that can be classified under ‘modern’ headings, such as the aims of FLT and the selection, gradation and presentation of learning content. So far, no inventory of treatises has been attempted, still less have they been examined systematically. We find them in the shape of monographs, brochures and articles in periodicals. Together they constitute our primary source for tracing ideas on FLT.

Before 1800 there seem to have been few theoretical treatises with explicit ideas on learning and teaching foreign languages. As far as we know, there was no single monograph on the subject. Loonen (1991:23), for instance, found hardly any historical treatises on ELT. He notes that in the 18th-century school magazines *Boekzaal der geleerde wereld* (for Latin schools) and *Maandelykse Mathematische Liefhebberye, met het Nieuws der Fransche en Duytsche scholen in Nederland* (for French and German schools) the references to ELT were few and far between. On the other hand, he observes that there were quite a few references to French, Dutch, Latin and even Italian. Riemens (1919) examined the position of French in the Low Countries prior to 1800, but did not look for theoretical treatises, nor did he study the content of FrLT textbooks. However, considering the prominent place of French, it is quite likely that systematic research would yield more explicit views. As for GLT in the Low Countries before 1800, no research has been carried out with regard to theoretical treatises.

Already at the end of the eighteenth century the educational scene was showing signs of change. In 1784 the “Maatschappij tot Nut van ’t Algemeen” [Society for the benefit of the commonwealth] had been founded, a movement aiming at educational reform. Prize-winning competitions were set up to stimulate people to express their ideas on education²⁵⁴. Also the educational policies of the government between 1795 and 1813 stimulated people to give vent to their ideas. The result was an growing stream of treatises, mainly published as brochures and articles. At the same time, treatises specifically concerned with FLT began to be pub-

²⁵⁴ This period in Dutch educational history has been dealt with extensively in various studies. For an overview see Boekholt & De Booy (1987).

lished, some of which were language-specific (Arend 1825I, Brill 1858I, Roodhuyzen 1862I, De Beer 1864I, Beckering Vinckers 1886I, Eijkman 1891I and Eijkman 1895I).

The number of monographs pertaining to FLT, published between 1800 and 1920, is relatively small. In sections 4.1.2 to 4.1.5 a number of these monographs will be discussed. There are sixteen monographs that, in one way or another, were exclusively concerned with FLT (Arend 1825I, Meerman van der Horst 1826I, Roggen 1829I, Brill 1858I, Delfos 1861I, Roodhuyzen 1862I, De Beer 1864I, Sijmons 1878I, Beckering Vinckers 1886I, Valette 1889I/1899I, Eijkman 1891I, Esmeijer 1892I, Eijkman 1895I, Grasé 1896I, Nolst Trenité 1912I and Sijmons 1913I). In addition to these monographs, there were treatises that were not primarily written as theories on FLT, but served other purposes, while at the same time expressing views on FLT. The following treatises of this category will come up for discussion: Niemeyer (1799-1810I) (general pedagogical and methodological handbook), Kinker (1826I) (official report on Jacotot's teaching method), Anon. 1827I (comment on Jacotot's teaching), Van Rijneveld (1829I) (comment on Jacotot's teaching), Nassau (1842I) (primary education), Vitringa (1860I) (secondary education), Neurdenburg (1861I) (language teaching in primary schools), Vitringa (1876I) (French schools and secondary education) and Brill (1870I) (the organisation of the new "Gymnasium" [grammar school]).

The number of articles on FLT was considerably greater than the number of monographs. Hence, most ideas on FLT are found in journals, whose number started to grow in the course of the nineteenth century. These periodicals can be divided into general educational journals and journals for foreign language teachers. The most important general educational journals were *Nieuwe Bijdragen/De Wekker* [New contributions/the alarm] (1800-1900), *De Schoolbode* [The school messenger] (1872-1880), *Berichten en Mededeelingen van de Vereeniging van Leeraren aan Inrichtingen van Middelbaar Onderwijs* (1896-1904) (see 3.2.2.3), *Tijdschrift voor Onderwijs en Opvoeding* [Journal for teaching and education] (1899-1904) and *Weekblad voor Gymnasiaal en Middelbaar Onderwijs* [Weekly for grammar and secondary schools] (1904-1920).

In the year 1800 an educational journal was founded that was supported by the national government; it was entitled *Bijdragen betrekkelijk*

*den staat en de verbetering van het schoolwezen in het Bataafsch Gemeenebest*²⁵⁵ [Contributions concerning the state and improvement of education in the Batavian Commonwealth]. In many ways it served as a mouthpiece for the government's educational policies. The journal contained various sections, such as book reviews, school news, official information from the Ministry of Education and a section named 'miscellaneous' (De Wolf & De Jong 1978:40-49). Around the middle of the nineteenth century special journals were founded for foreign language teachers²⁵⁶. In 1854 appeared *Heedendaagsche en hoogere beoefening der Fransche, Engelsche en Hoogduitsche talen ...* (see 2.2.4.3), a journal that led an uncertain existence until in 1867 it ceased to exist. In 1879 followed *Taalstudie* [Language study] (1879-1890), a journal specifically intended for teachers in Higher Burgher Schools and grammar schools. Another teacher journal, which was to continue for a long time, was *De Drie Talen* [The three languages], first published in 1884. In 1914 the journal *Levende Talen*²⁵⁷ [Living languages] appeared. To a greater or lesser extent all these journals contain treatises on foreign language teaching and learning in the form of articles or book reviews. The teacher journals and the educational journal *Nieuwe Bijdragen* have been examined systematically. The other journals have only been examined incidentally.

Apart from the ideas contained in these monographs and articles, there were also numerous FLT textbooks that presented views on FLT, usually in their prefaces. Besides, many reviews of FLT textbooks offered opinions on FLT. However, textbooks and book reviews as such cannot be regarded as theoretical treatises. They constitute a different source of material for the historiographer, which has to be studied separately. However, in some exceptional cases prefaces to textbooks or textbook reviews may be considered treatises in their own right, on the ground of their quality and size. Such prefaces have been included in Appendix One.

²⁵⁵ This journal was published under varying titles between 1800 and 1878, but is chiefly known as *Nieuwe Bijdragen*. In 1878 it merged with the educational journal *De Wekker*.

²⁵⁶ See Wilhelm (1996) for an extensive overview.

²⁵⁷ This teacher journal is still in current use.

4.1.2 *Ideas on the aims of FLT*

Both Rivers (1968:8-9) and Van Els *et al.* (1984:162) discuss general aims in FLT. Rivers, using the term “objectives”, distinguishes between the following six aims: 1. developing the student’s intellectual powers through foreign language study; 2. increasing the student’s personal culture through the study of literature and philosophy; 3. increasing the student’s understanding of how language functions and bringing him, through the study of a foreign language, to a greater awareness of the functioning of his own language; 4. teaching the student to read the foreign language with comprehension; 5. bringing the student to a greater understanding of people across national barriers; 6. providing the student with skills which will enable him to communicate orally and to some degree in writing. Van Els *et al.* (1984:162), on the other hand, define FLT aims in terms of needs as policy-determining factors. They distinguish between three categories of needs: 1. needs for communicative skills; 2. needs which are linked to the communicative skills in a foreign language, such as familiarity with the culture, way of life, and more specifically, the literature of another nation; 3. needs which are not, or at best indirectly, linked to skills in the foreign language, such as learning to think logically and acquiring a certain intellectual discipline. In this study we will relate the ideas in the historical treatises to the general aims, as defined by Van Els *et al.* (1984).

During almost the entire nineteenth century the discussion of aims took place in very general terms. It is therefore not yet possible to speak of specified aims or “objectives”, but only of “aims” (Van Els *et al.* 1984:178). Not until the end of the century did writers of textbooks, such as Stoffel (1878II), Ten Bruggencate (1879II; 1905-1906II), attempt to specify aims. The discussion of the aims of FLT was usually related to the various types of schools in which FLT took place. Thus, Nassau (1842I) and Vitringa (1876I) discuss FLT in French and MULO schools. Vitringa (1860I) writes about FLT in Higher Burgher Schools and Brill (1870I) and Ten Bruggencate (1879I) deal with FLT in grammar schools. In their inaugural addresses Sijmons (1878I) and Beckering Vinckers (1886I) discuss FLT at university level and relate it to FLT in secondary schools and pre-university education. At the end of the century the discussion intensified, after teachers had had a number of years’ experience with the Higher Burgher Schools and the reorganised grammar schools. Valette

(1889/1899I), Esmeijer (1892I), Eijkman (1894I), Grasé (1896I; 1904I) and Ten Bruggencate (1905-1906I) write about the aims of FLT in these schools. In fact, the discussion was thus narrowed to secondary and pre-university education, whereas FLT in MULO schools was hardly touched upon. In the following subsections the ideas on the aims of FLT are described in a number of treatises.

A work that at the beginning of the nineteenth century played a significant role in the Dutch educational scene, was Niemeyer's *Over de opvoeding en het onderwijs* (1799-1810I) [On Education and Tuition]²⁵⁸. In 1796 the German pedagogue August Hermann Niemeyer published a handbook²⁵⁹ that reflected German pedagogical thinking of the latter part of the eighteenth century. It was considered sufficiently important to be adapted and translated into Dutch between 1799 and 1810 and was published in six volumes²⁶⁰. The publication appeared in the middle of the period of French Rule (1795-1813), when educational policies were developed and implemented on a national scale. Special regulations attached to the 1806 Education Act presented examination requirements for prospective teachers, including foreign language teachers (see 3.4.1.1). It seems very likely that the views expressed in Niemeyer's work influenced these requirements.

That the Dutch version is an adaptation and translation of the German publication appears from comments on the original text and from appendices added by the Dutch editors. These comments provide a unique view of the Dutch educational scene around 1800. The Dutch version was translated and edited by three persons. At least two of them had a close relationship with Adriaan van den Ende, the highest civil servant at the Ministry of Education, who in his capacity of designer of the 1806 Education Bill and as future Inspector-General of Schools was to

²⁵⁸ Also see Lenders (1988:143-144).

²⁵⁹ Published as *Grundsätze der Erziehung und des Unterrichts für Eltern und Schulmänner*. Halle (1796).

²⁶⁰ Niemeyer's work was considered important enough to be published in new editions. In 1828 a Dutch translation by P.J. Prinsen of a shortened German version came out and in 1854/1857 a completely new edition appeared, translated and edited by P.K. Görlitz (cf. Lenders 1988:143-144).

have a major influence on education policies during the first decades of the century. In this context Van den Ende was responsible for the above-mentioned teacher examination requirements. The first translator and editor was Josué Tesseidre l'Ange²⁶¹, pastor of the Walloon Church in Haarlem and a member of the “Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen”, who, like Van den Ende, was a resident of Haarlem and one of Van den Ende's friends²⁶². He translated and adapted the first four volumes (1799-1801) and part of the sixth and last volume (1810). The greater part of the last two volumes, including the appendices, were translated or written by an unknown author²⁶³ and by H. Ewijk, Administrator of the Ministry of Education, who was in a subordinate position to Van den Ende. As Ewijk himself observed, *Over de opvoeding en het onderwijs* was an instrument of educational policy (1810:257). It had to persuade teachers to think along new lines. Ewijk mentions the following instruments of educational policy: 1. publications, such as Niemeyer (1799-1810) and Van den Ende's *Handboek voor Onderwijzers* [Teachers' Handbook] (1803); 2. the journal *Nieuwe Bijdragen*; 3. the teacher examinations; and 4. the visits of school inspectors. Against this background we may safely assume that the views in Niemeyer's handbook were approved of by the Ministry of Education and that they represented its policies²⁶⁴. Indeed, it is not quite well conceivable that the Administrator would translate and edit

²⁶¹ *Grondbeginselen van de opvoeding en het onderwijs voor ouders, leermeesters en opvoeders*, published by François Bohn, Haarlem 1799-1810. Tesseidre l'Ange translated the first four volumes as well as part of volume VI.

²⁶² Tesseidre l'Ange and Van den Ende had both been pupils at the Delft grammar school. After Van den Ende's death in 1846, Tesseidre l'Ange, together with J. Clarisse, wrote an obituary functioning as the preface to Van den Ende's posthumously published history of Dutch educational policy in the early years of the 19th century. It bore the title *Geschiedkundige schets van Neêrlands schoolwetgeving*.

²⁶³ Perhaps this editor/translator was C. Rogge (1762-1806). Rogge was a Remonstrant minister in Leyden and a prominent education reformer (Dodde 1971; Lenders 1988:passim). In 1800 he had been given the function of Editor of the semi-governmental journal *Nieuwe Bijdragen* (De Wolf & De Jong 1978:42). Alternatively, the editor/translator could have been F.A. Bosse or Adriaan van den Ende (cf. *Nieuwe Bijdragen* 1854:552).

²⁶⁴ In this respect it is relevant to note that Geel (1989:25) refers to Van Hoorn (1907) who claimed that Niemeyer was the source from which the writers of language textbooks derived their inspiration.

such a handbook, if he was not backed by his superiors. That the handbook was considered of importance is also borne out by a favourable and extensive review in the *Vaderlandsche Letteroefeningen* (1800:501ff.), as well as from the fact that it was published in new editions²⁶⁵ in 1828 and 1854/1857 by such prominent education reformers as P.J. Prinsen and P.K. Görlitz (De Vos 1939:85-90; Lenders 1988:143-144). Niemeyer's handbook was not only a theoretical, but also a very practical manual, if one takes into account the original organisation and content and the passages added by the Dutch editors.

Niemeyer devotes a separate chapter (1799:155-168) as well as two appendices (1808:115-139 and 1810:260-269) to FLT. Apart from a theoretical discussion of the aims of FLT, they contain practical suggestions for the selection, gradation and presentation of learning content. The arguments in favour of learning foreign languages, both classical and modern, were practical utility and intellectual education. It is remarkable that, after a long history in which only the classical languages were valued for their intellectual training, now also modern languages – French in the first place – were accepted for the same reason (Niemeyer 1799I:155):

Zo het aanleren van vreemde talen voor de meeste beschaafde lieden al niet ene behoefte ware, dan zou het toch onder de treflijkste middelen tot de beschaving des verstands moeten gesteld worden. Men is het ook ten aanzien van de belangrijkheid der nieuwere talen voor de beschaafde standen en ten minsten van de Fransche taal voor beide sexe, vrij algemeen eens.

[If the study of foreign languages were not yet felt to be a necessity by the majority of civilised people, it should be classified under the most eminent methods of training the intellect. Also, there is general agreement among the civilised classes on the importance of learning modern foreign languages, at least the French language, for both sexes.]

²⁶⁵ The 1828 edition was a translation by P.J. Prinsen of a shortened German version. The 1854/1857 edition was a new Dutch translation by P.K. Görlitz, which was reviewed in the *Nieuwe Bijdragen* (1854:549-558).

Furthermore, it is remarkable that the Dutch editor Tesseidre l'Ange (1799I:156-157) added a note in which he stressed the importance of intellectual training through language learning:

Gewoonlijk beschouwt men de talen alleen van den kant der onontbeerlijkheid om of, wanneer er van de nieuwere talen gesproken wordt, door dezelve in de wereld voorttekomen, en zich bij vele onvermijdelijke betrekkingen met andere volken te kunnen doen verstaan; of men merkt ze, bijzonder met opzicht tot de oude talen, enkel als ene onmisbare voorwaarde in ieder, die zich aan den geleerde stand toewijdt, terwijl aan het menigvuldig nut, hetwelk de rechte beoefening ener taal op zich zelve verschaft, te weinig gedacht wordt; en echter valt het zelve zo zeer in het oog, niet alleen om dat juist de oefening der zielsvermogens aan spraakkundige kleinigheden dezelve scherpt en niets den onvermoeiden vlijt zo zeer bevordert, als de beoefening van talen, maar ook om dat de voorraad van denkbeelden, daar door zo zeer vermeerdert, het duidelijk en geregeld denken zo zeer bevordert, en de natuurlijke Redenkunde vroeger toegepast wordt.

[It is customary to study languages because of their utility or, in case of the new languages, in order to profit by them in contacts with others; the classical languages are studied as an indispensable means of intellectual communication, whereas the true study of languages is valued too little; this is noticeable, not only because the study of grammatical details sharpens the mind but also because it promotes diligence; besides, it widens the scope of ideas and stimulates clear and systematic thinking and logical reasoning at an earlier stage.]

In his monograph of 1842, entitled *'t lager onderwijs in ons vaderland*, the headmaster of the Latin school in Assen, **H.J. Nassau**²⁶⁶, describes FLT in the contemporary French schools, a type of schools that he was familiar with, both in his capacity of teacher and of school inspector. Nassau holds the view that the first aim of foreign language learning is the insight

²⁶⁶ Hendrik Jan Nassau (1791-1873), teacher of French and German, founded a French school in Assen. In 1829 he took a Ph.D. at the university of Groningen and subsequently became headmaster of the Assen grammar school. He wrote a considerable number of treatises on various subjects (see SWKK).

it gives into language learning in general. In his view the mother tongue and the foreign language are best learnt through comparative study and translation practice, which may lead to a better understanding of the Dutch national character. The second aim of FLT is its practical use. In Nassau's view it is by no means necessary to master French, German and English at the same level; learning one foreign language thoroughly will be sufficient. The language suited best for this purpose is French. The choice for learning one language in depth is supposed to pay itself back quickly, as it will be relatively simple to read German and English on the basis of a thorough knowledge of, say, French and Dutch.

Also in J.C. Neurdenburg's brochure, *Drie voorlezingen over het taalonderwijs in de lagere school* (1861I)²⁶⁷, the view is expressed that the study of a foreign language stimulates foreign language learning in general. For the first time a new argument for foreign language learning, cross-cultural understanding, is used. It is, an argument that, for instance, the textbook writer De Maar was to use in the preface to his *Britannia* (1918II) and call "de verbroedering tusschen de volken" [fraternisation of nations], no doubt as a result of the horrors of the First World War.

Around 1840 FLT received an important impulse when the Second Departments were added to a number of Latin schools. In accordance with the linguistic and literary traditions of Latin education, FLT in these departments chiefly meant tuition in foreign grammar and literature²⁶⁸. It therefore seems that FLT in Latin schools came to serve 'higher' purposes and, as a consequence of the model role of the Latin school for other secondary schools, this resulted in a shift away from the communicative aim towards intellectual and cultural aims. The result was still visible in the 1876 Education Act, which transformed Latin schools into grammar schools. By that time, the only foreign language skill that was examined was the ability to read texts of a high intellectual or literary level. These developments can be illustrated in treatises by two Latin school teachers. One was A.J. Vitringa, headmaster of the Enk-

²⁶⁷ Also see *Nieuwe Bijdragen* (1862:1123-1124).

²⁶⁸ See the activities of modern language teachers like W.G. Brill at the Leiden grammar school around 1840 (cf. 3.1.4).

huizen Latin school and the other **W.G. Brill**, a former modern language teacher at the Zutphen Latin school and later (1859-1881) professor of language, literature and national history at Utrecht University. Both Vitringa and Brill published brochures in which they tried to influence the form that the future Higher Burgher Schools and grammar schools would take.

In 1860 **Vitringa** published his brochure *Tegenwoordige toestand en plan tot hervorming van het middelbare onderwijs* [The present state of secondary education and plans for reform]. Vitringa wishes to introduce French, German and English in the new secondary school on the basis of two arguments: practical use and intellectual education. With regard to practical use he was very negative: “Het nut, dat men gewoonlijk in de nieuwe talen ziet en het doel waarmee de meesten ze aanleeren, zou ik liever geneigd zijn een treurige noodzakelijkheid te noemen” [I would be inclined to call the use that people ascribe to modern languages and the reason why most of them learn them, a tragic necessity]. In Vitringa’s view FLT in the French schools is exclusively confined to this ‘tragic’ use and he adds ironically: “het eenige produkt zal wel wezen – een niet geheel onbegrijpelijke koopmansbrief of telegrafische depêche” [Probably, the only result will be – a not completely incomprehensible merchant letter or telegraph message] (Vitringa 1860I:19). Vitringa proposes that the aim of FLT in the Higher Burgher schools should not only, or not even in the first place, be its practical use, but intellectual and cultural education. As for cultural education, Vitringa prefers the literature of the modern languages to that of the classical languages. As far as the training of the intellect is concerned, he notes that in actual fact the ideal form of FLT takes place in Latin schools, seeing that there pupils come into contact with “het logische systeem der syntaxis” [the logical system of syntax]. In Vitringa’s view the problem is that modern languages offer too little training of the intellect, certainly if teachers resort to a “machinale methode” [mechanical teaching method] like Ollendorf’s, instead of, for instance, a more “wijsgeerige” [philosophical] method like Becker’s. Vitringa, therefore, has more sympathy for the German language, which in his view has a more logical grammar. His sympathy for French, English and Dutch is significantly smaller: “Hoe het er met de syntaxis van onze overige naburen (en, helaas, ook met de onze) uitziet, daarover doet men best het

stilzwijgen te bewaren” [One had better be silent about the syntax of our other neighbours (as well as, unfortunately, our own syntax)].

Sixteen years later, in 1876, **Vitringa**, then headmaster of the Deventer grammar school, published another brochure, entitled *Fransche school en burgerschool*. In this treatise he strongly objects to the fact that grammar schools and Higher Burgher Schools require their pupils to have a knowledge of French in order to be admitted and he takes a firm stand against what he sees as a privileged position of FrLT in Higher Burgher Schools. Once again, like in 1860, he proposes that the French language offers too little intellectual substance, considering that its grammar shows a lack of system. In his view it would be much better to teach Latin, as an eminent vehicle to practise logical thinking, but seeing that this suggestion would be unacceptable, his next best solution is the teaching of German²⁶⁹.

Vitringa's views were entirely shared by the Utrecht professor **W. G. Brill**²⁷⁰. Brill had gained a great deal of experience with Latin schools, in which he had been a teacher for almost twenty years. He had also written a number of Dutch and FLT textbooks²⁷¹ for these schools, in which he had formulated their aims. The general aim ought to be “geestelijk verkeer met het vreemde volk” [mental contact with the foreign nation]. This object could be achieved on the one hand by enabling pupils to acquaint themselves with the “voortbrengselen des geestes” [products of the mind], in other words by having them read literary and intellectual texts, and on the other hand by having them gain insight into the nature, origin and development of foreign languages. Obviously, Brill here refers to historical and comparative linguistics. However, in his opinion this insight is only granted to few pupils. From the preface to his *Opmerkingen op het gebied der Engelsche spraakkunst* (1858I:VI-VII) it becomes clear that he is not interested in teaching language skills.

²⁶⁹ See Kwakernaak (1996:30-32) for a more detailed discussion.

²⁷⁰ See Van Driel (1988:163-165) on Brill's linguistic ideas.

²⁷¹ These were the *Hollandsche Spraakleer* (1846) (later: *Nederlandsche Spraakleer*) and the *Hoogduitsche Spraakleer* (1855). Besides, he published scholarly observations on the grammars of French and English: *Kritische Aanmerkingen over de Fransche Spraakkunst* (1856) and *Opmerkingen op 't gebied der Engelsche spraakkunst* (1858I).

In 1870 Brill published a brochure with a view to the new curriculum of the future grammar schools. The brochure bore the title *Over de inrichting der Gymnasiën met het oog op het ontwerp van wet tot regeling van het hooger onderwijs* [On the curriculum of the grammar schools with a view to the Higher Education Bill]. As a means to influence public opinion this brochure compares very well with the one that Vitranga had published ten years before in relation to the future curriculum of the Higher Burgher Schools. In the Government's plans the grammar schools would have to fulfill a propedeutic function for the universities and as such become part of Higher Education. In his brochure Brill opts for a curriculum in which there is no longer room for skills training. The new grammar school should be reserved for scholarship only²⁷²:

Kortom ook de overbrenging van het onderwijs in de moderne talen op het Gymnasium is het gevolg van de meening, alsof deze school tot wetenschap en tot bijzondere praktische kundigheid moest opleiden.

[In short, also the transference of FLT to grammar schools springs from the view that this school should train pupils in science and practical skills.]

In his opinion foreign languages had better be learnt outside of schools, through private tuition, social intercourse and private reading:

Juist omdat de kennis der moderne talen in het leven en het gezellig verkeer onmisbaar is voor de man, die zichzelf acht en niet bij het gros wil achterstaan, ja, wat meer is, omdat de wetenschappelijke werken, in die talen geschreven, niet ongelezen mogen blijven, juist daarom zal de kweekeling van het Gymnasium, mits hij het onderwijs, daar genoten, waardig zij, wel zorgen dat hij zich tot op de onmisbare hoogte met de kennis der moderne talen toeruste. Na de studie der oneindig moeilijker klassieke talen zal zulks hem waarlijk niet zwaar vallen.

[Precisely because knowledge of foreign languages is indispensable in social life for a man who has a high esteem of himself and does not want to lag behind most other people; what is more, because works of schol-

²⁷² Brill (1870I:37-38).

arship written in these languages cannot be left unread, the grammar school pupil will see to it that he is equipped with the knowledge of these languages, as far as necessary, provided that he is worthy of the education offered in the Latin schools. Surely, this will not be a problem to him after the study of the classical languages, which are infinitely more difficult.]

Brill's wish, did not become reality, however. Foreign language learning became part of the curriculum of grammar schools and, what is more, examinations were introduced in at least one language skill, i.e. reading texts of a high intellectual or literary level.

The views of Vtringa and Brill about the intellectual and cultural aims of FLT in Higher Burgher Schools and grammar schools were confirmed in the inaugural addresses of B. Sijmons and J. Beckering Vinckers in 1878 and 1886 respectively. On 27 September 1878 **B. Sijmons** delivered his inaugural address as lecturer in modern languages at Groningen University. In his speech, *Over de wetenschappelijke beoefening der moderne talen* [On modern language scholarship] Sijmons spoke about the task of modern language teachers and the aims of FLT. As its aims he mentions intellectual education, particularly as a defence against the scientific education in the Higher Burgher Schools, and literary and linguistic education. It is Sijmons' outspoken view that, in Higher Burgher Schools and grammar schools, languages should be taught through the historical and comparative method. He adds that for this very reason foreign language teachers should be trained in universities. The time is past that foreign languages were merely used as practical skills to make oneself understood. Foreign languages have become objects of scholarship.

A few years after Sijmons' speech, in 1886, the first professor of English language and literature in the Netherlands, **J. Beckering Vinckers**, delivered his inaugural address. It was entitled *Over de behoefte aan en 't nut van meer wetenschappelijke opleiding voor de beoefenaars der Engelsche taal- en letterkunde hier te lande* [On the need for and the use of profounder academic education for students of English language and literature in the Netherlands] and basically followed Sijmons' line of argument. Beckering Vinckers, however, does not discuss FLT aims explicitly. He complains

about the unscholarly level of ELT in spite of the progress that has been made in linguistics and calls the grammatical knowledge of many teachers superficial and mechanical. In his discussion of higher requirements for prospective foreign language teachers, however, he states implicitly that the aims of FLT in Higher Burgher School and grammar school should be intellectual and cultural education. Intellectual education should be achieved through grammatical knowledge, especially the history of grammar, and through comparison of French, German and English with Dutch. In grammar schools intellectual education should be achieved by comparing modern languages with Latin and Greek.

Gradually, the debate on the aims of FLT received impulses that were different from those that solely stressed culture and intellect. In 1878 C. Stoffel²⁷³ published an article entitled “De vreemde talen bij het Middelbaar Onderwijs” [Foreign languages in Secondary Education] in *De Schoolbode* (1878:1-11;64-75). The writer wishes to differentiate FLT according to need; the aim should depend on the target group. It is clear, he states, that waiters need a different kind of FLT than pupils at Higher Burgher Schools. In the latter schools, the aim of FLT should be both theoretical and practical. It should be theoretical in the sense that pupils must learn about the culture, especially the literature of the foreign country. Besides, by comparing languages, learners should sharpen their intellect. The aim of FLT should be practical in the sense that both oral and written skills are trained. In contrast with the ‘learned’ kind of FLT that Vitringa and Brill suggested, Stoffel does not oppose skills training. He is against memorising grammar rules and puts grammar in a proper perspective: “Alsof bij de studie eener vreemde taal het inpompen der spraakkunst de Alpha en de Omega ware!” [As if in foreign language learning, cramming grammar rules were the be-all and end-all]. Grammar should always be a means, never a goal in itself: “Het is maar al te waar, dat bij het onderwijs in

²⁷³ Stoffel, who initially taught at the Amsterdam School of Commerce, made a name for himself by writing textbooks, by his editorship of the journal *Taalstudie*, but especially by his scholarly work. In his inaugural lecture (1886:11) Beckering Vinckers referred to Stoffel as the author of the first scholarly grammar of English to be published in the Netherlands. After Beckering Vinckers had retired as professor of English at Groningen, Stoffel was invited to the Chair. However, he felt obliged to decline on the ground of bad health (see Stuurman 1993).

vreemde talen te dikwijls wordt vergeten, dat dit onderwijs veel meer *lexicographisch* dan *grammatisch* moet wezen, veel meer *phraseologie* dan *theoretische spraakkunst* moet geven” [It is all too true that people often forget that FLT should be much more *lexicographical* than *grammatical*, that it should give much more *phraseology* than *theoretical grammar*.] Stoffel also advocates the use of the foreign language in the classroom, so that pupils learn how to understand the spoken language²⁷⁴.

In his article “Het onderwijs in vreemde talen” (1879) **J.H. Stein** seems to echo Stoffel (1878) in his discussion of aims. In Stein’s view the aims of FLT ought to be linked with the target group and the learning content should be selected accordingly. To **C.F. Van Duyl** (1879) the chief aim of FLL is language proficiency, especially the receptive skills.

After Stoffel’s article in the *De Schoolbode* **K. Ten Bruggencate** published an article in the same journal, named “De moderne talen aan de gymnasia” [FLT in grammar schools] (*De Schoolbode* 1879: 376-391). He argues that FLT in grammar schools needs less time and can be learnt at a higher level, because pupils in grammar schools have a lead on the pupils in Higher Burgher Schools on account of their knowledge of the classical languages. For that reason grammar school pupils should be able to read literary authors with more success and for Ten Bruggencate reading literature is the highest aim of FLT.

If Stoffel and Ten Bruggencate had already voiced relatively modern ideas on FLT, around 1890 there were more fundamental changes in the views on FLT aims. Several authors now put communicative skills on the same or even a higher level than intellectual and cultural education. These authors were **T.C.G. Valette** (1889/1899), **J. Esmeijer** (1892), **L.P.H. Eijkman** (1894), **J.C.G. Grasé** (1896 and 1904), **F.P.H. Prick van Wely** (1900) en **Ten Bruggencate** (1905-1906).

²⁷⁴ In another article “Vreemdelingen of Nederlanders voor het onderwijs in vreemde talen” [Strangers or Dutchmen as foreign language teachers], Stoffel prefers native speakers, provided that they have a good command of Dutch (*De Schoolbode* 1879: 233-244).

In 1889 T.G.G. Valette²⁷⁵, teacher at the “Koning Willem III Gymnasium” in Batavia, wrote a brochure, entitled *Het onderwijs in de levende vreemde talen* [Teaching living foreign languages]. In this treatise he gives precedence to the teaching of language skills. To Valette FLT is in the first place teaching a living language in which oral and written skills have to be practised. He criticises the textbooks for offering too many rules and unconnected sentences for translation and he pleads for a more inductive approach. Obviously, Valette had undergone the influence of the Reform Movement. Ten years later, in 1899, Valette published a new edition of the same brochure, in which he appears to be even more influenced by it. He disapproves of elaborate and detailed textbooks with the argument that schools cannot teach the entire language. He also observes that in recent years the spoken language has received more attention and that many teachers now support the methods of Gouin and Berlitz. Nevertheless, he wishes to keep aloof from these methods, because he believes that they give too much emphasis to speaking only. In his view, learners have a greater need for training in reading and writing.

Another writer who expressed new ideas was the Rotterdam teacher J. Esmeijer. A staunch supporter of the Berlitz method²⁷⁶, Esmeijer published a treatise in 1892 entitled *Het aanleeren van vreemde talen* [Learning foreign languages]. In this brochure, which he wrote after having put this method to the test for four months, he compares the traditional grammar-translation method with the Berlitz method. He claimed that Berlitz’ central aim, communication through the foreign language, was already revolutionary in itself, but that the classroom procedures following from it meant+ a radical breach with the grammar-translation method.

²⁷⁵ Born in 1855, T.G.G. Valette qualified as a teacher of German and taught at various Higher Burgher Schools, before he became a Member of Parliament for Gouda in 1893 (SWKK).

²⁷⁶ Esmeijer comments that since its introduction in 1878 the method has found wide acceptance in the USA. Esmeijer himself came into contact with the Berlitz method through a former principal of the Berlitz schools in New Jersey who had moved to Holland. He decided to attend a course at a Berlitz school in Berlin, which led him to introduce the method at his own school in Rotterdam.

During the annual meeting of the Secondary Teachers Association in 1894, one of Esmeijer's colleagues held a speech²⁷⁷ that was exemplary of the changing attitude towards FLT aims. Here the Schiedam teacher M. Horn²⁷⁸ defended the proposition that “Het onderwijs in de nieuwe talen aan onze Hoogere Burgerscholen kan slechts dan geheel aan zijn doel beantwoorden, wanneer het volgens de directe methode wordt gegeven” [FLT in our Higher Burgher Schools can only meet its purpose, if it works in accordance with the direct method]. Horn claims that there should be room for oral and written proficiency training, in addition to “Formalbildung”, i.e. intellectual and cultural education. He also proposes that the direct method has more to offer than the grammar-translation method, as the direct method serves two purposes, communication as well as general education. He adds optimistically: “... de tijd zal nu wel niet meer lang duren, dat onze examens gansch den stempel der directe methode dragen” [Presumably it will not take long, before our exams bear the stamp of the direct method completely]. Horn's hopes did not come true, however. On the other hand, his assumption did not seem unreasonable, as within a short space of time, a number of French, German and English textbooks were published that were based on the Berlitz and Gouin methods. At the end of his presentation²⁷⁹ Horn clashed with L.P.H. Eijkman on the correct interpretation of the term “directe method” in comparison with “the Gouin method”²⁸⁰. It was Eijkman, the Editor for English of the journal *De Drie Talen*, who had introduced

²⁷⁷ The speech was published in the teachers' association journal *Berichten en mededeelingen van de Vereeniging van leeraren aan Inrichtingen van Middelbaar Onderwijs*, Seventh Series (1893-1896:243-264).

²⁷⁸ Horn strongly supported the ideas of Esmeijer with whom he had written a German coursebook based on the Direct Method entitled *Die Deutsche Sprache. Ein Lehrbuch zur Erlernung der deutschen Sprache nach der direkten Methode* 1893 (Kuiper 1961:143-149).

²⁷⁹ *Berichten en Mededeelingen van de Vereeniging van leeraren aan Inrichtingen van Middelbaar Onderwijs* (1893-1896: 243-264).

²⁸⁰ Strictly speaking, being a rather isolated and idiosyncratic innovator, Gouin did not belong to the Reform movement. His work *L'art d'enseigner et d'étudier les langues*, which had been first published in 1880, did not become widely known until 1892, the year in which an English translation appeared. For a detailed discussion of the reception of Gouin in the Netherlands see Kuiper (1961:150-180) and Howatt & Widdowson (2004:178-185).

Gouin's method in the Netherlands in 1894. In the May issue of the *De Drie Talen* he published an article in which he explains the method. Like in the Berlitz method, communication is the central aim in the Gouin method, too.

The person who, presumably, embodied the Reform Movement in the Netherlands most clearly, was the Amsterdam teacher J.C.G. Grasé. It was he who explained the Reform principles in two detailed treatises and applied them in his own textbooks. The first treatise appeared as a brochure with J.B. Wolters in Groningen in 1896 under the title *Directe Methode en Phonetisch Schrift als Grondslagen van Taalonderwijs* [Direct method and phonetic script as fundamentals of language teaching]. The brochure is meant as a teacher's guide to his English course, although the first volume of his course had already been published in 1895. Probably, this book had given rise to so many questions that Grasé thought it wise to clarify the underlying principles in a separate brochure. In this treatise he goes into detail with regard to teaching procedures and the use of phonetic script. Grasé considers himself an exponent of the Reform, even if he does not feel strongly about terminology (1896I:10):

Wij hervormers erkennen dat wij veel verschuldigd zijn aan al die nieuwe en nieuwste methodes van Viëtor, Jespersen, Gouin, Berlitz; die conversatie-, die natuurlijke, die aanschouwelijke methodes... Het zijn alle slechts verschillende uitingen van één *Hervormingsmethode, oormethode* als ik die zoo noemen mag, verschillend naar gelang van den aard van den onderwijzer.

[We, reformers, acknowledge that we owe a lot to all those new and latest methods by Viëtor, Jespersen, Gouin, Berlitz; those conversation methods, natural and visual methods... In fact they are all different manifestations of one Reform method, ear method, if I may say so, as different as their teachers.]

In Grasé's view, the point on which these different methods agree, is the relevance of sentences:

Hetzij dat men nu het onderwijs in den geest der Duitsche en Scandinavische "Reformers" geeft; of dat men zich vereenigen kan met

Gouin's ideeën, waar hij zulk een groote waarde aan het werkwoord hecht, als de spil waarom alles draait, – de verschillende manieren komen toch hierin overéén, dat het de zin, de geheele zin is, dien men de leerling geven moet en niet eerst het woord.

[Whether one teaches in the spirit of the German and Scandinavian “Reformers”, or whether one subscribes to Gouin’s views, in which he attaches such great value to the verb as the pivot of everything, – the different approaches agree in this one respect that it is the sentence, the whole sentence that one should teach first, not the word.]

Grasé, then, gives great weight to the teacher for the way in which the Reform method was implemented. In this sense he should rather be looked upon as an eclectic, just as the Dutch Reform movement at large showed strongly eclectic features. He was certainly no doctrinarian, considering the fact that he blames quibblers for arousing aversion to the innovation process and consequently harming it²⁸¹.

Grasé’s second treatise was a speech that he held in 1904 at the Philological Conference in Utrecht. The paper bears the modest title “Iets over Direkte Methode” [Something on the Direct Method]²⁸² and is a moderate plea for its implementation. Grasé proposes that FLT must have three aims: 1. making learners susceptible to foreign cultures (through reading literature); 2. enabling them to communicate in L2 (through speaking and writing); and 3. educating them intellectually (through knowledge about the language). In contrast with Brill’s and Sijmons’ views Grasé regards practical language skills no longer as inferior to cultural and intellectual education, but puts them on the same level. Furthermore, it is remarkable that the 1904 treatise is more defensive in character than the 1896 brochure and that the treatise is more careful in its propagation of inductive teaching, the role of grammar and the unilingual approach. Thus, Grasé objects to the FLT developments in France, where the government had imposed the direct method for some time. The reader is given the impression that the author wants to bridge the gap between the proponents and opponents of the direct method by nuancing his former points of view.

²⁸¹ Preface to *Oefeningen in de Engelsche Taal II* (1899II).

²⁸² *Handelingen Nederlandsch Philologencongres* (1904I:142).

It did not take long before objections were raised against the Reform method as proposed by Esmeijer, Eijkman and Grasé. In his article “Het onderwijs in de moderne talen” [foreign language teaching]²⁸³ F.P.H. Prick van Wely claims that the first and foremost aim of Higher Burgher Schools and grammar schools should be general education. From this it follows that speaking should not be the first skill to be mastered, as the direct method advocated, but reading. In this respect Prick van Wely sides with Stoffel (1878I) and Valette (1899I)²⁸⁴. It is his view that proficiency in speaking can be acquired in a more efficient and natural way outside of schools, as schools are primarily intended for cognitive learning. In this respect Prick van Wely leans towards Brill (1870I).

It seems that the debate on the direct method came more or less to an end with the publication of a series of nine articles by K. Ten Bruggencate in the Secondary School Teachers' Association journal in 1905-1906²⁸⁵. The writer, who could boast a 30-year-long experience as a secondary school teacher and who had been a school inspector since 1899, apparently felt called upon to give his opinion on the state of FLT. As a successful writer of textbooks, including two prestigious dictionaries of English (1895-1896), and as an inspector of Higher Burgher Schools Ten Bruggencate was a man of authority. He was the first writer to formulate aims in terms of learner's behaviour. As far as the conflict between the grammar-translation method and direct method was concerned, he chose the side of the direct method, but took a moderate position. He noted (1905I:988-989) that he had learnt “niet bij ééne methode als de alléén zaligmakende te zweren” [not to adhere to one method as the be-all and end-all].

4.1.3 Ideas on the selection of learning content

Just like the ideas on aims, the discussion on the selection of learning content took place in very general terms. Stoffel (1878I) and Stein (1879I)

²⁸³ See *Tijdschrift voor onderwijs en opvoeding*, 3rd vol., 1900-1901:97-110. This journal was founded in 1898 and had J.J.A.A. Frantzen as one of its editors.

²⁸⁴ Both Prick van Wely and Valette taught in Batavia at this time.

²⁸⁵ *Weekblad voor Leeraren aan Inrichtingen voor Middelbaar Onderwijs* (1905-1906: 988-1274).

point out that learning content should be adapted to target groups, the age of learners, types of school, available time and so on. For the greater part of the 19th century, the treatises are concerned with the written language, although around the middle of the century, pleas are heard to pay more attention to the spoken language ('J.Y'. 1846I, Delfos 1861I, Roodhuyzen 1862I, De Beer 1864I, Stein 1879I). However, also Nassau (1842I:123), who otherwise embraced the contrastive-grammatical method, explicitly stresses the importance of regular speaking practice. It is not enough, he says, for learners to know the correct language forms; they should also be able to use them in a proper context. His view is supported by C.F. van Duyl in his article "iets over de examens in de vt" [Something on foreign language examinations] (Schoolbode 1879I:205-219). He writes: "... en zou 't ook voor 't oefenen van oor en mond, [...], niet hoog noodig zijn, dat men in onze volksscholen, wat meer spreken wat minder schrijven en lezen leerde ... ?" [... would it not be high time for the training of ear and mouth ... that pupils learnt to speak more and write and read less in our public schools ... ?] Van Duyl, on the other hand, also stresses the importance of the receptive skills, with the emphasis on reading, as this was what the majority of people need.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the ideas on the selection of learning content underwent drastic changes, when the spoken language was given priority. The treatises by Esmeijer (1892I), Eijkman (1894I), Horn (1894I) and Grasé (1896I and 1904I) represent this choice, whereby also a lance is broken for a different kind of register, i.e. every-day language, instead of formal and literary language. However, this choice is opposed by Valette (1899I) and Prick van Wely (1900I), who prefer to continue to pay most attention to the written language. There was never any discussion about dialect in the treatises, but the choice of British English was always a matter of course, whereby it was understood that it was the standard language that must be taught. In the treatises we find no discussion on levels of proficiency either, although in actual fact the discussion centres on the levels of beginners and intermediate learners (Stoffel 1878I, Ten Bruggencate 1879I and 1905-1906I).

As regards the question precisely which learning content was to be selected, the treatises remain rather vague. Niemeyer (1799I:161-167) only speaks of the skills of reading, speaking and writing, as well as of pronunciation and spelling. Occasionally, he goes into detail with regard to

the kind of material that is to be used for writing, such as “stoffen die tot het dagelijksche leven behoren” [matters that belong to daily life] and narratives, conversation and letters (1808I:132). In a book review in the *Nieuwe Bijdragen* (1851I:768-769) the anonymous reviewer wonders which kind of language pupils have to learn: practical language, especially for speaking, or “kunsttaal” [formal language] for reading and writing. The latter kind demands a greater knowledge of grammar. Presumably, this question occupied the minds of many teachers at the time. It was a dilemma, because teachers could either (continue to) offer ‘communicative’ language with the help of dialogues in phrasebooks and every-day vocabulary – in the way of the *Méthode familière* by Pierre Marin – or present a more ‘learned’ form of FLT, in which grammar and translations occupy a bigger place. In the view of the book reviewer the school has to do both things: “het schoolonderrigt omvat het geheele gebied der taal” [school teaching comprises the whole language].

The initiative to have a more practical discussion on the selection of learning content was taken by Stoffel (1878I) in his discussion of FLT in Higher Burgher Schools. Ten Bruggencate (1879I) continued this discussion concerning FLT in grammar schools and later (1905-1906I) concerning FLT in both types of schools. Both authors emphasise that schools cannot teach foreign languages in all their aspects and up to the highest level. Both Stoffel and Ten Bruggencate discuss the selection of content in terms of language skills. Stoffel states that it is difficult to define levels of language skills and he points out that one of the factors that play a decisive role is that of the available time. He then successively deals with such areas as pronunciation, speaking and listening, spelling, knowledge of grammar rules and vocabulary. Stoffel (1878I) is the first author to mention listening as a separate skill and in this context he points to the importance of the teacher using the target language. Ten Bruggencate (1879I), too, addresses the question of FLT quantity and discusses the skills, especially reading. He argues that literature teaching should have a greater share of the curriculum – a suggestion that would not be followed up in the examination requirements. In his later articles (1905-1906) he discusses content selection in terms of learner behaviour. The question is what content pupils should have mastered after four or five years of FLT. He tries to answer the question by dividing learning content into five areas (pronunciation, vocabulary, speaking and writing,

grammatical knowledge and literature) and discusses their quantity as well as some teaching procedures.

4.1.4 *Ideas on the gradation of learning content*

During the nineteenth century there was little theory on the gradation of learning content. Authors were content with the idea of progress from “makkelijk” [easy] to “moeilijk” [difficult]. As early as the 1790s, the textbook writer Van Bemmelen²⁸⁶ had graded practice books for translation according to difficulty, as they were *verdeeld in vier klassen* [divided into four classes]. Niemeyer (1799I:163-164) devotes a special section to the “overgang van het gemaklyke tot het moeilijke” [transition from easy to difficult] in grammar. Thus, it is stated that learners ought to begin their first course with “... verbuigingen en vervoegingen, als mede ... de gemaklyk te onthouden regelen der geslachten [declensions and conjugations as well as the gender rules that are easy to remember] ... In een tweede cursus wordt de woordvoeging (Syntaxis) behandeld” [In a following course syntax will be dealt with]. Another generally accepted principle was that of repetition. Niemeyer (1808I:130-131; 1810:265), for instance, does not fail to point to the importance of repetition. Gradation of learning content was generally discussed in general terms, with the early treatises favouring a linear approach based on the traditional order of the parts of speech grammar. A hundred years later, Ten Bruggencate (1905I:1037) claims that he has taught grammar “in een concentrische leergang” [in a concentric course]. The principle of a concentric division of learning content is also found in Jacotot (1824I) and Roodhuyzen (1862I).

In some treatises a discussion takes place on the order of languages and skills to be taught. As for the order of languages, the earlier treatises prefer learners to start with a good knowledge of Dutch, before embarking on foreign language learning. Thus, in Niemeyers’s view (1799I:158) the best approach is to begin with Dutch, continue with French and end with the classical languages: “Wanneer dus de moedertaal, die boven allen de ge-

²⁸⁶ *Lessen voor eerstbeginnenden in de Engelsche taal, verdeeld in vier klassen. Vertaald en uitgegeeven door J. van Bemmelen. Kost Schoolhouder te Leijden 1794* (see Loonen 1991:309-310).

wigtigste blijft, behoorlijk beschaafd is, zo ga men tot ene nieuwe, en wel gevoeglijkst tot de Franse taal, als de onontbeerlijkste, over ... eer dat men met ene oude taal beginne” [So, when the mother tongue, which remains the most important language, has been learnt well enough, one should proceed to a new one, preferably the French language as the most indispensable of all, before beginning with a classical language]. In the view of the author there is no objection to learning French, English and Italian simultaneously before starting with Latin and Greek, as the new languages offer no particular problems in comparison with the classical languages.

Vitringa (1860I and 1876I) holds a plea for paying more attention to German instead of French, on the ground of the supposedly pedagogical value of German grammar. Around 1900 Huisman (1899-1900I) en Best (1900-1901I) also address the problem which language to teach first. To them it seems more obvious to adjust the customary order of FLT, French, German, English, into English, German and French.

As regards the order of the skills, reading was the first and foremost skill to be mastered during the greater part of the century. Niemeyer (1799I:161) asserts: “Bij het leren van vreemde talen moet even als bij dat der moedertaal met lezen een aanvang gemaakt worden” [In learning foreign languages learners ought to begin with reading, just as is the case with the mother tongue]. However, by the middle of the century some treatises (J.Y. 1846I, Delfos 1861I Roodhuyzen 1862I, De Beer 1864I), prefer learners to start with speaking, while towards the end of the century the tables have turned in favour of the oral skills in the treatises of Esmeijer (1892I), Eijkman (1894I), Horn (1894I) and Grasé (1896I and 1904I).

4.1.5 Ideas on the presentation of learning content

Most treatises deal with the ‘how’ of FLT. They are individual quests for the best way to teach and learn foreign languages. To Niemeyer (1799I:160-161) the teaching of the classical languages serves as a model for FLT and he discusses classical as well as foreign languages in one chapter (1799I:155-168). For both categories the teaching procedures were supposed to be identical, at any rate for beginners²⁸⁷: “Bij het behandelen

²⁸⁷ However, Tesseidre l’Ange did not speak about teaching advanced learners.

der eerste gronden is het onderricht in oude en nieuwe talen elkander volkomen gelijk, en de leerwijze kan dus gevoeglijk te samen behandeld worden” [In dealing with the fundamentals, the teaching of the classical and modern languages is completely identical, so that the same teaching method can be used] (1799I:161-162). Also, as far as speaking practice for modern languages was concerned, there was no difference in teaching method (1799I:165): “De onderwijzer zelf moet ze maar goed kunnen spreken” [The best thing is for the teacher to be fluent]. However, Tesseidre l’Ange (1810I:262-263) vehemently opposes the improvising character of conversation practice, called “rabbelen” or “parlieren”. In this context he also criticises the ‘communicative’ approach of old language masters, such as Comenius and Ratichius:

Jammer maar, dat zij ... de menschelijke natuur te weinig kenden, om in te zien, dat al te lang spelen, van welk eenen aard ook, verslapt en walgt ... Ik kan de reden van het gering gevolg van zoo menig veeljarig onderwijs in de Taalen nergens anders in vinden, dan in het gebrekkige van de leerwijs.

[What a pity that they knew human nature so poorly that they failed to see that playing of any kind and for too long weakens the mind and leads to disgust. I cannot blame the poor results of so much and such long language teaching on anything else but their faulty method.]

His objections may be called representative of the resistance against the (alleged) lack of methodology and the unacademic attitude of the “taal-meesters” [language masters]: “het mangelt velen niet zoo zeer aan kennis der tale, die zij onderwijzen, maar over het geheel aan methode, aan manier om dezelve goed te onderwijzen” [It is not so much the lack of knowledge of the language they teach, but generally of the method, the manner of teaching.] The emphasis that around 1800 was laid on explicit language knowledge must, therefore, be seen as a reaction to the “communicative approach” employed by the language masters.

Niemeyer’s handbook (1808I:130-131) gives detailed directions for a methodical approach of translating L1-L2 and L2-L1, an approach that in the Netherlands seems to have been triggered by Agron’s *Verzameling van Opstellen* (1794)²⁸⁸. This French textbook is likely to have been inspired

by Meidinger's method (1783)²⁸⁹ and it was to have a great impact on Dutch FLT in the first half of the nineteenth century. The assumption underlying translating is that L2 is best learnt by constant comparison with L1. Also the use of morpho-syntactic rules play a central part in this procedure, as it is assumed that knowledge of explicitly formulated rules will lead to a better level of proficiency. For Niemeyer's editor Tesseidre l'Ange (1810I:258) FLT begins with Dutch grammar at primary school. A knowledge of Dutch is supposed to lay the foundation for FLT, as long as one adheres to correct spelling and grammar. Tesseidre l'Ange asserts that in the old days pupils did not learn grammar until they came to Latin school and that the teaching in French schools could hardly be called grammatical. Nowadays, he says, pupils already learn grammar rules in primary schools (1810I:258). A more prominent role for Dutch grammar thus fitted quite well in a contrastive FLT method, as government policy sought to strengthen the position of Dutch as the standard language. In this respect Niemeyer's editors, Tesseidre l'Ange, Rogge (?) and Ewijk, may be seen as patriotic champions of the national language. More than once, they complain about the lack of respect that Dutch citizens show for their mother tongue, for instance by referring to the fact that some prefer to make use of other languages than Dutch in the family circle²⁹⁰ (1799I:160).

Another indication that the contrastive-grammatical method had the approval of those who enjoyed authority in educational matters is suggested by a lengthy book review in the semi-official journal *Nieuwe Bijdragen* (1834I:675-697). It concerns a review of two French textbooks²⁹¹, which was preceded by a general discussion of contemporary FLT methods. Because of its general character the review may be considered a theoretical treatise and it gives the impression of having been written by a person of some authority. It is unknown, however, who the writer is, as the names of the reviewers are not disclosed²⁹². The reviewer

²⁸⁸ See Breet & Ceton (1982) for bibliographical details.

²⁸⁹ W. Kuiper (1961:73-118).

²⁹⁰ Later also Nassau (1846I) referred to this practice.

²⁹¹ These were the eighth edition of A.N. Agron's *Verzameling van Opstellen* (1834) and the first volume of P.J. Baudet's *Fransche Oefeningen* (1833).

addresses the question how foreign languages can be learnt best. His answer is that the learner should be taught “algemene taalbegrippen” [general language notions] in the Dutch lessons, before he learns foreign languages. By ‘language notions’ the reviewer means some knowledge of word classes and sentence elements, so that the learner will be able to parse and analyse sentences. The reviewer opts for a contrastive teaching method, whereby translations L2-L1 ought to precede translations L1-L2. The reviewer mentions the *Opstellen* by Agron (1794) as an example of a successful textbook. In its discussion of the teaching procedures the treatise embraces what is now known as the grammar-translation method, and the reviewer’s recommendations strongly resemble those in Niemeyer (1808I:130-131).

In 1829 C.H. Roggen, a boarding school owner in the Hague, published a brochure of 59 pages; it bore the name *Nieuwe leerwijze om vreemde talen volgens den gang der natuur werktuigelijk aanteleren*²⁹³. As far as we know, it is the earliest monograph on FLT published in the Netherlands. It is unknown how many copies were printed, but presumably the publication was no great success²⁹⁴. We do not know any textbook that is based on this brochure, nor do we know any references to it. Possibly this lack of success was the result of a negative review that appeared in the *Vaderlandsche Letteroefeningen* in the same year (1829:307-313). In his preface Roggen mentions his source, a review article in the issue of a French journal, published in Brussels in December 1826²⁹⁵. The author referred to is Charles de Lasteyrie. This person had already written some pedagogical works, when he published a brochure²⁹⁶, *Méthode naturelle de l’enseignement des langues, instruction pour les maîtres et les élèves*, on

²⁹² This decision was taken at the start of the journal to avoid the semblance of partiality (De Wolf & De Jong 1978:44). However, the review could very well have been written by the former chief-inspector of Primary Education Adriaan van den Ende (1768-1846). It is true, he had given up his post of editor-in-chief of the *Nieuwe Bijdragen* in 1833, but he still enjoyed a great deal of authority and it is conceivable that he used his experience by writing reviews and articles (see also De Vroede 1970:363-364; Reinsma:11-12).

²⁹³ The price was 0.75 Dutch florins.

²⁹⁴ At an auction held by the publisher, J. Immerzeel junior of The Hague, there were still 661 unsold copies left in 1835 (Dongelmans: 1992:395).

which Roggen's monograph is based. Roggen informs the reader that De Lasteyrie was a teacher in Paris and that he and other teachers had carried out frequent experiments to try out the *Méthode naturelle*. This was enough motivation for Roggen to try out the new method himself, of which his brochure, *Nieuwe leerwijze*, gives evidence. Roggen concludes his preface by stating explicitly that his *Nieuwe leerwijze* was by no means an adaptation of Jacotot's method, which attracted a lot of attention at the time. We will first explain what was special about Jacotot's method.

In principle Jacotot's method is a unilingual method, although the learner has to rely on a translation for reference. He has to memorise and repeat a foreign language text, which forms the 'input' in the learning process. Furthermore, the method demands that the learner analyses the language forms (syllables, words and sentences) by comparing them in order to discover the language rules through analogy. Hence, Jacotot's method must be called inductive. After analysis follows synthesis, that is, the learner has to put together syllables to words, words to sentences and sentences to texts. In short, the learning process is a highly cognitive, rational process²⁹⁷.

Jacotot's teaching method was the first well-documented unilingual FLT method. It attracted so much attention that there were various reactions in positive and negative publications. The Ministry of Education even started an official investigation and invited Johannes Kinker, a professor at the university of Liège, to find out more about the advantages and disadvantages. His report appeared in 1826 and Kinker shows serious objections²⁹⁸. The method would cost too much time, the knowledge acquired would be too superficial, the learners have to memorise too

²⁹⁵ The journal that Roggen mentions was the *Annales Universelles de l'industrie, des sciences, de la littérature et des beaux-arts*. The full title, however, reads as follows: *Annales universelles des arts industriels et des nouvelles intentions, des sciences physiques et morales, de la littérature et des beaux-arts, ou choix d'articles... Recueil publié par une société de savants et de gens de lettres*. Bruxelles: de Mat fils et Remy, P.M. de Vroom. See Devolder (1989:74).

²⁹⁶ Published in Paris by L. Colas, 1826 (see *Catalogue Général des Livres Imprimés de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Tome 89:787-788).

²⁹⁷ For a more detailed description see Howatt & Widdowson (2004:169-170).

²⁹⁸ *Verslag aangaande de leerwijze van den heer Jacotot, aan het Departement van Binnenlandsche Zaken den 8sten Sept. 1826 ingezonden*.

much and on the whole the method is found to be one-sided. For instance, it strongly lacks a visual aspect. With hindsight it is clear that Jacotot's method went against the prevailing methodology, in which knowledge and rules had more prestige than skills. Kinker regards the method essentially as a form of self-tuition. His main recommendation is that the method should not be imposed on schools, on the ground that few teachers would be able to handle it successfully. Kinker suggests that perhaps a special training college could be founded to study the long-term effect of the method.

In 1829 appeared another publication on Jacotot's method, named *Opmerkingen betreffende den heer Jacotot, de alles omvattende leerwijze en de militaire normaal-school*²⁹⁹. It was written by J.C. van Rijneveld, a lecturer at the Louvain military college where Jacotot was his colleague. Van Rijneveld had been able to observe him during an eighteenth-month stay at the college. He decided to publish his observations in order to prevent others from giving a wrong impression of the method and in this connection he pointed to two publications which, in his view, had given an incomplete image of Jacotot's teaching procedures³⁰⁰. As far as FLT was concerned, Van Rijneveld is quite positive, especially with regard to self-study. He thinks that a great advantage is the unilingual, inductive approach, by which the learner is stimulated to use the foreign language and which prevents interference by the mother tongue.

Rogge's *Nieuwe Leerwijze* is centred around five types of exercises and shows a number of features that strongly remind us of Jacotot's and Hamilton's teaching methods. To begin with, the *Nieuwe Leerwijze* uses a

²⁹⁹ Published in Breda by Broese and Comp.

³⁰⁰ Van Rijneveld refers to the following publications: *Grondstellingen van het (zooge-naamd) alomvattend onderwijs van den heer Jacotot, overgenomen uit het Fransch en toegelicht door den Kapitein L.F. Geerling* (Arnhem 1829), the *Examen raisonné de l'enseignement, dit universel* by Luitenant Colonel Duriveau, the *Verslag aangaande de leerwijze van den heer Jacotot* by J. Kinker (1826), *Twee brieven, het onderwijs en bijzonder ook de leerwijze van den heer Jacotot betreffende* by Mr. Rustig of Groningen (1827) and *Remarques sur la méthode de M. Jacotot* (Brussels 1827). The latter publication was translated into Dutch by W.L.F.C. van Rappard under the title *Aanmerkingen op de leerwijze van den Heer Jacotot in zijne twee werken over het taalonderwijs; uit het Fransch* (Den Haag 1827). Also see W. Kuiper (1961:153).

sentence (1829: 32) that seems to have been copied directly from Jacotot's first lesson in the *Enseignement universel. Langue maternelle*³⁰¹. Secondly, the five types of exercises also remind of Jacotot's exercises. Although in his preface Roggen asserts that his method must not be confused with Jacotot's, to the reviewer of the *Vaderlandsche Letteroefeningen* it was obvious that Roggen has borrowed a great deal from Jacotot. He claims that Roggen's first exercise is identical with the first in Jacotot's *Langue maternelle*. Roggen's first exercise is fully reproductive; the learner has to repeat words and sentences until they are pronounced correctly. The next two exercises are translation exercises L2-L1. In the second exercise the learner has to give literal word-by-word translations from L2 and memorise their meanings, e.g. "Il fait froid" is translated by "[hij/het doet koud]" [He/it does cold] or "Hij/het maakt koud" [he/it makes cold]. This procedure is very similar to the interlinear translation as proposed by Hamilton (cf. Macht 1981:55). In the third exercise the words have to be joined together into correct L1 sentences. Here the correct word order and meaning in the sentence have to be taken into account. The fourth exercise is a combination of exercises two and three, but this time the other way round, from L1 into L2. The reviewer of the *Vaderlandsche Letteroefeningen* (1829:309) is convinced that also Roggen's fifth exercise has been borrowed from Jacotot's *Langue maternelle*³⁰². In his opinion it is even the "kern en pit" [core and kernel] of Jacotot's teaching method. Roggen's fifth exercise is in fact what we would now call a 'substitution drill' to practise word forms. For this purpose certain words or word groups have to be replaced in such a way that the learner is forced to decline and conjugate them.

In spite of apparent similarities, Roggen is right in claiming that his method and Jacotot's are not identical. In contrast to Jacotot's, Roggen's method is fully bilingual. The mother tongue plays an intermediary role in the translation exercises. Also, the learner does not have to memorise pieces of text on account of necessary 'input', as is the case with Jacotot.

³⁰¹ The sentence reads: "Calypso ne pouvoit se consoler du départ d'Ulysse". Thus began Fénelon's *Aventures de Télémaque*, a well-known reader from those days, which Jacotot used as a basis for his lessons.

³⁰² The reviewer refers to the exact page numbers in Jacotot's *Enseignement universel. Langue maternelle* (1823).

Roggen's method is much more mechanical and is only concerned with the reproductive stage of the learning process; hence, the term "werktuigelijk" [mechanical] in the brochure's title. Unlike Jacotot's method, Roggen's method does not urge learners to analyse language forms. Here the learning process is much more controlled, the teacher being an instructor instead of a coach. The phrase "volgens den gang der natuur" [in accordance with the course of nature] must be seen as an illustration of the supposed similarity between learning L1 and L2.

In order to demonstrate that his method is a natural one and that the prevalent method is merely artificial, Roggen sketches FLT as he perceived it in his time (1829I:9-10). He gives the following description. The learners begin by pronouncing words whose meaning are unknown to them and which they will not easily use themselves. As soon as they can read L2, they have to memorise unconnected words, which will usually be quickly forgotten. They also have to memorise dialogues that have little in common with the ordinary conversation of children. The next steps are, in succession, declining and conjugating word forms, translating L1-L2, analysing and parsing sentences, learning the rules of grammar and correcting cacographies³⁰³. In Roggen's view the problem is that in the old method the learner does not receive sufficient 'input'. He sets his own method against it, in which the sounds of words and their meanings are learnt simultaneously. Hereby he refers to the associative and contextual learning of L1, in which words are always used in the contexts of sentences. In Roggen's view there is no point in writing L2, until the learner has acquired sufficient 'input'. Not until the learner has automatised sounds and meanings, i.e. is able to listen, speak and read with sufficient proficiency, the moment has come to start writing. However, correct writing demands a command of spelling and grammar. The final step, then, will be teaching grammar rules.

Roggen distinguishes between the acquisition of skills, the "subjective of werktuigelijk aanleeren eener taal" [subjective or mechanical language learning], during the first stage, and the "voorwerpelijke (objective) kennis der taal" [objective language knowledge], i.e. knowledge of the language system, as it is taught at a later stage (1829I:16-17). He wishes to

³⁰³ Cacographies were a well-known exercise form at the time. They contained errors that had been inserted on purpose for the learner to discover and correct.

link up the knowledge of the language system to skills training: “De *Leerwijze* zelf bevat *vijf* oefeningen, na welke men het *grammaticale* gedeelte van het onderrigt aanvangt, en de *objective* kennis der taal blijft verbinden met het *voortdurende, werktuigelijke* aanleeren derzelve”. [The method has five exercises, after which begins the grammatical part, which connects objective knowledge about the language with the continuous, mechanical part] (1829:22). In other words he insists on a continual interaction between knowledge and language proficiency.

The question is whether the portrait of contemporary FLT that Roggen paints is no caricature of reality. The reviewer of the *Vaderlandsche Letteroefeningen* (1829:309) thinks it is. He claims that Roggen’s exercises have in fact been used for a long time and that consequently they are no novelty. He also asserts that the conditions under which L2 are learnt at school are essentially different from the way in which L1 is learnt and that, as a consequence, the alleged similarity between L1 and L2 does not exist. All in all, he strongly objects to the pretensions of Roggen (and Jacotot), who maintain that their L2 methods are the best. He also states that age, intelligence and motivation are variables that play significant roles. Also Roggen’s arguments that his method takes less time than the traditional one, are less costly and more enjoyable for the learner, are brushed aside.

Gradually, treatises other than those propagating a contrastive and grammatical method began to be published. They generally emphasise the relevance of the spoken language and recommend the use of L2 with partial or complete exclusion of L1. Besides, they prefer to see an inductive treatment of grammar to an deductive one. This approach comes out in the treatises “J.Y.” (1846I), Delfos (1861I), Roodhuyzen (1862I), De Beer (1864I), Esmeijer (1892I), Eijkman (1894I) and Grasé (1896I).

In March and April 1846 the *Nijmeegsch Schoolblad* published two articles under the title “Eenige wenken omtrent het aanvankelijk onderwijs in vreemde talen” [Some hints regarding FLT to beginners] by an author with the initials J.Y.³⁰⁴. The anonymous author believes that foreign lan-

³⁰⁴ Perhaps this was the bookseller, publisher and editor of the *Vaderlandsche letteroefeningen*, J.W. Yntema (1779-1858) (*NNBW* III, 1508).

guage teachers adhere most of all to traditional teaching methods. He suggests that these teachers would be well-advised to be guided by Pestalozzi's ideas. Pestalozzi based his method on the "gang der natuur" [course of nature], that is, on the child's observation of the world around him³⁰⁵. It is often assumed that Pestalozzi's influence in the Netherlands of the first half of the nineteenth century was relatively great³⁰⁶. His writings were soon translated into Dutch and attracted the attention of prominent educationalists³⁰⁷. Besides, a great number of illustrated course materials were published that seem to have been inspired by Pestalozzi³⁰⁸. According to the anonymous author it is quite well possible to teach foreign languages in the visual tradition, even though, compared with the real world, the school situation is, naturally, quite forced. The teacher would have to gear his teaching to the visual method and speak the target language. He would also have to use images as cues for speaking, without interference of the mother tongue. The writer then discusses in detail how the learners could participate in class activities. For instance, they could move around, observe objects, point to them and name them. It is the author's opinion that the use of the mother tongue cannot be avoided altogether, but on the other hand he warns against too high hopes as far as the effect of translating is concerned. If people insist on translating, it would be best to translate the translated L1 text back into L2. It would be better, however, to question the learners on what they have read and ask them to paraphrase L2 vocabulary. Grammar rules have to be deduced from the language material and should be restricted to a minimum. The author suggests that learners should work independently on

³⁰⁵ See Howatt & Widdowson (2004:216-217) on Pestalozzi.

³⁰⁶ See Lenders (1988:140-143). Not everyone shares this opinion, however. Boekholt (1985:127) believes that teachers found it hard to put Pestalozzi's ideas into practice.

³⁰⁷ In 1809 the principal of the Rijkswijkschool (State Teacher Training College) in Haarlem, P.J. Prinsen, produced a translation of some of Pestalozzi's writings and in 1810 one of Niemeyer's editors, Tesseidre l'Ange, presented an outline of Pestalozzi's ideas in the last volume of this handbook (1810:302-384). A translation of his complete works, edited by Prinsen, was published between 1826 and 1831.

³⁰⁸ Pestalozzi's method of teaching through observation was adopted in illustrated publications by Brugsma 1839, Rijkens 1847 and Van Lummel 1851-1864 (Rombouts 1951:10).

different kinds of exercises, of which he gives a few examples. He concludes that FLT should not be concerned with the language system as such, but with communication. Hence, the emphasis has to be on speaking practice. The writer labels the “Pestalozzi method” as “natural” on account of its unilingual and visual character³⁰⁹.

Around 1860 a small-scale innovation movement originated under the leadership of the Amsterdam boarding-school proprietor **H.G. Roodhuyzen**³¹⁰. Roodhuyzen had been active since the 1850s as a writer of French³¹¹, German³¹² and English textbooks³¹³. In 1862 he published a monograph entitled *Méthode pour enseigner à parler la langue française*. Although the title suggests differently, the treatise is in fact concerned with FLT at large. It is a reflection on the author’s own didactic activities over a period of sixteen years. The author was honest enough to confess that he had never fully tried out his ideas himself, but that one of his teachers, a French-speaking Swiss, had put them into practice in his French lessons. He added that one of his other assistants, F.C. Delfos³¹⁴, had given a presentation of his method before the Rotterdam teacher

³⁰⁹ An early 19th century specimen of this tradition was the publication of the *Nieuw Prentenboek voor Kinderen* (1798-1810).

³¹⁰ H. G. Roodhuyzen came from a family of teachers and owned a fashionable boarding-school situated on the Keizersgracht in Amsterdam. One of the accomplishments that were valued highly by his clients – the well-to-do upper class – was good oral proficiency in modern languages, which may explain his motivation to develop an efficient teaching method. He may be regarded as a typical representative of the group of “instituteurs”, i.e. independent school owners. Roodhuyzen was one of the prominent members of the Nederlandsch Onderwijzers Genootschap (NOG), founded in 1842, and became one of the editors of the teacher journal *De Wekker*. Moreover, he wrote poems, a play and some works of fiction. See also Karsten (1992).

³¹¹ In 1853 en 1854 his first French textbook, *Oefeningen in het schrijven der Fransche taal*, was published (Breet & Ceton 1982).

³¹² In 1857 en 1858 followed his first German textbook, *Oefeningen in het schrijven der Hoogduitsche taal, te gelijk eene aanleiding tot spreken* (Knops 1982).

³¹³ In 1875 his first English textbook came out, *Introduction to the use of the English language*. In the same year a companion part was published, entitled *Vocabulary belonging to the Introduction to the use of the English language*.

³¹⁴ F.C. Delfos taught in Amsterdam and Rotterdam, edited and wrote a few science textbooks and was one of the editors of the teacher journal *Nieuwe Bijdragen*.

association and had written articles for the *Nieuwe Bijdragen* and *De Wekker*³¹⁵. The article in the *Nieuwe Bijdragen* (August 1861:774-813) bore the title “Over het onderwijs in vreemde talen” and will be discussed below.

Roodhuyzen’s treatise *Méthode pour enseigner à parler la langue française* begins with an introduction in which the author states that his dissatisfaction with the current teaching methods induced him to write down his ideas. Against the traditional method he puts a form of FLT that essentially follows the same sequence as L1 learning: listening and speaking, reading, writing, grammar and finally literature. Roodhuyzen opposes the traditional, contrastive-grammatical method, in which memorising rules and doing translations occupy such a central position. He, on the other hand, advocates unilingual teaching, in which speaking comes first. Also, he prefers inductive grammar teaching, in which rules are replaced by examples. Other characteristics are the use of visual teaching aids to demonstrate the meaning of objects and an active participation by pupils through mutual correction of written work. Translations are not avoided *per se*, but, as in Jacotot’s method, texts serve as points of reference rather than as objects for translation. Roodhuyzen starts teaching French in his school when the pupils are seven or eight years old. Therefore, his ideas apply in the first place to FLT for beginners. Roodhuyzen’s treatise is preceded by a Dutch version, written by F.C. Delfos, which was published one year before, in 1861.

Delfos’ objectives (1861) are to investigate the shortcomings of contemporary FLT, to try and find effective procedures based on more natural principles and to find out if the conditions for implementation of these ideas are present. He distinguishes between productive and receptive skills and considers language proficiency to be the first aim of FLT. Oral skills are considered more important than written ones, since speaking is learnt before writing. Delfos questions the use of learning grammar rules for foreign languages as well as for the mother tongue. He notes that, although pupils may be able to read and translate texts quite well, they will usually do badly, as soon as it comes to conversation or writing texts. According

³¹⁵ *De Wekker* 42 and 45.

to Delfos, there is serious criticism in society on the effectiveness of FLT, but he prefers to blame the teaching methods than the teachers themselves. He admits that it is difficult to teach pupils how to speak a foreign language, but, on the other hand, he believes that teachers love grammar too much. Another question is if learners need the mother tongue to master a foreign language, seeing that translating is an art in itself. In Delfos' view one should learn to express one's thoughts in L2 without interference of L1. Hence, L2 should be used in the classroom and foreign texts should be taken as a starting-point. L1 should only be used "om het geheugen en de voorstelling der leerlingen te hulp te komen" [to aid the learners' memories and mental associations].

To bring out the contrast with his own views, Delfos then goes on to paint a picture of FLT as he perceives it around 1860. It often begins with pronunciation exercises on the basis of letters, syllables and words whose meaning the learners do not know. Next, the learners start to read not-too-difficult texts and sentences containing grammatical difficulties. These are followed by exercises for declination and conjugation, even if the target language, such as English, has hardly any or no declinations. The next step is doing L1-L2 translation exercises with the help of vocabulary lists, which, Delfos claims, prevent the pupils from finding the right words of their own accord. He goes on to say that, if these L1-L2 translation exercises are to be of any use, the translated texts will have to be memorised, but that in such cases one might just as well do L2 exercises. Apart from doing L1-L2 translation exercises, texts are translated from L2 into L1. There is some sense in this, according to Delfos, but he prefers to translate L2 texts orally to check comprehension. The last step is memorising vocabulary lists.

Delfos then presents the Roodhuyzen method, which he believes to be more effective, as it is thought to be founded on natural principles. In this method learners start with listening and speaking, after which follow reading, spelling and writing. Speaking is practised by "aanschouwing en nabootsing" [observation and imitation], which reminds of Pestalozzi. At this stage, learners are not allowed to use L2. Starting with the human body and its immediate environment, they learn to paraphrase, give definitions, answer questions, give commands, describe situations and retell stories. For this purpose also pictures may be used. Gradually, abstract things take the place of concrete things.

The next stage is reading. First, familiar words are written on the board to practise the spelling; reading is thus learnt quickly from examples on the board. Then follows writing exercises, whereby the pupils writes down in L2 what the teacher dictates in L1. Pupils will have to correct each other's writings. Grammar is not presented as a body of rules but as sample sentences, each of them containing a particular grammatical item. These sentences are discussed and the pupils have to find out the problem and formulate the rule. Vocabulary is expanded through conscious use of word formation and lexical relationships, such as synonymy, antonymy, homonymy and so on. Pupils also write down the L1 meaning of words. The sample sentences containing particular grammatical items are translated into Dutch and back into L2. In doing this, Delfos sees great advantages for the reproduction of spelling, morphology and syntax. Other (re)productive exercises that he recommends are memorising dialogues, idiomatic phrases and proverbs (as is done in the 'communicative' method), retelling stories or poems, writing down dictated texts, translating orally (literary) texts back into L2, and writing essays. Delfos emphasizes that L1 only serves as an aid, wherever needed, and that translating should not be practised to compare languages with one another. Language rules are only studied after they have been recognized in texts. On these grounds Delfos dares to call the Roodhuyzen method a natural one.

As regards the practicability of the method, Delfos noted that it is only feasible if there is enough time. As a norm he mentions six to ten lessons a week, whereby all the work has to be done in the classroom. If more foreign languages are taught, a smaller number of lessons would be sufficient. Pupils are expected to correct the work of their class-mates in order to be made aware of language errors. The reading material would have to be largely compiled by the teacher himself. In this connection Delfos refers to Roodhuyzen's *Oefeningen in het schrijven der Fransche and Oefeningen in het schrijven der Hoogduitsche taal*³¹⁶.

Two years afterwards, in 1864, the journal *Nederlandsch tijdschrift voor de praktische beoefening van de Fransche, de Engelsche en de Hoogduitsche taal*

³¹⁶ See Breet & Ceton (1982) and Knops (1982).

(*NTPB*) published an article by T.H. de Beer³¹⁷, named “Nouvelle méthode pour l’enseignement de la langue Française”. It consists largely of a repetition of the arguments that Delfos (1861) and Roodhuyzen (1862) had given and we find references to Roodhuyzen’s *grammaires en exemples* for FrLT and to Eykman for GLT³¹⁸. Obviously, the article was published to give publicity to Roodhuyzen’s method in a journal for foreign language teachers. However, it seems likely that De Beer was also influenced by other ideas, such as those of the ‘grammaire générale’, Pestalozzi and Jacotot. On the one hand, De Beer opts for a unilingual approach, certainly for beginners. On the other hand he advocates some explicit knowledge of rules. He claims that L1 teaching plays a vital role, inasfar it provides the tools to learn L2, such as knowledge of word classes and sentence elements. This knowledge is important in all language learning, he claims, as it provides the basic elements of the ‘grammaire générale’. Besides, he presents the following views: translations merely function as prompts for the meaning of words; memory plays an important role, as far as texts need to be memorised; words and phrases must also be learnt through visual teaching; listening and reading are important ways to acquire ‘input’; many speaking and writing exercises must enhance correctness and the use of verbs should be learnt in contexts instead of paradigms.

Unlike Jacotot’s and Roggen’s methods, the Roodhuyzen method, as recommended by Delfos and De Beer, seems to have caused a small-scale innovation movement. In the first place, Roodhuyzen’s method prompted

³¹⁷ Apart from teaching French, German and English in secondary schools, Taco Hajo de Beer (1838-1913) was a man of letters who contributed to various literary journals. He wrote a number of school textbooks and together with Elizabeth Jane Irving, he compiled an English literary reader for schools (1874-1883). In 1879 he became a member of the editorial board of the teacher journal *Taalstudie* for German, together with F.J. Rode for French and C. Stoffel for English.

³¹⁸ The references are to Roodhuyzen (1853/54 and 1857/8) (see Breet & Ceton 1982) and to Eykman (1856) (see Knops 1982). C. Eykman (not to be confused with L.P.H. Eijkman) wrote the *Hoogduitsche spreek- en schrijfoefeningen, ten dienste der scholen, ook van zulke, waar de Hoogduitsche taal door een Duitscher onderwezen wordt* (1856) and *Het eerste Fransche boek voor de Nederlandsche jeugd* (1863; 1872²).

Delfos to give a presentation to a local teacher society and to write a monograph and two articles. Secondly, it gave rise to the publication of several textbooks, not only by Roodhuyzen himself³¹⁹, but also by T.H. de Beer, C. Eykman and possibly by C.H. Gunn (c1856). Roodhuyzen's method did not stand by itself but tied in with earlier attempts to teach L2 through oral classroom communication in which the use of the target language was required. Another principle was the inductive approach of grammar. Yet another one was the use of visual techniques. As such, the method fitted in a tradition that started far back in the past with the methods of Comenius and Ratichius and pointed forward to the Reform Movement through Jacotot en Pestalozzi. All in all, it does not seem far-fetched to speak of an early attempt to introduce the Direct Method into the Netherlands. Thirty years after the publication of Roodhuyzen's treatise, the Reformers Esmeyer (1892I) and Horn (1894I) referred to the Roodhuyzen method and compared his with the Berlitz method.

Also Valette (1889/1899I), Eijkman (1894I) and Grisé (1896I and 1904I) would propagate the direct method in their treatises. In his first version of *Het onderwijs in de levende vreemde talen* T.G.G. Valette (1889I) discusses the quality of FLT, echoing complaints made by the Reform movement. He believes that the solution for a better FLT lies in a different method, which uses the living language and an inductive grammar approach. In his second version (1899I) Valette has been influenced even more by the Reform Movement. In his aversion to unconnected sentences for L1-L2 translation and his preference for oral exercises, for connected texts and in general for proficiency training Valette may be called a proponent of the direct method, albeit a moderate one.

J. Esmeijer was a staunch supporter of the Berlitz method, who held much stronger views. In his brochure *Het aanleeren van vreemde talen* (1892I) he lists as his principles 1. unilingual FLT; 2. the use of visuals; and 3. an inductive grammar approach. Subsequently, he describes in

³¹⁹ Apart from the publications mentioned above, Roodhuyzen published the following textbooks: *Notions grammaticales* 1862, *Roodhuyzens Dictée- en vertaalboek* 1864, *Exercices d'orthographe* (1867³, 1875⁴; the third volume had a 2nd edition in 1866).

detail the procedures of the Berlitz method³²⁰. In broad outline the method is based on what in the audio-lingual method of the twentieth century would be called “pattern drills”. The teacher provides a “pattern drill” (e.g. “Father is reading the newspaper”, which was to be repeated by the learner, or a “cue” (e.g. “What is father doing?”), which should lead to the correct response. Errors are ignored and only the correct answers are repeated. The use of L1 is not allowed. Learners have to do dictations, copy L2 texts, retell stories, turn poems into prose passages and write essays on what they had been reading. Esmeijer sums up the favourable results that have been achieved in a four-months trial period. In brief, the results are that the learners participate more actively in the lessons than before, that they have a better command of the oral skills, including pronunciation, and that their vocabulary has expanded considerably. In his brochure Esmeijer refers to Roodhuyzen’s treatise (1862), which he ranks with the Berlitz method. However, Esmeijer’s criticism of Roodhuyzen is that the latter had not been very felicitous in the details and that he had not abandoned translating completely (Esmeijer 1892I:12).

At first sight the Berlitz method resembles the Gouin method. The two methods agree in that neither has any use for deductive grammar teaching or contrastive learning and that errors are prevented as much as possible. According to **L.P.H. Eijkman** (1894), Esmeijer’s “aanschouwingsmethode” [observation method] and the Gouin method only agree in that both have broken with the grammar-translation method. However, whereas the Berlitz method has the noun as its starting-point, Gouin starts from the verb. Esmeijer uses “aanschouwing” [external observation], Gouin uses “voorstelling” [association], which should be understood as inner observation. Berlitz excludes the use of L1 altogether, while Gouin needs L1, at least initially. Gouin’s basic principle is that language is the expression of actions and that actions can be reduced to small events following each other in quick succession. Therefore, he has designed a series of sentences describing in detail a number of complex actions, e.g. opening a door or lighting a match. The learner has to associate each part of the action with a sentence, either by carrying out the action while speaking, or by imag-

³²⁰ See Howatt & Widdowson (2004:223-227) for a critical description of the Berlitz method.

ining it while speaking, the so-called inner observation³²¹. The verb plays the central role as supporter of the action and pivot of the sentence. In the way that Eijkman demonstrates the method, the procedure is quite simple, though labour-intensive. The presentation phase has the teacher describe an action through a series of connected sentences. In the repetition phase the learners repeat the sentences aloud, read them, write them down and memorise them. In this way complete series of connected sentences are learnt by heart. The chief innovation is in the presentation of connected texts, which can be split into successive sentences in which the verb is the key mechanism.

The Gouin method was not very successful in the Netherlands. After the first edition, consisting of French, German and English versions, had come out in 1894, a second English edition was published in 1902 and a German one in 1904³²². It is not hard to understand why Eijkman's attitude had a negative effect on the susceptibility of FLT teachers to Gouin's method. Eijkman was a fanatical Gouin adept and he showed himself dogmatic in his publications and sometimes plainly arrogant at meetings. T.C.G. Valette (1899I:25), for instance, accuses Eijkman of dogmatism. And also the editor of the German version of Gouin's method, J.J.A.A. Frantzen, shows himself very critical. At the end of the introduction to his *Handboek* (1895) Frantzen is able to put the method in its proper perspective, a point of view that would be supported by Grasé: "Ik wil geenszins de leerwijze van Gouin voor de alleenzaligmakende uitgeven..." [I certainly do not wish to publish Gouin's method as the universal one].

The reason for J.C.G. Grasé³²³ to write his course *Oefeningen in de Engelsche taal* (1895/1896II) and his subsequent brochure (1896I) was the Klinghardt experiment, which had been described in reports in 1888 en 1892. In the brochure Grasé explains his classroom procedures at great length. He adheres to the Reform-propagated order of listening, speaking, reading and writing. Initially, the oral skills demand all attention. The teacher begins by acting out or reading out a text, while the pupils listen

³²¹ See W. Kuiper (191:150-180) for an extensive account of Frantzen's *Handboek voor den Onderwijzer* (1895).

³²² See Knops (1982:108).

³²³ For Grasé's teaching methods (1895/1896) also see Wilhelm (1994).

and subsequently try to reproduce the text without errors. At first, attention is heavily focused on pronunciation. The emphasis on correct pronunciation must be accounted for by the fact that the Reform preferred to provide language material without errors as the basis for language learning. For three months on end, the pupils are confronted with spoken language and phonetic transcription to force them to reproduce sounds correctly and to prevent the conventional spelling from interfering. An additional advantage is that, once the learners could read the transcription, they will be able to reproduce the correct sounds at home, too. The mother tongue does not play any part, for the teacher clarifies the meaning of words by means of gestures, illustrations or paraphrases. However, if there is no other way, Grasé does not object to the use of L1. In this respect he distinguishes himself from dogmatic Reformers who wanted to stick to L2 only. During the presentation phase of new learning content, Grasé found Gouin's model very useful. He also uses inductive grammar teaching. Texts serve as starting-points for the 'input' of new content, whereby the teacher helps the learner to discover rules in morphology and syntax.

Around this time, reactions to the direct method started to appear. Thus, in the view of **Prick van Wely** (1900-1901I:102) foreign languages should not be taught according to Berlitz' "parrot method" or be degraded to the level of "waiters and commercial travellers". The latter phrase is perhaps a reference to Vitringa (1876I). Prick van Wely has his doubts about Horn's appeal (1894I) to introduce the direct method, the Berlitz method (Esmeijer 1892I) and Gouin's method (Eijkman 1894I). He also poses the following question, which was difficult to answer for supporters of the direct method: 'granted that the method was successful for beginners, could advanced learners profit by it as well'? Prick van Wely does not advocate one particular method, but proposes to use the best aspects of the existing methods in a creative manner. In his discussion of the direct method, for instance, he highlights as its positive sides that it has promoted visual teaching, that it has reduced the role of grammar and given prominence to the language skills, especially the oral skills, and that it has acknowledged the verb as the nucleus of the sentence. Prick van Wely concludes that there is no point in looking for the best possible way of FLT, "omdat er geen royal road to learning is" [because there is no royal

road to learning.] This argument, even the very wording, clearly echoes Henry Sweet's statement (Sweet 1899:vii): "[...] until every one recognizes that there is no royal road to languages [...] the public will continue to run after one new method after the other, only to return disappointed to the old routine".

The treatises of Prick van Wely (1900I) and **Ten Bruggencate** (1905-1906I) were similar in that both of them sought balance. Nevertheless, Ten Bruggencate was not afraid to speak his mind, as far as teaching methods were concerned. Thus, on the one hand, he opts for phonetic script, but on the other he disapproves of too much inductive teaching, whereby language rules are dealt with more or less accidentally. He is convinced of the necessity of using L2 in the classroom and in this connection refers to Roodhuyzen's example (1862I), who gave precedence to speaking and who had so much in common with Berlitz and Gouin. Thus, Ten Bruggencate essentially sides with the Reformers. He tells the reader that the living language has always been his guide. That is why he makes his pupils expand their vocabularies by reading, not by memorising word lists. As for grammar, Ten Bruggencate insists that grammar teaching in schools is a necessary evil and that a grammar book should only offer basic rules. As regards L1-L2 translation exercises, he has a firm opinion, too: these exercises should merely serve as drills to learn to write correct forms. When writing these articles, Ten Bruggencate noted that the worst commotion concerning the direct method was over. With hindsight, one may say that his articles put an end to the Reform debate of the 1890s, when, experienced and with authority, he took the side of what could be called a more 'communicative' form of FLT.

4.1.6 Analysis of the ideas

The entire corpus of ideas in the treatises may be regarded as an early form of theory building, although one can hardly speak of a coherent debate. Yet, it seems that, as the 19th century went by, the authors of treatises were becoming more familiar with each other's ideas, so that one may well speak of the beginnings of a theoretical framework. This becomes apparent from the content of their writings, in which authors adopted ideas from other treatises or at least appeared to be familiar with them

(Delfos, De Beer, Valette, Eijkman, Grasé). However, authors of treatises were not in the habit of referring to other treatises. Exceptions are Esmeijer (1892I) and Ten Bruggencate (1905-1906I), who both refer to Roodhuyzen (1862I). As far as the relation between treatises and the researched coursebooks is concerned, it must be concluded that this relationship was virtually non-existent, if one is to go by the number of references to treatises in coursebooks. Only Grasé (1896II) refers to his own brochure *Directe methode en phonetisch schrift als grondslagen van taalonderwijs* (1896). Also vice versa, judging by the references to coursebooks in the researched treatises, the relationship did not exist. Nevertheless, when surveying the references in ELT textbooks at large, it is evident that, generally speaking, ELT textbook writers must have been aware of contemporary ideas (see 4.2 and 4.3).

The treatises researched do not explicitly discuss what Richards & Rodgers (1986:16-19) call the level of “approach”, that is, theories about the nature of language and language learning. However, the underlying view of the treatises, even of those that can be associated with the “direct method”, implicitly support the so-called structural view, which is defined by Richards & Rodgers (1986:17) as “the view that language is a system of structurally related elements for the coding of meaning”. All the researched treatises are essentially concerned with “the mastery of elements of this system, which are generally defined in terms of phonological” and “grammatical units [...], grammatical operations [...] and lexical items”. The structural view is different from the so-called functional view, which claims that “... language is a vehicle for the expression of functional meaning”. In the view of Richards & Rodgers (1986:17) “This theory emphasizes the semantic and communicative dimension rather than merely the grammatical characteristics of language, and leads to a specification and organization of language teaching content by categories of meaning and function rather than by elements of structure and grammar”. The functional view of language has led to attempts to design syllabuses including topics and notions about which learners can communicate. Instead of presenting theories on language and language learning, the majority of the treatises are rather concerned with what Richards & Rodgers (1986:20-28) call the levels of “design”. The level of “design” is concerned with the specification of objectives, content and the organisa-

tion of content. The overall question in the treatises is not so much what should be taught but rather how it should be done, whereby it is the motivation of the authors to find the best 'teaching method'.

The aims of FLT ('what' should be taught) are discussed in very general terms. Until well into the 19th century, intellectual and cultural education were regarded as vital aims of FLT, at least as important as proficiency training, but sometimes of even greater value. In the terminology of Rivers' (1968:8-9), this means that especially the "objectives" one to four and in the terminology of Van Els *et al.* (1984:162) the "needs" two and three are mentioned (see 4.1.2). The original, German Niemeyer edition (1796) did not opt for either intellectual training or practical communication as the most important aim, but it is remarkable that the Dutch translator/editor Tesseidre l'Ange (1799I) stresses the importance of intellectual education ("objectives" one to three, as defined by Rivers 1968, and "need" three, as defined by Van Els *et al.* 1984). It is also remarkable that Niemeyer (1799-1810I) puts modern foreign languages on a par with the classical languages, as far as their capacity for training the intellect is concerned. Some authors of treatises look upon the practical aspect of FLT as a necessary evil (Vitranga 1860I) or even wish to do away with the teaching of language skills in grammar schools (Brill 1870I). Vitranga (1860I) prefers the literature of the modern languages above that of the classical languages (Rivers (1968) "objective" two; Van Els *et al.* (1984) "need" two). Vitranga, Brill and Nassau (1842I), attach great value to comparative language study ("objective" three in Rivers' terminology); and so do Sijmons (1879I) and Beckering Vinckers (1886I). It is Neurdenburg (1861I) who puts forward an entirely new argument for foreign language learning, defined by Rivers (1968) as cross-cultural understanding. Around the middle of the nineteenth century, language proficiency seems to be valued higher than intellectual education in some treatises (Delfos 1861, Roodhuyzen 1862I, De Beer 1864I). Their number is growing at the very end of the century, when a number of treatises (Valette 1889I, Esmeijer 1892I, Eijkman 1894I, Horn 1894I, Grasé 1896I) plainly point to language communication, i.e. the use of the living language, as the first aim of FLT in secondary schools (Rivers' 1968 "objective" six, Van Els *et al.* 1984 "need" one). The debate on aims seems to grind to a temporary halt with articles by Prick van Wely (1900I) and

Ten Bruggencate (1905-1906I), in which the former takes an eclectic point of view and the latter a moderate but essentially 'communicative' view.

As far as the selection and gradation of learning content are concerned, the treatises do not go into great detail, but speak in general terms. Some treatises (Stoffel 1878I and Stein 1879I) point out that such variables as the age of learners, types of school and available time should be taken into account, when decisions are made about the selection of learning content. During the greater part of the 19th century, learning content was mostly concerned with the written language, but already around the middle of the century pleas were heard to pay more attention to the spoken language (J.Y. 1846I, Nassau 1846I). Towards the end of the century, most treatises prefer to give most attention to the spoken language, at least for beginners. At the same time they opt for more informal language use instead of the customary formal and literary registers. As regards the question precisely which learning content is to be selected, the treatises remain rather vague. Stoffel (1878I) and Ten Bruggencate (1879I and 1905-1906I) emphasise that selection of content depends on such variables as the type of learners, the factor time and the type of school. They discuss learning content in terms of language skills, while Stoffel (1878) is the first author to mention listening as a separate skill to be practised and examined.

There is little theory, too, on the gradation of learning content. The only aspects that are explicitly mentioned are the 'gradual transition from 'easy' to 'difficult' as well as 'repetition'. Most treatises favour linear gradation. The principle of concentric gradation of learning content is only found in Roodhuyzen (1862I) and Ten Bruggencate (1905I:1037). As far as the order of teaching languages is concerned, the earlier treatises prefer learners to start with a good knowledge of Dutch, before embarking on foreign language study. Usually, French was the first foreign language to be learnt, but several treatises are in favour of using a different order (Vitranga 1876I, Huisman 1899-1900I, Best 1900-1901I). As regards the order of the skills, reading is the first and foremost skill during the greater part of the century. However, by the middle of the century, some treatises prefer learners to start with listening and speaking (Delfos 1861I, Roodhuyzen

1862I, De Beer 1864I), while by the end of the century the tables have definitely turned in favour of the oral skills.

The discussion on how foreign languages should be taught was to a large extent an individual quest for the best methodological procedures. The earliest treatise (the Dutch Niemeyer version, 1799-1810I) advocates a deductive and contrastive teaching method. This method is embraced by a number of treatises (Nassau 1842I, Brill 1858I, Vitringa 1860I). Other treatises (J.Y. 1846I, Delfos 1861I, Roodhuyzen 1862I, De Beer 1864I), on the other hand, prefer grammar teaching on an inductive basis and choose to ignore the mother tongue as much as possible. They are generally in favour of practical language use with greater emphasis on the spoken language. As such, they may be considered early attempts to introduce the ‘direct’ method. Towards the end of the century, the views expressed in these treatises become more outspoken, when such treatises as Valette (1889I), Esmeijer (1893I), Eijkman (1894I), Horn (1894I) and Grasé (1896I) are published. The quest for the ideal teaching method comes to an end, at least theoretically, when Prick van Wely (1900I), following Sweet, asserts that there is no point in looking for the best method because there is “no royal road to learning”. Also Ten Bruggencate’s articles (1905-1906I) suggest that teachers and coursebooks had better meet a number of practical requirements than try and find the ideal teaching method. In his view teaching should be adjusted to the target group; there are too many variables to find the ideal method.

4.2 ELT and the teaching of other languages

4.2.1 The teaching of Latin

Loonen (1991:73-74) devotes a section to the relation between ELL and the learning of Latin. He states that “There are no indications that the learning of English in the Low Dutch area before 1800 was explicitly modelled after the Latin example. The textbooks and manuals do not contain references to Latin; moreover there are very few teachers offering the two languages”. He goes on to say that there was little contact between the classics masters and other language teachers and that each of these groups had their own school magazines. He argues that, as ELT largely

took place in private settings, contacts between the classics and ELT would have been quite unlikely. However, if there was any influence from Latin, it would have reached ELT through the example of its textbook materials, whose structure was adopted by the modern languages. Especially the organisation of the grammar parts, with their extensive etymology sections, left their mark on FLT textbooks. It has been argued more than once that Meidinger's grammar-translation method owed its success at least partly to "imitation of a similar approach in the Latin classes" (Loonen 1991:73-74). Indeed, it seems that, as the nineteenth century went on, the influence of Latin teaching on FLT was on the increase.

To many writers of treatises the teaching of the classics was the ideal form of language teaching, since it provided a means of intellectual and cultural education. To Niemeyer, for instance, there is no great difference between the classics and FLT; both forms of language teaching are presented in the same chapter (1799I:155-168). Also Vitringa (1860I) and Brill (1870I) regard the teaching of the classics as the ideal model for FLT. However, during a great part of the nineteenth century, classics teachers and foreign language teachers lived in separate worlds. The former group was educated at university, whereas foreign language teachers usually started their career as primary school teachers. Formally speaking, there was a difference, too. Until 1863, respectively 1876, most foreign language teachers were employed in primary education, whereas classics masters – sometimes styled 'hoogleraar' [professor] or 'lector' [lecturer] – were active in 'hoger onderwijs' [higher education]. There is little reason to suppose that at the beginning of the nineteenth century there was a great deal of contact between the two forms of language teaching. From about 1840, however, things were beginning to change, when experiments allowed modern languages to be taught in the so-called Second Departments of Latin schools (see 3.1.4). It does not seem far-fetched to believe that the classics, with their emphasis on grammar and literature, exerted considerable influence on modern language teaching, if only because the Latin schools granted social prestige. At any rate, the influence of the classics may help to explain that the intellectual and cultural aims of the Latin schools were adopted in the FLT curricula and/or examination programmes of grammar schools (1876) and, to a lesser degree, in those of Higher Burgher Schools (1863).

The most important impact of the teaching of the classics was the grammar model in FLT textbooks and the example of deductive grammar teaching and translating practice in Latin schools (W. Kuiper 1961:38-39; 76). Agron, for instance, who presumably based his textbook *Verzameling van opstellen* (1794) on the model of Meidinger's *Praktische französische Grammatik*, adhered to the traditional arrangement of the Latin parts of speech grammar and introduced the grammar-translation method in Dutch FLT³²⁴. Agron's textbook was a great success and during the first half of the nineteenth century an increasing number of ELT and other FLT coursebooks followed Agron's (and Meidinger's) method. Thus, for ELT we have Lehman (1805II), Van der Pijl (1811II), Koning (1814II), Murray/Van der Pijl (1816II), Hakbijl (1830II), (Lloyd/Bomhoff 1835II), Oudemans (1836II), Bomhoff (1838II), Marshall (1842II), Williams/Bomhoff (1843II), De Hollander (1850II) and Van der Beek (1850II). Also FrLT and GLT textbooks increasingly adopted the grammar-translation method (see 4.2.2 and 4.2.3).

Around the middle of the century, Thomas Marshall, a native speaker of English who was a schoolmaster in Holland and a textbook writer, still subscribed to the traditional organisation of Latin grammars. In his preface to his four-volume course *De Engelsche Taal* (1843II:1) he writes: "De Engelsche spraakkunst, zoo als die der andere Europesche talen, wordt verdeeld in vier deelen, te weten: orthography, etymology, syntaxis en prosody". [Like the grammar of other European languages, English grammar is divided into four parts: i.e. orthography, etymology, syntax and prosody.] Most modern language grammars, however, merely dealt with orthography and etymology. Little attention was paid to syntax and prosody was nearly always left out. The traditional etymology sections were maintained for a long time. Thus, the 15th edition of Meidinger's *Hoogduitsche spraakkunst* (1874)³²⁵ as well as the 8th edition of Murray's *Engelsche Spraakkunst* (1871II) still have exactly the classical arrangement, starting with the noun and successively dealing with the other parts of speech. Gradually, however, this presentation of grammar met with increasing opposition, as textbook writers realised

³²⁴ In this context it may be relevant to note that from 1796 to 1799 Agron combined the functions of headmaster of the Latin school at Elburg with that of French master (*NNBW*, I:14).

³²⁵ Author's private collection; see also Knops (1982).

that it was not conducive to effective foreign language learning. Thus, a book review of Meidinger's *Hoogduitsche spraakkunst* (1874) in *De Schoolbode* (1874:441-443) utters fundamental criticism of Meidinger's method. Also, in his survey of teaching methods and textbooks, Stein (1879I) describes Meidinger's method as an obsolete form of language teaching and points to the modern textbook materials that had been published in previous decades. In the 1880s Stoffel (1880II) and Roorda (1886II) managed to design ELT coursebooks in which they turned away from the traditional parts of speech pattern and started their grammar sections with the verb. Besides, they paid more attention to syntax. In the 1890s this development would continue with greater intensity. In the Gouin-inspired coursebooks by Eijkman (1894II), Frantzen (1894)³²⁶ and Hofman (1894)³²⁷ the verb was regarded as the pivot of the sentence. Generally, it was realised that the structure of modern languages is so different from that of the classical languages that it does not correspond with the organisation of Latin grammar books. Since that time, FLT coursebooks have developed their own grammatical patterns, based on the language they teach.

4.2.2 *The teaching of French*

Until well into the twentieth century, indeed until after the Second World War, French was the dominant foreign language in the Netherlands. Its history goes back to the sixteenth century, when it took over the role of *lingua franca* from Latin (Riemens 1919:12-13). Prior to 1800, it was a regular subject in the so-called French schools, which resulted in a large quantity of textbook materials³²⁸. Throughout the nineteenth century, French was the most important foreign language for the Dutch, but towards the end of the century cracks started to appear in this seemingly unassailable stronghold³²⁹. It is evident that FrLT had a model function for other forms of foreign language teaching. The dominant role of French can be deduced from the following five factors:

³²⁶ See Knops (1982).

³²⁷ See Breet & Ceton (1982).

³²⁸ Riemens (1919) has an appendix that gives a survey of the main textbooks for FrLT used in Holland before 1800. Also see De Clercq, Lioce, Swiggers (eds.) (2000) for the period 1500-1700.

1. During the greater part of the nineteenth century most foreign language teachers were primarily teachers of French. This implied that the teaching methods for French largely determined those for GLT and ELT. Many ELT textbook writers also taught French and published FrLT textbooks³³⁰, e.g. J. van Bemmelen, G.W. Lehman, R. van der Pijl, A. Kappelhoff, L. Koning, G. Engelberts Gerrits, D. Bomhoff Hzn., H. Hamelberg, A.B. Maatjes, E. Gerdes, H.G. Roodhuyzen, J.N. Valkhoff, C.A. Hofman, Servaas de Bruin, S.F. Kleinbentink and G. Nolst Trenité.

2. The majority of FLT textbooks published in the nineteenth century were FrLT textbooks (see Table 5.2). According to Breet & Ceton (1982), 622 textbooks of French were published in the period 1800-1900, but their real number was probably higher³³¹. Compared to this number, we know that in the same period 473 ELT textbooks were published and 282 GLT textbooks³³². Apart from the greater production of new titles, many FrLT textbooks probably circulated longer because of a larger number of printings. The best-known example of a textbook that continued to appear in new editions was Pierre Marin's *Méthode Familière*, a textbook for beginners, which was first published in 1698 and had its last edition in 1874 (Loonen 1997:16).

3. Until the beginning of the nineteenth century it was not unusual for learners to study English or German with the help of French-English or French-German textbooks. There are numerous examples of French-English textbooks still published in the Netherlands towards the end of

³²⁹ Cf. Vitranga's linguistic and cultural arguments (1860I/1876I) against the prominent place of FrLT in secondary schools (see 4.1.2); cf. the articles by J. Huisman and B.D. Best in favour of reversing the traditional order of teaching French-German-English into English-German-French (see 4.1.2); cf. the parliamentary comment on favouring FrLT in secondary schools to the disadvantage of GLT and ELT (see 2.3). Furthermore, the decline of FrLT was heralded in 1920 by the abolition of French as a subject at the entrance examinations for Higher Burgher Schools and grammar schools.

³³⁰ Cf. Breet & Ceton (1982).

³³¹ Breet & Ceton's research (1982) was restricted to the period 1800-1900. Besides, they mainly collected titles of textbooks for beginners.

³³² Knops' research (1982) was likewise restricted to the period 1800-1900.

the eighteenth and in the first half of the nineteenth century³³³. Also, learners sometimes had to translate from other foreign languages, for instance Latin, into French³³⁴. However, gradually this situation met with growing opposition³³⁵.

4. Throughout the nineteenth century, the number of French lessons exceeded those in German and English. This may have been a matter of course in French schools, but also in Higher Burgher Schools and grammar schools their number was greater (see 3.2.2.2 and 3.2.3.2). What was more, at the admission examinations for these schools, French was a compulsory subject, so that in fact pupils were forced to learn French at a young age.

5. During the greater part of the nineteenth century new ideas and innovative materials reached FLT mainly through FrLT. This concerned not only textbooks but also theoretical treatises. Some treatises were written in French (Jacotot 1823/4II, Meerman van der Horst 1826II, Roodhuyzen 1862II, De Beer 1864II) and many of them referred to FrLT. Many teachers who wrote textbook materials started writing a FrLT textbook. If the textbook in question proved to be successful, they would continue with textbooks for GLT and/or ELT. The influence of FrLT on Dutch FLT can be measured by the number of references to ‘authorities’ on FrLT in the titles and prefaces of Dutch FLT textbooks. By FLT ‘authorities’ we mean language (teaching) experts and/or textbook writers. Consequently, by FrLT ‘authorities’ we understand experts on (the teaching of) French and/or writers of FrLT textbooks. ‘Authorities’ on the French language were, for instance, members of the Académie Française or grammarians and lexicographers, such as F. Noël (1755-1841) and C.P. Chapsal (1788-1858). Examples of ‘authorities’ on French language teaching were Jacotot

³³³ E.g. Schilperoort (1804II). For the following titles see Cleef (1835 and 1839), Brinkman (1858) and Saalmink (1993): Anon. (1804), Lehman (1805), and 1806), Cobbett (1805), Anon. (1808), Perrin (1811), Vergani (1814), Mulder (1820), Van Eusden (1823), Meerman van der Horst (1826), Harmonière (1836), Taylor (1842). As regards GLT textbooks, see W. Kuiper (1961:8).

³³⁴ See report of examinations at a private school in Hooageveen in 1816 (*Nieuwe Bijdragen* 1817:46-47).

³³⁵ See R. Willemssen (1831) cited in W. Kuiper (1961:76, note 3).

or Gouin. Also the authors of treatises on FrLT must be looked upon as ‘authorities’. At the same time we have to distinguish between expertise in the (teaching of the) target language on the one hand and the expert’s nationality or native language on the other. ‘Authorities’ on FrLT, for instance, did not necessarily have to be born in France or have to be native speakers of French in order to be FrLT ‘authorities’. Thus, Agron, although of French descent, lived his whole life in the Netherlands and Meidinger, Seidenstücker and Ahn, though writers of well-known French textbooks, were native speakers of German. The same principle went *mutatis mutandis* for ‘authorities’ on GLT and ELT. To make matters even more complicated, ‘authorities’ could also have expertise in two or more languages. Ahn³³⁶ and Langenscheidt³³⁷, for example, wrote textbooks for various languages.

The majority of references in Dutch FLT textbooks published between 1800 and 1900 were made to ‘authorities’ on FrLT. Of the 25 most-cited ‘authorities’ between 1800 and 1900, 12 were in the first place ‘authorities’ on FrLT, 6 on ELT, 5 on GLT and 2 on teaching Dutch (Scholten 1984:77-78). The references to ‘authorities’ on FrLT concerned in decreasing order of frequency: Académie Française, Noël, Langenscheidt, Chapsal, Gouin, Agron, Perrin, Toussaint, Marin, Meidinger, Ahn, Seidenstücker. Of these 12 ‘authorities’, 9 had published their works before 1850, so that the influence of FrLT on Dutch FLT appears to have been greatest in the first half of the nineteenth century. Scholten (1984:78) also found that, in a total of 125 references to ‘authorities’ in French, German and English textbooks published between 1800 and 1900, 54 references were made to FrLT ‘authorities’, 31 to ‘authorities’ on Dutch language teaching, 28 to ELT ‘authorities’ and 12 to GLT ‘authorities’. This information seems to confirm that the influence of FrLT was greater than that of GLT and ELT.

³³⁶ Ahn started his career by compiling a French reader and a Dutch course for Germans (Howatt & Widdowson 2004:159-160).

³³⁷ Langenscheidt and Toussaint were the co-authors of the first self-study textbooks in the form of letters (1856). The first target languages were French and English and similar textbooks for more languages were to follow (Macht 1986:81-82; 210).

When we look at the native language of the ‘authorities’, it appears that in the first half of the nineteenth century the influence of speakers of French was greater than that of speakers of German or English, since the number of references to FLT ‘authorities’ who were speakers of French was greater than the number of references to FLT ‘authorities’ who spoke German or English. Of the 14 most-cited ‘authorities’ in Dutch FLT textbooks between 1800 and 1850, 6 were speakers of French, 4 speakers of English, 2 speakers of German and 2 of Dutch. However, when we look at the 25 most-cited ‘authorities’ in Dutch FLT textbooks between 1800 and 1900, 11 spoke German as their first language, 8 French, 4 English and 2 Dutch. This implies that in the second half of the century Dutch writers of FLT textbooks must have found more inspiration in German-speaking ‘authorities’. Table 4.1 gives a survey of the references to the 25 most-cited FLT ‘authorities’ in Dutch FLT textbooks in the period 1800-1900 according to Scholten (1984:77-78). It also indicates which were the native languages of these ‘authorities’.

TABLE 4.1 REFERENCES TO THE 25 MOST-CITED ‘AUTHORITIES’ IN DUTCH FLT TEXTBOOKS 1800-1900

FrLT ‘authorities’	Native language	GLT ‘authorities’	Native language	ELT ‘authorities’	Native language	DLT ‘authorities’	Native language
Académie Française	French	Ollendorff	German	Walker	English	Siegenbeek	Dutch
Noël	French	Viëtor	German	Plate	German	Weiland	Dutch
Langenscheidt	German	Adelung	German	Lloyd	English		
Chapsal	French	Sauer	German	Murray	English		
Gouin	French	Heinsius	German	Sheridan	English		
Agron	French			Mätzner	German		
Perrin	French						
Toussaint	French						
Marin	French						
Meidinger	German						
Ahn	German						
Seidenstücker	German						

The most important innovation around 1800 was the introduction of the grammar-translation method into Dutch FLT through the publication of the *Verzameling van Opstellen* by Antoine Nicolas Agron (1794). This French textbook set the trend for the next generations of FLT textbooks in the Netherlands. It is very likely that Agron used Johann Valentin Meidinger’s *Praktische Fanzösische Grammatik* (1783) as a source for his own French textbook. Meidinger’s German-French grammar was highly

successful in Germany (Klippel 1994:143-144). Thirty years after the first publication thousands of copies were still printed in Germany³³⁸. Agron's textbook has exactly the same deductive structure, which means that grammar rules had to be studied before they were practised in translation exercises L1-L2. As in Meidinger's grammar, the rules and translation exercises take up the major part of the book. As early as 1813, a reviewer of the *Vaderlandsche Letteroefeningen* (1813:86) observed that Agron's *Verzameling van Opstellen* was widely known. Some years later a reviewer in the *Nieuwe Bijdragen* (1830:1169) notes:

Het ... werk van den ijverigen en helaas! te vroeg overleden Agron is zoo algemeen bekend, dat wij het overbodig zouden achten hetzelfde aan te kondigen ... Toen in het laatste der vorige eeuw dit werk in het licht kwam, kon men hetzelfde waarlijk als een ijsbreker in het onderwijs der Fransche taal beschouwen, en vond het algemeen bijval.

[The work of the diligent Agron, who sadly died prematurely, is so widely known that we think it unnecessary to familiarize the reader with it. When it was published at the end of the last century, it could truly be considered an ice-breaker in French language teaching and it was widely applauded.]

That this was not an idle rumour was proved by the fact that within a few years the textbook was frequently reprinted and it was kept in print for a long time to come³³⁹. Agron's name occurs as one of the most-cited 'authorities' in the titles and prefaces of FLT textbooks in the period 1800-1900 (Scholten 1984:77-79). Other indications of its popularity are that Rudolph van der Pijl, a well-known textbook writer in his days (Wilhelm 2000), gave his *Engelsche Spraakkunst* (1816) the subtitle "bewerkt volgens de leerwijze van Agron" [adapted according to Agron's teaching method] and that the most successful writer of FrLT textbooks

³³⁸ According to the *Bibliographie de l'Empire français* (BEF) 8,000 copies were printed in "Deux Ponts" (Zweibrücken ?) in 1812, while in the following year 5,000 copies were printed in Strasbourg, 1,000 in Koblenz and another 1,000 in Münster.

³³⁹ Of the 5th edition (1811) 2,000 copies were printed (cf. BEF 1812), which was more than the output of an average French textbook. By the year 1830 Agron's *Opstellen* had had seven editions. The 12th and last edition came out in 1866 (Breet & Ceton 1982).

of the 1830s, P.J. Baudet, declares in his *Fransche oefeningen met de noo-dige spraakkunste aanwijzingen en ophelderingen* (1833): “Pendant plus de trente-six ans, je fais usage d’Agron” [For more than thirty-six years, I have made use of Agron]³⁴⁰.

Agron’s grammar-translation method was to a large extent a reaction to the methods found in the textbooks by Pierre Marin³⁴¹, Charles Cazelles³⁴², Jean Perrin³⁴³ and A.J. Bougier³⁴⁴. With the title of Marin’s best-known ‘phrasebook’, the *Méthode familière*, in mind, these textbooks were often simply referred to as ‘méthodes familières’³⁴⁵. Beginning learners had to memorize a great many words, communicative phrases and dialogues, so as to be able to enter into a conversation with their teachers, which was called ‘parlieren’ or ‘rabbelen’. Around 1800 this procedure of improvisation was more and more frowned upon as unsystematic (Niemeyer 1810I:262-263). Sometimes, the very memory of having to memorize so much material gave rise to disgust, even after a great many years: “Die bladzijden van den volumineusen Pierre Marin jagen menig bejaarde gewis nu nog eene huivering op ’t lijf” (Vitringa 1876I:30) [Those pages of the voluminous Pierre Marin surely make many old men shudder at the thought]. During the first half of the nineteenth century, the share of ‘phrasebooks’ in the total quantity of teaching materials decreased and the number of textbooks in which translation exercises took the place of the familiar word lists, phrases and dialogues was growing substantially. In this way, memorising made way for translating. Nevertheless, ‘phrasebooks’ have continued to exist to this very day and ‘communicative phrases’ and dialogues are fully present in modern textbook materials.

³⁴⁰ Taken from the preface to the second volume, 2nd ed. 1834.

³⁴¹ See Loonen (1997) on Marin’s life and work.

³⁴² In Van den Hull’s autobiography he is referred to as “old Cazelles” (Padmos 1996:406). The reference is to the year 1805 or thereabouts, when, on account of old age, Cazelles had given up his job as precentor (parish clerk) at the Walloon church in Haarlem.

³⁴³ Around 1780 Perrin was a teacher French of in London. He was especially known for his multilingual dialogues.

³⁴⁴ Around 1800 Alex Bougier was the owner of a French boarding-school in Dordrecht (Esseboom 1995:301-303).

³⁴⁵ Book review in *Nieuwe Bijdragen* (1871:908).

Agron's method was used far and wide during the first half of the nineteenth century. The first French grammar based on Meidinger appeared in 1802 and remained in circulation at least till 1844³⁴⁶. Apart from Baudet's course, Agron's method was also used in another successful course, *De Beginselen der Fransche taal gemakkelijk gemaakt* (1842), by A. van der Hoeven. If, during the first half of the nineteenth century, Marin and Agron were among the most-cited 'authorities' in the titles and prefaces of Dutch FLT textbooks, in the second half French-speaking 'authorities' were less often referred to (Scholten 1984:77-78). Their place was taken by German-speaking 'authorities', such as J. Seidenstücker³⁴⁷, F. Ahn³⁴⁸, H. Ollendorff and K. Ploetz³⁴⁹. Thus, E. Gerdes based his *Nieuwe Leerwijze der Fransche Taal* (1850) on the French coursebooks by J. Seidenstücker and F. Ahn, while J.N. Valkhoff's French coursebook *Volledige Leercursus der Fransche taal* (1873) was inspired by Ploetz³⁵⁰. It may be argued that these German 'authorities' still belonged to the tradition of the grammar-translation method in one way or another (Closset 1960:15-16; Macht 1986:105-208; Howatt & Widdowson 2004:151-165). In 1879 J.H. Stein, a schoolmaster in Grave, looked back on the period behind him and wrote³⁵¹:

De leerboeken voor vreemde talen zijn tevens in de laatste twintig jaren veel doelmatiger geworden. Agron, Baudet ... waar worden ze nog aan-

³⁴⁶ This was the *Fransche spraakkonst: waardoor men de Fransche taal op eene geheel nieuwe en zeer gemakkelijke wijze, in korten tijd, grondig kan leeren*. The title was a direct translation of the original French title (1783). The book had a second edition in 1806, again published by J. Allart of Amsterdam, and went through new editions in 1826 and 1844. The fifth edition was adapted by D. Bomhoff (1844) (see *Nieuwe Bijdragen* 1844).

³⁴⁷ Some years before Ahn wrote his French course, J. Seidenstücker had published his *Elementarbuch zur Erlernung der französischen Sprache* (1811) (cf. Macht 1986:105).

³⁴⁸ Gerdes drew on Ahn and Seidenstücker for his own textbooks. Franz Ahn published his highly successful *Praktischen Lehrgang zu schnellen und leichten Erlernung der französischen Sprache* in 1834 (cf. Macht 1986:113).

³⁴⁹ See the review by F.C. Delfos in *Nieuwe Bijdragen* (1875).

³⁵⁰ See Macht (1986:151) on Karl Ploetz' coursebook *Elementarbuch der französischen Sprache* (1847).

³⁵¹ *School en Studie* 2nd vol. (1879:193).

getroffen? Zijn ze niet verdrongen door tal van werken, waarin – althans voor 't meerendeel – met de oude sleur gebroken is en een methode ten grondslag ligt, die èn zekerder èn gemakkelijker tot het beoogde doel voert?

[Over the last twenty years FLT textbooks have become much more effective. *Agron, Baudet* ... where are they still found? Have they not been ousted by numerous works, in which – at least for the greater part – the old routine has been done away with and in which a method is used that leads to the intended purpose more confidently and easily?]

In Stein's view, the problem was that the 'old' coursebooks went through the word classes one by one, in the way that Greek and Latin coursebooks did, and that the learners did not get the opportunity to practise their oral skills. Also, the great number and complexity of grammar rules led to many errors in the translation exercises. As examples of 'old' coursebooks Stein mentions Meidinger, Bomhoff, Agron and Baudet; as examples of 'new' coursebooks Valkhoff and Dubois³⁵². Yet, also coursebook writers like Gerdes, Valkhoff, A.H.W. de Bock & A.D. Leeman (*Cours gradué* 1884) and Dubois (*Cours gradué de grammaire française* 1871), essentially continued to base their textbooks on the grammar-translation method (Baardman 1953:548-549).

Around 1860 H.G. Roodhuyzen published innovative material based on the ideas of Pestalozzi and Jacotot³⁵³. He used the target language as much as possible, gave precedence to the oral skills and inductive grammar teaching and may, therefore, be considered a forerunner of the direct method of the 1890s³⁵⁴ (cf. 4.1.5). Also other FrLT textbooks of the second half of the nineteenth century seem to express dissatisfaction with the grammar-translation method, such as G. Verenet's *Grammaire en action*

³⁵² J.H. Stein in *School en Studie* (2nd vol., 1879:1966).

³⁵³ See book review in *NTPB* (1858:13).

³⁵⁴ Kuiper (1961:130) prefers to speak of the "natural" method instead of an early reform movement. However, the Roodhuyzen method contains the main elements that were typical of the international reform movement. Besides, it is no coincidence that supporters of the direct method, such as Esmeyer (1892:12) and Ten Bruggencate (1905:1036-1037) refer to Roodhuyzen's method as an early example of the direct method.

... *d'après la méthode pratique et rationnelle d'intuition sensible* (1865)³⁵⁵, Kool van Kasteel (1866)³⁵⁶, J. Geluk (1870)³⁵⁷ and C.A. Hofman & IJ. IJkema (1874)³⁵⁸.

It is not very clear how great the role of FrLT was, when the direct method manifested itself. In 1885 T. Boerma published a title that, at least in name, may be called representative of the new movement: *De Fransche taal volgens de rechtstreekse methode*. Such a title had not been published for GLT or ELT. Shortly afterwards, a number of publications appeared that, going by their titles, seemed to herald the Reform movement, such as the edition of Joh. Storm's *Fransche Spreekoefeningen* by C.M. Robert (1888)³⁵⁹, M.F. Van Goor *Het eerste onderwijs in de Fransche taal op aanschouwelyken grondslag. Naar platen van Van Lummel* (1892)³⁶⁰, Felix Franke & J.D. Douw *Phrases pour tous les jours* (1892)³⁶¹, G. Teensma *La langue française d'après la méthode intuitive* (1892)³⁶², C. Herckenrath *Le français enseigné en français* (1893) en C.A. Hofman: *Handleiding voor de beoefening der moderne talen, bewerkt volgens de leerwijze van Gouin* (1894), V.A. Seket *Cours de langue française, d'après la méthode intuitive* (1894), G.F. Steenbergen *Pour nos élèves* (1899) and Witvliet *Cours élémentaire de la langue française d'après la méthode directe* (1900). Thus, it appears that the communicative tradition, which before 1800 was present in the phrasebooks of Pierre Marin and others and which around the middle of the 19th century was embraced by Roodhuyzen and his followers, was continued at the end of the century by French language teachers representing the direct method. Consequently, with this information in mind, it is doubtful whether the Utrecht linguist Gerlach Royen was

³⁵⁵ See review in *Nieuwe Bijdragen* (1865:817-818).

³⁵⁶ See review by F.C. Delfos in *Nieuwe Bijdragen* (1875:2).

³⁵⁷ See review in *Nieuwe Bijdragen* (1870:15).

³⁵⁸ See review by F.C. Delfos in *Nieuwe Bijdragen* 89, (1874).

³⁵⁹ The Norwegian Johan Storm was one of the prominent Scandinavian proponents of the Reform movement (cf. Howatt & Widdowson 2004:198). For a review of C.M. Robert's edition of Storm's phrasebook see *De Wekker* vol. 45 (1888), 99.

³⁶⁰ See book review in *De Wekker* (1893:2).

³⁶¹ The German Felix Franke (1860-1886) was "an influential theorist" of the Reform Movement (Howatt 1984:312).

³⁶² For this title and the following see Breet & Ceton (1982).

right, when a few decades later, he noted: “Frans wordt veelal nog op dezelfde wijze onderwezen als de schoolmeester dat deed ten tijde van Voltaire. Met het Duits is het niet veel beter gesteld. Alleen het Engels verkeert in aanmerkelijk gunstiger omstandigheden”.³⁶³ [French is mostly still taught in the way a schoolmaster did in the days of Voltaire. German is not taught much better. Only English is taught in considerably better circumstances.] His kindred spirit Rombouts (1937:168) gave the following description of the Reform movement in the Netherlands:

... voor Frans, Duits en Engels bleef alles vrijwel bij het oude. Er werd blijkbaar weinig of slechts door weinigen over dit gedeelte der didaktiek nagedacht: anders had men er veel meer in onze pedagogische periodieken over moeten kunnen lezen. Blijkbaar is de ganse beweging over ons landje heengegaan als een nergens toevende wervelwind, of als een onweertje dat niemand uit zijn dommel opschrikte ... Van praktische invloed op het onderwijs Frans hebben we een vage herinnering aan een of twee geïsoleerde gevallen van lagere-schoolmensen, die aarzelend met de direkte methode een proef waagden en die spoedig opgaven. [... as for French, German and English, hardly anything changed. Apparently, few people gave their thoughts to language teaching methodology; otherwise one would have been able to read much more about them in our pedagogical journals. It appears that the entire movement passed over this country like a whirlwind, stopping nowhere, or like a little storm, rousing nobody from their sleep ... As regards its practical influence on the teaching of French, I remember one or two isolated cases of (primary) school teachers who gave the direct method a try, but soon gave up again.]

However, on the same page Rombouts corrected himself more or less by referring to Eijkman's Gouin method in a footnote³⁶⁴.

In the first two decades of the twentieth century elaborate discussions appeared in the *Weekblad voor Gymnasiaal en Middelbaar Onderwijs*

³⁶³ *Levende Talen* 68 (February 1932):33.

³⁶⁴ The correction was made in a note on the same page on which Rombouts referred to Eijkman's *Methode Gouin, Handboek voor den Onderwijzer*.

[Grammar School and Secondary School Weekly] on the government's plan to remove FrLT as a compulsory subject from the admission examinations for (public) Higher Burgher Schools and grammar schools. The plan was implemented in 1919 and led to the disappearance of FrLT in public primary schools. Most teachers of French regarded this situation as highly undesirable from a methodological point of view, so much so that in his 'Geschiedenis van het onderwijs in het Frans in de twintigste eeuw' [history of FrLT in the 20th century], forty years afterwards, G. Baardman concluded that "de strijd voor goed onderwijs in het Frans verloren [was]" [the battle for good FrLT had been lost] (Baardman 1961:152).

4.2.3 *The teaching of German*

Not until the second half of the eighteenth century did the Dutch begin to take a general interest in German language and culture³⁶⁵. Hence, in comparison with FrLT and ELT, GLT got under way rather late and the number of GLT textbooks published in the Netherlands was smaller than that for FrLT and ELT. However, in the course of the nineteenth century, and especially from the 1830s onwards, a sudden growth occurred. Between 1800 and 1900 at least 282 GLT textbooks appeared (see Table 5.2). In 1863 German became a compulsory subject in Higher Burgher Schools and thus, like English, obtained a position equal to French. As far as the number of lessons was concerned, GLT outdid ELT and German became the second foreign language after French (see 3.2.2.2 and 3.2.3.2)³⁶⁶. Without any doubt, this situation was bound up with Germany's fast-growing prestige in the spheres of technology, science, scholarship and culture. Hence, it does not come as a surprise that around 1900 a plea was heard to change the traditional order of precedence of FrLT-GLT-ELT in the lesson tables of schools into ELT-GLT-FrLT, the underlying idea being that the British and German spheres of influence were displacing the French influence (see 2.3). Some years before, A.J. Vitranga (1876I) had already pleaded for GLT to take over the leading role of FrLT in secondary education on linguistic and cultural arguments.

³⁶⁵ W. Kuiper (1961:3-16) as well as Loonen (1991:41-42) dedicate a number of pages to GLT in the Low Countries before 1800.

³⁶⁶ Also see W. Kuiper 1961:47-49.

During the nineteenth century, the methodological influence of GLT on FLT, and therefore on ELT, was not particularly great. This held both for the treatises and textbooks. Like the influence of FrLT on FLT, the influence of GLT can be measured by the number of references in Dutch FLT textbooks to ‘authorities’ on GLT, i.e. experts on (the teaching of) German and/or writers of textbooks of German. Of the references to the sixteen most-cited ‘authorities’ in the period 1800-1850, just one was made because of his expertise in German grammar (J.C. Adelung). Also, when we look at the period 1850-1900, the situation was not essentially different. Scholten (1984:77-78) found that in that period only 2 to 3 references were made to ‘authorities’ on GLT, Ollendorff³⁶⁷, Viëtor³⁶⁸ and Sauer³⁶⁹.

It is true, many references point to experts and textbook writers who were native speakers of German, but in most cases the references were made in the first place because of their French or English textbooks. Thus, Scholten (1984:77-78) found many references to native speakers of German, such as Meidinger, Seidenstücker, Ahn, Ollendorff, Langenscheidt³⁷⁰, Plate, Mätzner and Viëtor. However, Meidinger, Seidenstücker and Ahn were referred to primarily for their FrLT textbooks. Langenscheidt built his reputation on the FrLT and ELT textbooks that he wrote in collaboration with Toussaint. Mätzner and Plate were known for their ELT textbooks. Nevertheless, it is clear that after 1850 Dutch textbook writers found more and more methodological inspiration in FLT ‘authorities’ who were native speakers of German. As is shown in Table 4.1, of the 25 most-cited ‘authorities’ in Dutch FLT textbooks between 1800 and 1900, 11 spoke German as their first language, 8 French, 4 English and 2 Dutch. The table indicates unmistakably that in the second half of the century

³⁶⁷ In 1835 Ollendorff published a German textbook for speakers of French and English, which was so successful that it led to the publication of many textbooks for other languages. See Macht (1986:207-210).

³⁶⁸ Apart from his pamphlet “Der Sprachunterricht muss umkehren” (1882), Viëtor is well-known for his work on phonetics, including his handbook *Elemente der Phonetik* (1884).

³⁶⁹ Sauer, Gaspey and Otto were responsible for a method which was used by P. Schwippert in his *Kleine Hoogduitsche Grammatica* (1899).

³⁷⁰ Toussaint and Langenscheidt were the co-authors of the first self-study textbooks in the form of letters (1856). The first target languages were French and English and similar textbooks for more languages were to follow (Macht 1986:81-82; 210).

the influence of German-speaking ‘authorities’ on Dutch textbooks writers was growing. In other words, we must conclude that the influence of German-speaking FLT ‘authorities’ on Dutch FLT was greater than the influence of GLT as such. On the basis of Table 4.1 as well as on the basis of the references in Dutch ELT textbooks (see Table 4.2), it may be claimed that the most important German-speaking ‘authorities’ for Dutch FLT/ELT were in chronological order: Meidinger (1783), Ahn (1834), Ollendorff (1835), Heyse (1814/1838?), Ploetz (1847), Zimmermann (1850), Plate (1850), Mätzner (1865), Langenscheidt-Toussaint (1856/68) and Viëtor (1882/1884)³⁷¹.

German FLT ‘authorities’ and Dutch FLT

In the first half of the nineteenth century German influence affected Dutch FLT chiefly through Meidinger’s German-French and French-German grammars³⁷². The methodological set-up of Meidinger’s French grammar probably inspired Agron to write his *Verzameling van Opstellen* (1794) and triggered the publication of other textbooks for French, German and English. In 1813 the first Dutch version of Meidinger’s German grammar was published under the title *Nieuwe beoefenende Hoogduitsche spraakkunst, of nieuwe en vermakelijke leerwijze om de Hoogduitsche taal te leeren*, being a literal translation of the original French title³⁷³. Numerous editions were to follow³⁷⁴. Indirectly, too, Meidinger

³⁷¹ For titles of these German textbooks see w. Kuiper (1961:75-78) and Knops (1982:passim).

³⁷² See W. Kuiper (1961:73-118) for an extensive account of the reception of Meidinger’s German grammar in the Netherlands.

³⁷³ This edition is found in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek in The Hague. W. Kuiper (1961) is based on the second edition (1818). The original French title reads: *Nouvelle Grammaire allemande-pratique, ou Méthode facile et amusante pour apprendre l’Allemand*.

³⁷⁴ The first German grammar for Dutch learners based on Meidinger was published in 1813, the second in 1818 (Saalmink 1983:1242). The 8th ed. appeared in 1844, the 11th ed. in 1859 (Zwolle:H.A. Doijer); the 12th and 14th editions (1870) were adapted by W.A. Elberts (Zwolle:Tjeenk Willink). S. Susan adapted the 15th ed. (1874) (see review in *De Schoolbode* 1874:441-443) and the 16th ed. (1879). The last Dutch edition was the 18th ed. by E. Mehler (1893). For these data also see W. Kuiper (1961:73-118) and Knops (1982:133).

left his stamp on other textbooks. Bomhoff's English textbooks (1835 and 1843), for instance, were based on H.E. Lloyd's *Theoretisch-practische englische Sprachlehre für deutsche* (1816) and T.S. Williams' *Theoretisch-practische englische Schul-Grammatik* (1836). According to Macht (1986:24 and 44) both Lloyd (1816) and Williams (1836) belonged to the 'school' of Meidinger. Also Seidenstücker (1811), Ahn (1834), Ollendorff (1835) and Ploetz (1847) basically belonged to the Meidinger tradition (Closset 1960:15-16; Macht 1986:105-208).

At an early stage there was also criticism of Meidinger's method. Thus, Berger/ Engelman (1808)³⁷⁵ held the view that translation exercises were not effective in foreign language learning and tended to make language teachers lazy. Likewise, the reviewer of the *Vaderlandsche Letteroefeningen* (1813:716) did not hide his aversion to sentences for translation:

Eéne aanmerking moeten wij bij deze gelegenheid maken, die echter niet alleen dit werkje, maar ook de meeste Thema-boeken treft: dat de opstellen doorgaans zulken ellendigen onzin behelzen, dat een beschaafd Onderwijzer, die dezelve gebruikt, de schouders moet ophalen. Het lust ons niet, hiervan proeven op te zamelen; wie dit begeert, zie dit boekje, zie de meeste zelfs nieuwere Thema-boeken, zelfs Meidinger en Agron.

[On this occasion we must pass a comment that does not only concern this book, but most exercise books, namely that the translation exercises usually contain such miserable nonsense that they make the teacher shrug. It does not please us to collect specimens; whoever is interested let him look at this book, let him look at more recent works, even Meidinger and Agron.]

Also, in the preface to his *Hoog- en Nederduitsche spreekwijzen* (1837)³⁷⁶, J. Olivier, author of French, German and English textbooks, seriously objected to beginners having to memorise grammar rules. In his view it

³⁷⁵ C.L. Berger/ M.G. Engelman in *De zelfleerende Fransche taalmeester* (1808:VI-VII); see Breet & Ceton 1982.

³⁷⁶ See Knops (1982:138). Olivier's German phrasebook was an adaptation of his French *Manuel de la conversation française* (1835).

was much better to acquire a sufficient quantity of language material through memorising communicative sentences³⁷⁷:

De kortste en zeker ook de beste wijze om eene levende taal te leeren is niet, zich eerst en voor alles op hare spraakkunstige regels toe te leggen, maar zich eene menigte spreekwijzen eigen te maken en slechts daarna de regelen te bestuderen, die alsdan zeer gemakkelijk begrepen zullen worden, omdat de leerling ze onwillekeurig op de in zijn geheugen geprente spreekwijzen zal toepassen.

[The shortest and surely also the best way to learn a living language is not to apply oneself first and foremost to its grammar rules, but to acquire a great deal of phrases and only afterwards to study the rules, which will then be understood quite easily, because the learner will apply them involuntarily to the phrases that he has imprinted in his memory.]

Meidinger's influence reached a climax with the *Hoogduitsche spraakleer voor gymnasia en hogere burgerscholen* by C. Sicherer (2nd ed. 1861)³⁷⁸. On account of its 'learned' character, the book was seen as a model for all FLT in Dutch grammar schools and Higher Burgher Schools around 1870 (Kuiper 1961:119-120). In this way teachers in these schools could compete with the scholarly character of the classical languages. The grammar-translation method would not entirely disappear in the time to come, but linger on in one way or another. As a matter of fact, its existence was guaranteed as long as school-leaving examinations required translating. However, there would be increasing criticism as well as attempts to find new teaching materials and alternative ways of testing.

Apart from Meidinger's grammars there were other German textbook writers that influenced Dutch FLT. E. Gerdes (1850II, 1853II, 1855II)

³⁷⁷ Olivier refers to Hamilton as an 'authority' who condemned the learning of rules for absolute beginners. It is ironical, though, that Hamilton was a champion of the use of literal, word-for-word translation (Howatt & Widdowson 2004:168).

³⁷⁸ This textbook was an adaptation of W.G. Brill's *Hoogduitsche spraakleer* (1855) (Knops:1982:95), which in its turn had been adapted from the 5th ed. of Heyse's *Ausführliches Lehrbuch der deutschen Sprache* (Hannover 1838). See W.G. Brill *Hollandsche Spraakleer* (preface to 1846 ed.).

acknowledged that he had been inspired by Ahn for his French, German and English textbooks³⁷⁹. W. Lock(e) (1853II) and J. Stevens (1864, 1866II, 1867) based their English and German textbooks on Ollendorff's example³⁸⁰. Around 1840 W.G. Brill (1855)³⁸¹ adapted J.C.A. Heyse's German textbooks *Theoretisch-praktische deutsche Grammatik*³⁸² as well as his *Leitfaden zum gründlichen Unterrichte in der deutschen Sprache*. Ploetz' French coursebook was adapted by J.M. Reinders (1873)³⁸³ and also J.N. Valkhoff (1873II and 1879II) made use of this work. The works of Zimmermann, Plate and Mätzner were important for their Dutch editors because of their linguistic quality. J.W. Zimmermann wrote a successful grammar called *Lehrbuch der Englischen Sprache* (1850), which was adapted by Dingemans (1864II) and Van Moerkerken (1871). Heinrich Plate is known for his English course *Methodisch geordneter Lehrgang* (1850)³⁸⁴. It was adapted by P. Stevens (1876II), C. Stoffel (1880II) and J. Mertens (1884II) for English and by Dekker & Pruim (1887) for French³⁸⁵. Eduard Mätzner is well-known for his scholarly *Englische Grammatik* (Berlin 1865)³⁸⁶ and was referred to by four writers of English textbooks (Beckering Vinckers 1875II, Valkhoff 1876II, Mertens 1871II and 1879II and Stoffel 1881II). Langenscheidt-Toussaint-van Dalen are known as authors of course materials³⁸⁷ for several languages, including Latin. These coursebooks aimed at self-study by adult learners;

³⁷⁹ See Breet & Ceton (1982) and Knops (1982)

³⁸⁰ See Knops (1982). H.G. Ollendorff wrote textbooks for speakers of German, English, French and Italian (Scholten 1984:62-63). According to Macht (1986:207) he belongs to the 'school' of Seidenstücker-Ploetz.

³⁸¹ The 2nd ed. appeared in 1823 (Hannover). See also Kuiper (1961:77).

³⁸² This grammar was very successful and dates from the end of the 18th or the very beginning of the 19th century. The 5th ed. was published in 1814 (Hannover).

³⁸³ See Breet & Ceton (1982).

³⁸⁴ See Macht (1986:245ff.); according to Klippel (1994:405) by the year 1882 56 printings had been published.

³⁸⁵ See Breet & Ceton (1982)

³⁸⁶ Klippel (1994:346) claims that by the middle of the 19th century a division took place in Germany between scholarly and school grammars of English.

³⁸⁷ The courses are presented in the form of letters; they provide interlinear translations and contain a form of phonetic transcription. Translating plays an important part and the material has a strong grammatical bias.

they were reprinted frequently and adapted by Servaas de Bruin around 1870 for use by Dutch learners. Wilhelm Viëtor became known through his pamphlet *Der Sprachunterricht muss umkehren* (1882/1886)³⁸⁸, which is generally regarded as the beginning of the Reform movement, and through his phonetics handbook *Elemente der Phonetik* (1884). This work was referred to in many textbooks, especially ELT textbooks, such as Roorda (1886II), Ten Bruggencate (1887II), Mertens (1889II), Dijkstra (1891)³⁸⁹ and Grasé (1895II).

In the Netherlands, reactions to the Reform, which was mainly associated with Germany, were slow. In his brochure *Het onderwijs in de levende vreemde talen* (1899)³⁹⁰, T.G.G. Valette had to inform his readers that such a thing as a reform movement existed abroad. Eijkman's reaction in *De Drie Talen*³⁹¹ in 1891 to Viëtor's appeal for FLT reform was rather sceptical. He felt that, because of the high proficiency level of the secondary school teachers, FLT reform in the Netherlands was not urgent, implying that this proficiency warranted the use of the target language in the classroom. The number of GLT textbooks published in the Netherlands that propagated the Reform was rather limited. W. Kuiper (1961:130-142) considers Joh. A. Leopold's *Hochdeutsche Sprachschule* (1883) a forerunner to the Reform movement³⁹². More innovative material was found in Esmeijer/Horn *Die deutsche Sprache* (1890), based on Berlitz, and in J.J.A.A. Frantzen *Handleiding voor de beoefening der Hoogduitsche taal. Voor eerstbeginnenden. Leerwijze Gouin* (1894)³⁹³. Judging by their preface, Esmeijer & Horn (1890) were well aware that the direct method could not count on a cordial reception by all teachers, seeing that they persuaded them to give the new method a try (Kuiper 1961:143-144). There are a few more textbooks whose titles suggest readiness for reform. Veenstra (1900) published a textbook named *Kern der deutschen Gram-*

³⁸⁸ See Howatt & Widdowson (2004:188).

³⁸⁹ See Knops (1982:104).

³⁹⁰ It had been the preface to his *Practisch leerboek der Hoogduitsche taal* in 1889, but it was published separately as a brochure in 1899.

³⁹¹ L.P.H. Eijkman: "Eenige wenken over Uitspraak" (*De Drie Talen* 1 March 1891).

³⁹² The book was not without success: there was 12th ed. in 1913 (Knops 1982:129).

³⁹³ See Knops (1982:107).

matik ... nach der direkten Methode bearbeitet. Visual material was to be found in Gulden & Romp (1905), Brevée (1906) and Nolst Trenité (1909)³⁹⁴. In retrospect, it seems that the Reform movement did not play a particularly significant role in the Dutch textbooks for GLT.

4.2.4 *The teaching of Dutch*

The teaching of Dutch had an unmistakable impact on 19th century FLT. In 1804 appeared the *Verhandeling over de Nederduitsche Spelling* by Matthijs Siegenbeek and one year later the *Nederduitsche Spraakkunst* by Pieter Weiland (Van der Wal 1992:287-293). Both works were the result of the government's plan to establish a national spelling and grammar. In this way the Dutch language could become the symbol of national unity and identity. From the point of view of language policy, the standard spelling and grammar were matters of great importance (Noordegraaf 1985:183). The government ordered them to be used in government documents and education. Small wonder, then, that the names of Siegenbeek and Weiland were frequently referred to in FLT textbooks (see 4.3). The references could be taken as a patriotic gesture and the names of the 'authorities' granted the textbooks some kind of official status. Patriotic teachers, like Van der Pijl, who often referred to Siegenbeek and Weiland, would thus qualify sooner for a positive comment in the *Nieuwe Bijdragen*³⁹⁵.

In this context it is easy to see why the use of foreign languages in the private homes of citizens was frowned upon. Niemeyer's editors (see 4.1.2) may be regarded as patriotic champions of the national language, since they, more than once, complained about the lack of respect of Dutch citizens for their mother tongue. Niemeyer (1799I:160) referred to the fact that some preferred to speak French or German "in de voorname huizen" [in aristocratic homes] at the expense of Dutch:

In de voorname huizen, waar het dikwerf tot den *ton* behoort, zijne moedertaal te verachten, kopen dus de kinderen ten koste van hunne

³⁹⁴ See Knops (1982); Wilhelm (1994).

³⁹⁵ See *Nieuwe Bijdragen* (1815:382) on the public examination at Van der Pijl's school in Dordecht; also compare the obituary notice after Van der Pijl's death in *Nieuwe Bijdragen* (1830:329-330).

eigen taal de vaardigheid van zich in eene vreemde uit te drukken [...] Men zegt de kinderen een of andere beloning toe, wanneer zij om het andere woord Fransch spreken, en eene geschiedenis half in het Duitsch, en half in het Fransch vertellen kunnen.

[In aristocratic homes, where it is often *bon ton* to despise one's mother tongue, the children buy the ability to express themselves in a foreign language at the expense of their own language [...] They are promised a reward when they alternate Dutch with French words and when they are able to tell half a story in German and the other half in French.]

Some years later H.J. Nassau (1842I:122-124) would express the same opinion: “t huisfransch [...] stremt de ontwikkeling en volmaking van eigene taal” [The use of French at home [...] slows down the development and perfection of one's own language].

Another aspect was the methodological influence of Dutch language teaching on FLT. This especially concerned the appreciation of contrastive teaching and the role of Dutch grammar. In his influential *Verzameling van Opstellen* (1794:III-IV) A.N. Agron phrased it as follows: “Het is den kundigen taalmeester niet onbewust, dat de Nederlander eene hem vreemd zijnde taal, door middel zijner moedertaale, leeren moet, en dat men hem noodzaaklijk behoort aantoonen, waarin die beiden overeenkomen en waarin zij verschillen...” [The able language master is well aware that a Dutchman has to learn a foreign language by means of his mother tongue and that he has to be taught where they agree and where they differ]. Not only did this contrastive approach soon become generally accepted, it was also agreeable to the Dutch government, witness the approving tone in the semi-official *Nieuwe Bijdragen* and other journals. Also, Niemeyer's handbook (1799I:167) gave the advice to translate from and into the mother tongue. Hence, it does not go too far to assert that the Dutch government promoted the grammar-translation method in FLT by stressing the vital role of L1 within the context of FLT.

This positive attitude towards L1 teaching also comes out in the passages that Niemeyer devotes to the proposition that all FLT should be based on L1 teaching. For Niemeyer, i.e. editor Tesseidre l'Ange, FLT began with Dutch grammar at primary school. A good knowledge of Dutch was supposed to lay the foundation for FLT. Tesseidre l'Ange

(1799I:86-87; 1810:258-259) meant a good command of the spelling, some knowledge of the word classes and sentence elements as well as the main rules of morphology. He claimed that in the old days pupils did not learn grammar until they came to the Latin school and that the teaching in French schools could hardly be called grammatical. Nowadays, he says, pupils already learn grammar rules in primary schools (1810I:258-259). Niemeyer's view received support in various places in the *Nieuwe Bijdragen*. Thus, an anonymous but apparently authoritative reviewer emphasised the importance of translating and sentence analysis in all language teaching (*Nieuwe Bijdragen*: 1834:675-697). At the same time, he advocated using the terminology of Dutch grammar books, so that FLT would have the character of “vergelijkende taal oefening” [comparative language study].

H.J. Nassau (1842I:122-124) supported the idea of a comparative method, which would be realised by translations and thorough comparison. In his opinion, the first *raison d'être* of learning foreign languages was that it would lead to a better command of the mother tongue: “t Leeren toch van eene vreemde taal is in de eerste plaats eene noodzakelijke volmaking van de studie van die des lands” [Learning a foreign language in the first place means perfection of the native language]. The aspect of utility would only come second. In 1858, W.G. Brill (1858I:VIII) phrased it in more or less the same terms:

... goed onderwijs in vreemde talen stelt zich ten doel ... om den aard, den oorsprong, de ontwikkeling der taal zelve te doorgronden. Zulk onderwijs zal niet slechts zekere vaardigheid in het praktisch gebruik der taal doen verkrijgen ... maar het zal onze nationaliteit versterken door al de degelijkheid, die de kennis van het karakter van vreemde volken aan het eigen karakter, door al de grondigheid, die de kennis van vreemde talen aan die der moedertaal bijzet.

[... good FLT aims at getting through to the nature, origin, the evolution of the language itself. Such teaching will not only lead to a certain skill in the practical use of the language ... but it will reinforce our nationality through the solidity, which knowledge of the character of foreign nations adds to our own character, and through the thoroughness which knowledge of foreign languages adds to our own language.]

The tradition of comparative language study would last for a long time. As late as 1881, Stoffel (Stoffel 1881II:II) wrote in the preface to his authoritative *Handleiding bij het onderwijs in het Engelsch*:

Alle onderwijs in vreemde talen moet, zal het werkelijk ontwikkelend en vormend zijn voor den geest, zich ten nauwste aansluiten aan der leerlingen kennis van hunne moedertaal. Onderwijs in een vreemde taal, dat de moedertaal ignoreert, is zuiver werktuigelijk en geeft den leerlingen steenen voor brood. Met die overtuiging vervuld, heb ik in dit boek zooveel mogelijk de Nederlandsche taal tot punt van uitgang genomen, overal het Engelsche taaleigen met het Nederlandsche vergeleken, en het onderscheid doen uitkomen.

[All FLT will be in keeping with the knowledge of pupils of their own language, if it is to be really formative for the mind. FLT that ignores the mother tongue, is purely mechanical and gives a stone for bread. Convinced of this truth, I have taken the Dutch language as a starting-point wherever possible, compared English with Dutch idiom and pointed out the differences.]

Not only the contrastive aspect but also grammatical knowledge began to play an increasingly important role in language teaching. It would seem that the tendency 'to have more grammar' in FLT was supported indirectly by the importance of Dutch grammar teaching. Since the publication of textbooks by Anslijn (1814 and 1820) and Brugsma (1840), parsing and sentence analysis had become a regular part of Dutch language teaching³⁹⁶. This development is also borne out by reports of public examinations in some French schools³⁹⁷. In the *Nieuwe Bijdragen* (1815:382) an account is given of an examination at Van der Pijl's school in Dordrecht on 9 May 1815. It is highly interesting to see how the modern languages Dutch, French and English were examined. The pupils were expected to be capable of:

³⁹⁶ On sentence analysis in Dutch language teaching see Van der Woude (1982:146-156) and Noordegraaf (1985:20-21; 34-35; 252-253).

³⁹⁷ Public examinations were a long-cherished tradition in the Latin schools (Spoelder 2000).

... het vaardig onleden der taaldelen, het vlug verbeteren van foutieve opstellen, en het uitleggen der regelen van de Etymologie en Syntaxis, ... [en] het vloeiend overzetten van meer of min moeilijke stukken. [... skilful parsing/analysis of the sentence elements, quick correction of cacographies and explanation of the rules of syntax and etymology ... [and] smooth translation of more or less difficult passages.]

The account gives a good impression of the subjects taught at the beginning of the nineteenth century and the dominant role of grammar. It appears that parsing and sentence analysis, the use of cacographies³⁹⁸, some knowledge of syntactic and morphological rules and translating were part of the foreign language syllabus, at least at some leading institutes. Another example concerns a public examination at the institute of P.J. Rünckel in Hoogezand (*Nieuwe Bijdragen* 1817:46-48). Here a detailed description is given of how Latin, English, German and Dutch were examined. Fluency in English was tested in a conversation between teacher and pupils on the history of England, whereby special attention was paid to pronunciation. Apparently, the oral skills were regarded as the most difficult aspects of English. The grammar of English received less attention, as it was supposed to offer no particular problems compared to other languages, especially German. The grammar of German had always been considered difficult by speakers of Dutch. German grammar rules were examined by means of oral and written translation exercises from Dutch into German. For the examination of Dutch, the following description is given:

De mingevoorderden ontbonden eenige voorstellen, rede- en taalkundig, en verbeterden gebrekkige. De Nederduitsche taalregels bij wijze van algemene spraakkunst beoefenende, deden zij, door aanwijzing, welke regels in het algemeen, voor alle talen geldend, en welke slechts op het Hollandsch, Fransch of Engelsch toepaselijk zijn, hunne meerdere of mindere vorderingen in dit zoo gewigtige deel van het aanvankelijk wetenschappelijk onderrigt blijken.

³⁹⁸ The use of this exercise had already been recommended by Niemeyer (1799I:158). It seems to have been a widely used but quite controversial exercise.

[The beginners analysed and parsed a few sentences and corrected some cacographies. Having studied Dutch grammar rules by means of general grammar, they demonstrated their relative progress in this important part of learned education for beginners, by indicating which rules generally apply to all languages and which to Dutch, French or English only.]

It appears that twenty years later, the subjects that were publicly examined had become generally accepted as learning content for primary schools. According to the *Nieuwe Bijdragen* (1837:403) the requirements for Dutch language teaching ought to comprise knowledge of the sentence elements and sentence analysis as well as some knowledge of word formation and the ability to conjugate and decline (cf. De Vos 1939:87). In the 1857 Education Act, sentence analysis was officially included in the curriculum of primary schools.

Another point concerns the development of modern language teaching in Latin schools and some private schools. This development would lead to analogous aims in Dutch language teaching and in FLT. When the Higher Burgher Schools were established in 1863 and subsequently, when the Latin schools were modernised in 1876, the general aims of Dutch language teaching appeared to be similar to those for FLT. The modern language curricula comprised practical skills as well as language and literature study. In order to understand this development we have to go back to the Latin schools around 1840. From about that year, these schools were allowed to provide modern language teaching in the 'Second Departments'. However, the teachers did not exclusively occupy themselves with practical language skills, as had been the custom in most French schools. For instance, around 1840, W.G. Brill not only taught Dutch, German and French grammar but also the literature of these languages at Leiden Latin school (Coebergh van den Braak 1988:114)³⁹⁹. This situation, in which attention was paid to both language and literature study, must have become common practice in a number of other Latin schools, too. Also the teaching of modern literature in the leading

³⁹⁹ Brill taught Dutch literature (Hooft, Vondel) as well as French and German literature (Corneille, Goethe) at the Leiden school.

private schools, for instance at Noorthey, must have played a role in shaping the curricula of the future Higher Burgher Schools and grammar schools⁴⁰⁰. Between 1823 and 1842, at least six English literary anthologies were published that could be used in schools (see 2.2.2.4). In other words, it would seem that modern language teaching in some Latin schools and a number of private schools acted as a model for other schools and that it helped modern language teaching to develop its aims, the result of which became visible in the curricula of the Higher Burgher Schools and grammar schools.

After the above-mentioned types of schools had been established, Dutch language teaching and FLT gradually began to diverge as school subjects. Each language had its own curriculum and examinations and the teachers at Higher Burgher Schools and grammar schools increasingly became experts in their own subjects. The teaching methods of Dutch and the foreign languages had less and less in common. During the 1890s, teachers of Dutch held a fierce debate on the nature of L1 teaching. In the journals *Taal & Letteren* and *Noord & Zuid* there were heated discussions on ‘old’ and ‘new’ language teaching (Hulshof 1985:66-74). Prominent protagonists of the ‘new’ language teaching, such as F. Buitenrust Hetteema and J.H. van den Bosch, advocated the primacy of the spoken language and resisted the dominance of the written language. A well-known slogan used by Van den Bosch was “taal is klank” [language is sound]. The parallel with the Reform principles in FLT is clear, as far as the primacy of the spoken language is concerned. However, Dutch FLT methodology does not seem to have been influenced by this controversy of the experts in Dutch language teaching.

4.3 ELT and ‘authorities’

The writers of ELT textbooks wrote their materials within a particular methodological context. We may assume that by and large they were aware of the prevailing views on FLT, as, besides other ELT textbooks, they had the textbooks of other languages as examples. Section 4.1 gave

⁴⁰⁰ It is known that Van Kampen taught modern languages and literature at Noorthey, before he was appointed at the Atheneum of Amsterdam (see 3.1.5.2).

an impression of these views in a number of theoretical treatises. The question is in how far these views affected actual ELT, in other words, whether textbook writers read monographs, articles and reviews and incorporated the ideas in their own materials. For instance, it is not very likely that many teachers owned a copy of Niemeyer (1799-1810I) or later editions. Nor does it seem probable that many individual teachers subscribed to the *Nieuwe Bijdragen* (1800-1877). Given its semi-official status (and considering the price), it is more likely that schools or local circles of teachers subscribed to this journal. We also know that the first journal for foreign language teachers *HHB/NTPB* (1854-1867) had a short life and was forced to give up because of a lack of subscribers. Also, the journal *Taalstudie* (1879-1890) was filled with articles by its own editors towards the end of its existence (Wilhelm 1996). A tentative answer to the above question is that the ideas contained in the treatises penetrated the teachers' views gradually and that the ideas were adjusted to the circumstances of the individual teachers. In this connection it is relevant to note that there were no foreign language teacher training institutions, so that theories on teaching and learning foreign languages could not be passed on easily. As we saw in 4.2 and as will see again in this section, there are hardly any references in ELT textbooks to treatises, which does not necessarily mean that the treatises did not have any impact. Often this influence would affect textbooks only gradually and through informal contacts.

By FLT 'authorities' we mean language (teaching) experts and/or textbook writers. In most cases 'authorities' were writers of textbooks. 'Authorities' would function as sources of knowledge and inspiration and textbook writers would often derive (part of) the content of their textbooks from them. The references were mostly used in a positive way, rarely negatively. In order to find out about the extent of the 'authority's' influence, it is necessary to study a textbook in some depth. In many cases, the 'authority's' name was only mentioned to impress the prospective buyer of the textbook. At any rate, references give a good impression of the context in which the textbook was written, offering an indication of outside influences.

The majority of textbook writers mention 'authorities' in their titles or prefaces. Very often textbooks were adapted versions of other works that

had already proved their use. This held, for instance, for the *Méthode Familière* or *Gemeenzzame Leerwijjs* by Pierre Marin, a French textbook for beginners, which was first published in 1698 and continued to be published well into the nineteenth century. It also included English versions. Some references relate to language experts, others to experts on language teaching and sometimes to a combination of expertise. Thus, we see that the names of Thomas Sheridan and John Walker function as ‘authorities’ in relation to correct English pronunciation. Similarly, the names of Siegenbeek and Weiland are mentioned to show that the correct Dutch spelling and grammar has been applied. The references to language teaching experts were made to prove that textbook writers were aware of contemporary developments in the field of FLT. For instance, it may be concluded from the references in Van der Pijl’s works that the author cherished a good reputation as a linguist and progressive textbook writer. Van der Pijl combines several ‘authorities’ in the title of his adaptation of Lindley Murray’s grammar (1816)⁴⁰¹. In the first place, there is a reference to Murray himself, author of the well-known and authoritative English grammar (1795), and there are references to A.N. Agron, on account of his teaching method (1794), and to Siegenbeek and Weiland, the writers of the government-approved Dutch spelling (1804) and grammar (1805).

Table 4.2 lists the ‘authorities’ who are referred to in the titles and prefaces of ELT textbooks. Occasionally, a reference is found elsewhere in a textbook. In addition to the references, the list registers the writers of the textbooks. In this way, we are able to see which writers of textbooks referred to which ‘authorities’. The ‘authorities’ will then be listed in order of ranking. Subsequently, an analysis will be made of the references to gain insight into the linguistic and methodological influences on ELT materials. The list explicitly indicates by which ‘authorities’ textbook writers allowed themselves to be guided. What the list cannot show, of course, is the influence of ‘authorities’ who were not mentioned, but who were made use of all the same. In this context it must be pointed out that ‘borrowing’ materials – even still at the beginning of the nineteenth century – was by no means unusual (see 4.5). However, it is difficult to decide in

⁴⁰¹ The first edition was published anonymously in 1816 (cf. Noordegraaf 1996).

how far a textbook writer had been influenced by an ‘authority’ and in how far he had borrowed from him. The only way to find out is to study textbooks in some depth. This will be attempted in Chapter Six.

TABLE 4.2 REFERENCES TO ‘AUTHORITIES’ IN ELT TEXTBOOKS⁴⁰²

AUTHORITY	French textbook	German textbook	English textbook	Other textbook or treatise	TEXTBOOK WRITER
Adelung, J.C.		x			Andriessen 1850
Agron, A.N.	x				Kapelhoff; Van der Pijl 1816
Ahn, F.	x				Gerdes 1855
Anderson			x		Anderson/Taylor 1851
Baldwin, J.			x		Baldwin ⁴⁰³ /Van der Pijl 1819
Baedeker	x	x	x		Anon. (S. de Bruin?) 1865
Beckerling Vinckers, J.			x		Zimmermann/Dingemans/ Van Moerkerken 1871; Mertens 1879; Stoffel 1881
Berg, G. van den			x		Gerdes 1855
Berlitz, M.	x	x	x		Grasé 1896; Van Harte 1900 Barnhill 1905
Bertuch, F.J.	x	x	x		Anon. 1798
Beijer, Franz					Grasé 1896
Bischoff (L.) ⁴⁰⁴	x		x		Anon. 1856
Bönsel & Jeaffreson ⁴⁰⁵			x		Stoffel 1893
Bougier	x				Olivier 1824
Bréal, Michel				x	Günther 1891

⁴⁰² Information on many of the ‘authorities’ mentioned here can be found in Scholten (1984), Howatt (1984; 2004), Schröder (1985), Macht (1986;1987) and Klippel (1994).

⁴⁰³ See Loonen (1991:310).

⁴⁰⁴ L. Bischoff was the writer of *Fransche Spraakwendingen* (1848).

⁴⁰⁵ They wrote *English dialogues with phonetic transcription*.

Cazelles, C.	x				Kappelhoff 1812
Chesterfield, Philip			x		Chesterfield/De Bruin 1868
Clairmont, K.G.			x		Anon. 1847
Cobbett, William			x		Olivier 1824
Charlton, S. Crabb			x?		Anon. 1851
George ⁴⁰⁶			x		Mertens 1879
Crump, William			x		Crump 1863/De Bruin 1893 ⁷ ; Eshuijs c1873
Crüger, Carl			x		Crüger/Ten Brink 1862; De Bruin 1863; Beckering Vinckers 1875
Dalen, Carl van ⁴⁰⁷			x		Vink 1868, Langenscheidt/De Bruin 1868
Degenhardt, Rudolph			x		Degenhardt/Vink 1861, 1868
Ellis, Alexander			x		Roorda 1886
Gailer, J.E. ⁴⁰⁸	x	x	x		Hakbijl 1839
Gedike, F.			x		Gedike/Anon. 1809
Goldsmith, O.			x		Anon. 1817; Van der Pijl 1823
Gouin, F.	x				Eijkman 1894; Grasé 1895
Graham			x		Roorda 1886
Gräser, Karl			x		Valkhoff 1875
Grant			x		Bomhoff 1835; Olivier 1836
Grant White			x		Günther 1890
Gunnell			x		Lagerweij 1837
Gurcke, G.			x		Valkhoff 1875

⁴⁰⁶ Referred to as “*English Synonymes*”.

⁴⁰⁷ Van Dalen is often mentioned in connection with Langenscheidt *Grammatik in Beispielen*.

⁴⁰⁸ In 1835 Jakob Eberhard Gailer produced the first German version of Comenius’ well-known *Orbis Sensualium Pictus* (1658), which included not only English words but complete English texts to go with each picture (Macht 1987:22-23).

Hamilton, J.	x		x		Vogin 1864 (negative reference)
Hamonière, G.			x		Hakbijl 1829; Vink 1854
Herrig, Ludwig		x			Vink 1868; Herrig/Anon. 1869
Hodgkin			x		Hakbijl 1846
Hooper- Graham			x		De Froe 1904
Jespersen, O./ Sarauw, Chr.			x		Grasé 1895; Jespersen/Meijboom 1898 and 1901; Jespersen/De Vries 1909
Jespersen, O.			x		Grasé 1895 and 1899; Prick van Wely 1911
Johnson, Samuel			x		Lehman 1805
Junker			x		Grasé 1895
Kade, Emil			x		Valkhoff 1875
Kästner			x?		Anon. 1814
King			x?		Anema 1903
Klinghardt				x	Günther 1890; Grasé 1895
Knight, G.			x		C.A. Hofman 1865
Knowles			x?		Schmitz/Bomhoff 1851
Koch, C.F. ⁴⁰⁹			x		Valkhoff 1874
Köchler, J.B.			x		Anon. 1815
Krüger ⁴¹⁰			x		Beckering Vinckers 1875
Landmann, F.				x	Landmann/Rittner Bos 1889
Langenscheidt			x		Langenscheidt/De Bruin 1868
Lennie, W.			x		Bomhoff 1835; Heintz 1861
Lloyd, H.E.			x		Bomhoff 1837 ⁴¹¹ , 1838, 1843, Wil-lemssen 1846; Vink 1854; Langenscheidt/S. de Bruin 1868
Lock(e) W.			x		Vink 1854
Lowth, R.			x		Lehman 1805; Van der Pijl 1811; Bomhoff 1835

⁴⁰⁹ The reference is to *Historische Grammatik der Englischen Sprache*.

⁴¹⁰ See Crüger.

⁴¹¹ In his *Engelsch leesboek* Bomhoff refers to Lloyd's reading-book.

Lundell			x?		Grasé 1895
Macgowan, W. Stuart			x		Günther 1891
Madvig, J.N. ⁴¹²				x	Beckering Vinckers 1875
Marin, Pierre	x				Van der Pijl 1814, Kappelhoff 1815, Kirchdorffer 1815
Mätzner, Eduard			x		Mertens 1871,1879; Valkhoff 1874; Beckering Vinckers 1875; Stoffel 1881 (vol. II)
Mavor, W.F.			x		Anon. 1803; Ley 1808
Meidinger, J.V.	x				Lehman 1805; Van der Pijl 1816
M'Leod, W.			x		Dingemans 1864
Munde, Carl			x		Anon. 1856; Ludolph 1863
Murray, Lindley			x		Anon. 1807; Van der Pijl 1816, 1818; Hakbijl 1830; Bomhoff 1835; Olivier 1836; Fleischmann 1847; Broedelet 1853; Vink 1854
Nader (see Würzner)			x		Günther 1890
Nelson, T. & Sons (Series of readers)			x		Van Neck 1887
Ollendorff, H.G.	x	x	x		Locke 1853; Stevens 1866
Passy, Paul				x	Günther 1890; Grasé 1895
Percy ⁴¹³			x		Bomhoff 1837
Perrin, J.			x		Anon. 1803; Anon. 1804; Anon. 1811; Hakbijl 1831; Willemsen 1846 ⁴¹⁴

⁴¹² This was J.N. Madvig (1804-1886), the Danish classical scholar and linguist.

⁴¹³ The reference is to his *Anecdotes*.

⁴¹⁴ Hakbijl 1846 points out in his preface that he based his book on Perrin's *Elements of English conversation*.

Perry			x		Lloyd/Bomhoff 1835
Plate, Heinrich ⁴¹⁵			x		Mertens 1871; Stevens 1876; Valkhoff 1878; Stoffel 1880
Plötz/Ploetz, K. ⁴¹⁶	x				Valkhoff 1874, 1879
Poppleton			x		Andriessen 1850
Pratt ⁴¹⁷			x		Peel 1861
Richardson, H.			x		Anon. 1817
Robertson			x		Robertson/Wagenaar 1860
Saddler, P. ⁴¹⁸			x		Vink 1854; Peel 1861
Schidlof	x	x	x		Schidlof/Van Tricht/Bradley 1909
Schmidt, Immanuel			x		Valkhoff 1875
Seidenstücker, J.H.P.	x				Gerdes 1855
Sheridan, Thomas			x		Lehman 1805; Ley 1808; Van der Pijl 1814; W.J. Olivier 1824; J. Olivier 1836; Bomhoff/Lloyd 1835; Schmitz/Bomhoff 1851
Siegenbeek, M.				x	Ley 1808; Van der Pijl 1814, 1816; Reimeringer 1845
Smart			x		Schmitz/Bomhoff 1851
Soames, Laura			x		Grasé 1895
Sonnenburg, Rudolf ⁴¹⁹			x		Stoffel 1883 (vol. III)
Spiers ⁴²⁰			x		Vink 1854
Stead (Gouin method)					Eijkman 1894

⁴¹⁵ The reference is to his *Vollständiger Lebrgang, Lehrbuch der englischen Sprache, Elementarstufe, Schulgrammatik*.

⁴¹⁶ The reference is to his *Sprachführer Elementar Grammatik*.

⁴¹⁷ The reference is to his *Gleanings*.

⁴¹⁸ The reference is to his *Grammar*.

⁴¹⁹ The reference is to his *Grammatik der Englischen Sprache 1882*.

⁴²⁰ The reference is to Spiers' *Grammar*.

Sweet, Henry			x		Roorda 1886; Mertens 1889 (vol. I, 3rd ed.); Günther 1890; Grasé 1895 [1899]; Ten Bruggencate 1899
Thomas			x?		Anon. 1814
Toussaint-Langenscheidt			x		De Bruin 1870
Vergani, A.	x?				Anon. 1814; J. Olivier 1840; van der Beek 1850
Viëtor, W.			x	x	Roorda 1886; Ten Bruggencate 1887; Mertens 1889 (vol. I, 3rd ed.); Valette 1889; Günther 1890, Grasé 1895
Vogel			x?		Anema 1903
Wagner, Karl Franz Christian			x		Valkhoff 1875, 1878
Walker, John			x		Lehman 1805; Van der Pijl 1814; J. Olivier 1836; Oudemans 1836; Schmitz/Bomhoff 1851; Hakbijl 1830 [18554]
Walter, Max ⁴²¹				x?	Grasé 1895
Wanostrocht			x		Wanostrocht/Bruining 1807
Webster			x		Roorda 1886
Weiland, P.				x	Van der Pijl 1814, 1816
Western, August			x		Mertens 1889 (vol. I, 3rd ed.); Günther 1890
Whately, E.			x		Anon. 1869; Van Neck 1889; Roorda 1886
Williams, T.S.			x		Anon. (Bomhoff?) 1832, 1843
Wilke, D.		x	x		Bomhoff 1848
Wijk Rz., J. van	x				Kappelhoff 1807
Wijnhoff ⁴²²					Grasé 1896

⁴²¹ Macht (1987:16) refers to Max Walter as one of the “extremist Reformers”.

⁴²² The reference is to Wijnhoff’s reader (1879).

Würzner (& Nader ⁴²³			x		Günther 1890
Zimmermann, Wilhelm			x		Dingemans 1864/Van Moerkerken 1864 [1871 ²] ; Stoffel 1883

Surveying the list, we must conclude that there was a great deal of variety in the references. Apparently, Dutch writers of ELT textbooks received inspiration from various ‘authorities’, which proves that ELT in the Netherlands was open to many influences. The list presents different 54 textbook writers. Clearly, the relatively great number of references in the period 1890-1900 is related to the Reform movement, if we take into account the names of such ‘authorities’ as Viëtor, Sweet, Berlitz, Gouin, Klinghardt, Passy, Soames and so on. The ten textbook writers who were responsible for the most references to different ‘authorities’ are, in decreasing order:

Bomhoff (12);
 Van der Pijl (10);
 Vink (8), Valkhoff (8), Günther (8), Grasé (8);
 Hakbijl (6), Mertens (6);
 Stoffel (5);
 Olivier (4).

Most writers did not specify if the ‘authorities’ were referred to because of their linguistic or methodological qualities, nor did they usually mention which work was meant. Altogether, we have listed 114 different ‘authorities’, both linguists and language teaching experts. Looking at the first language of the ‘authorities’ we must conclude that

46 spoke English as their first language;
 44 German;
 10 French (Marin, Vergani, Cazelles, Perrin, Agron, Bougier, Hamonière, Gouin, Bréal, Passy);
 4 Dutch (Siegenbeek, Weiland, Van Wijk Rz., Beckering Vinckers);
 2 Danish (Jespersen, Madvig).

⁴²³ The reference is to their *Englisches Lesebuch*.

This means that the number of English-speaking and German-speaking ‘authorities’ was about equally high. In this connection it must be noted that a small number of English-speaking ‘authorities’ lived and worked in Germany (G. Crabb, H.E. Lloyd, T.S. Williams, H.M. Melford). Proportionally speaking, the number of French-speaking ‘authorities’ was quite low, while the number of Dutch and Danish ‘authorities’ was insignificant.

If we look at the period of time, we must conclude that the role of the French-speaking ‘authorities’ was especially important in the first half of the nineteenth century. Between 1800 and 1830 there were 7 references to French-speaking ‘authorities’ (Perrin, Agron, Cazelles, Marin, Vergani, Bougier, Hamonière). Between 1890 and 1900 there are another 3 of them (Bréal, Gouin and Passy), each of whom was somehow connected with the Reform. The number of references to English-speaking ‘authorities’ was highest between 1800 and 1870. The number of references to German-speaking ‘authorities’, on the other hand, was highest after 1850, a conclusion that corresponds with the data in Scholten (1984). The German influence on Dutch ELT appears to have grown in the second half of the century. On the basis of the references it is possible to provide a list of the 12 most-cited ‘authorities’. Only those who were referred to 3 or more times have been included:

1. Murray	8x
2. Sheridan	7x
3. Walker	6x
4. Viëtor	5x
5. Lloyd	4x
6. Mätzner	4x
7. Plate	4x
8. Sweet	4x
9. Jespersen	4x
10. Siegenbeek	3x
11. Zimmermann	3x
12. Beckering Vinckers	3x

When we compare this list with the data in Scholten (1984), we see that of these 12 ‘authorities’, two-thirds of them (8) were also among the 19 most-cited ‘authorities’ referred to in Dutch FLT textbooks between 1800 and 1900. Only Sweet, Jespersen, Zimmermann and Beckering Vinckers are not included in Scholten’s list.

It may be useful to give a short profile of these ‘authorities’. Lindley Murray is famous on account of his *English Grammar* (1795), which was published in countless reprints and editions all over the world (Tieken-Boon van Ostade 1996). The first Dutch adaptation appeared in 1816 (Noordegraaf 1996), the first German one in 1826 (Klippel 1994:190). The first reference to Murray was anonymous (1807); the last was made by Vink (1854). Murray must be regarded both as a language and a language teaching ‘authority’. Sheridan and Walker were usually mentioned together by the same textbook writers because of their pronouncing dictionaries, whereby Walker’s dictionary gradually replaced Sheridan’s (Wilhelm 2001:21). The first reference to Sheridan and Walker was by Lehman (1805), the last was made by Schmitz/Bomhoff (1851). Viëtor’s influence extended both to phonetics and to teaching methodology. His name first occurs in Roorda (1886). Lloyd’s English grammar *Theoretisch-practische englische Sprachlehre für Deutsche* (1816) was adapted by Bomhoff in 1835. His teaching method was based on Meidinger (Macht 1986:44). Eduard Mätzner was mentioned quite frequently, just like Heinrich Plate. Mätzner is known for his scholarly *Englische Grammatik* (1865). Heinrich Plate wrote a number of successful textbooks, including his *Methodisch geordneter Lehrgang* (1850), which was adapted by Stevens (1876II), Stoffel (1880II) and Mertens (1871II/1884II). The influence of Mätzner and Plate was mainly linguistic. Henry Sweet was first referred to by Roorda on account of his expertise in phonetics (1886II). Jespersen was first mentioned by Grasé (1895II and 1899II), for his view on the primacy of the living language (Howatt 1984:318-319). Siegenbeek was referred to because of his spelling proposal, which was accepted as the standard. Zimmermann wrote a highly successful grammar, *Lehrbuch der Englischen Sprache* (1850), which was adapted by Dingemans (1864II) and Van Moerkerken (1871II). Beckering Vinckers’ *Engelsche Spraakkunst* (1875II) was in fact a manual for the pronunciation of English. This survey must lead to the conclusion that the references to Sheridan, Walker,

Siegenbeek and Beckering Vinckers were chiefly made because of their linguistic authority and that Jespersen was mentioned for his views on teaching. The other seven 'authorities' were referred to for both linguistic and methodological reasons.

In establishing a ranking order, it is useful to draw a comparison with the list of 'authorities' that Klippel (1994:188) made for the German-speaking area in the period 1770-1840. In this list of 19 'authorities' with three or more references, the same English 'authorities' as in the Netherlands had the most references, i.e. Walker (16), Murray (11) and Sheridan (8). Also Lloyd, who worked in Hamburg for some time, occurs on the list with 4 references. For the rest, the Dutch and the German list diverge, partly because of the different time boundaries and partly because of the presence of Dutch 'authorities'. It is obvious that during the first half of the nineteenth century the pronouncing dictionaries of Sheridan en Walker dominated ELT both in the Netherlands and in Germany. Besides, it must be concluded that in both areas the influence of Murray's grammar books must have been considerable.

Klippel (1994:405) also drew up a list of the most successful ELT textbooks that were published in the German-speaking area between 1840 and 1880. She presents an overview of 17 German ELT textbooks that were printed at least 10 times. These were in order of success: Plate, Degenhardt, Zimmermann, Ahn, Munde, Gurcke, Ollendorf, Clairmont, Gräser and Sonnenburg. All these textbooks were made use of in the Netherlands, witness our list of references. In the Dutch ELT textbooks most references were made to Plate (4x) and Zimmermann (3x), who together with Degenhardt top Klippel's list. It proves that Dutch textbook writers preferred to use the most popular German ELT textbooks.

4.4 ELT and the teachers

Loonen (1991:119) characterizes the ELT textbook writers before 1800 in the following terms. Most writers had little teaching experience; they usually worked at a rather elementary level; they were not afraid to borrow from existing materials and they were unable or unwilling to develop

consistent theories on foreign language learning and teaching. The latter point may be explained by the fact that their teaching nearly always served a practical commercial purpose. Another reason why textbook writers were reluctant to express their ideas on FLT might have been the fact that ELT hardly brought in any profits (Loonen 1996:24-25). At any rate, it is clear that for a long time textbook writers approached their work from a very practical point of view, the major question being if the textbook was a success. In this respect it must not be forgotten that FLT teachers were by and large free entrepreneurs and that their activities were basically commercial. If their teaching methods and textbooks were too old-fashioned or too modern, these teachers would attract few pupils.

During the period 1800-1920 most FLT teachers started their careers as primary school teachers and specialized in one or more languages to obtain a special qualification (see Chapter Three). Before 1920 there were no full-time professional teacher training institutes in the Netherlands for FLT and other secondary school subjects. These institutes were not founded until the 1970s. Instead, there were only examinations which a student teacher could take, when he felt that he had mastered enough knowledge and skills. By that time, he would have gained the greater part of his pedagogical and methodological experience in schools. During the first half of the nineteenth century, many teachers began their careers as assistants to (private) school owners. In due course, they would take over the school or establish one themselves⁴²⁴. Thus, teacher training largely took the form of a master-apprentice system, whereby students were prepared for their jobs as if teaching was a trade rather than a profession. In this way, the actual practice of daily teaching constituted the most important learning environment and it seems that theoretical schooling in FLT methodology was largely lacking. It may be assumed that contacts with other foreign language teachers were generally quite limited, as there was no such thing as an association of foreign language teachers. On the other hand, the middle

⁴²⁴ Two examples: Willem van den Hull was allowed to begin his own boarding-school in Haarlem in the early years of the 19th century after he had served as an assistant master (see Padmos 1996). In the same way Rudolph van der Pijl set up a school of his own in Dordrecht around 1810, having learnt the trade from a boarding-school owner at Culemborg (see Wilhelm 2000).

of the 19th century saw the foundation of special journals for foreign language teachers⁴²⁵. Close scrutiny of the contents may give us insight into the professional needs of contemporary foreign language teachers.

The first journal, *Hedendaagsche en hoogere beoefening der Fransche, Engelsche en Hoogduitsche talen* (HHB) [Modern and higher study of the French, English and German languages], was established in 1854, presumably in imitation of a similar German journal, *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*⁴²⁶. The term *Hedendaagsche* refers to practical language skills, while *hoogere* stood for language and literature study. The editors wished to pay attention to linguistic and literary subjects and at the same time leave room for topics connected with teaching. Besides, the journal operated as an instrument for distance-teaching, as each issue contained a question-and-answer column and a cacography, i.e. an exercise in which the reader had to correct wrong sentences. The questions would be answered in the following issue and the errors would be corrected and explained. In spite of the intention of the editorial board, teaching methodology received relatively little attention, apart from a number of textbook reviews and two articles on classroom procedures in FLT⁴²⁷. Therefore, it seems that the needs of FLT teachers did not primarily relate to methodology. Soon after its foundation, the journal's name was changed into *Nederlandsch tijdschrift voor de praktische beoefening van de Fransche, de Engelsche en de Hoogduitsche taal* (NTPB) [Dutch journal for the practical study of the French, English and German languages], presumably because the editors felt that what their readers needed most of all was schooling in language competence. Despite this change, the journal did not succeed in attracting more subscribers, so that in 1867 it had to give up publication altogether⁴²⁸. NTPB was followed by *Taalstudie* in

⁴²⁵ See Wilhelm (1996) for a description of these early Dutch FLT journals.

⁴²⁶ The first issue of HHB has a reference to this journal, which was founded in 1846.

⁴²⁷ The only contributions concerning FLT were an article on pronunciation teaching by "W" in 1857 and a lengthy article by T.H. de Beer on the teaching of French named *Nouvelle Méthode pour l'enseignement de la langue française* in 1864 (see also 4.1).

⁴²⁸ In the last year of publication (1867) there were as few as 137 subscribers (Wilhelm 1996:14).

1879, a journal specifically intended for teachers at Higher Burgher Schools and grammar schools. Like its predecessor, *Taalstudie*, paid relatively little attention to teaching issues, but focused on linguistic and literary topics. It ceased to exist in 1890. Meanwhile, in 1884 *De Drie Talen* had been founded, a journal deliberately set up for distance-teaching (Jansen 1998:7-18). Being entirely devoted to language proficiency, it successfully maintained the formula of question-and-answer until 1987. Encouraged by this success, other journals for student teachers were founded, such as *De Engelsche Taalgids* (1896-1905), in imitation of *De Duitse Taalgids* (1892-1905)⁴²⁹. These journals followed the same editorial formula as used by *De Drie Talen*. In 1914 the journal *Bijdragen en Mededelingen van de Vereniging van Leeraren in Levende Talen* [Contributions and communications of the society of teachers in living languages] published its first issue⁴³⁰. Although (some of) its editors may have had different intentions⁴³¹, little attention was paid to methodology, so that *Levende Talen* presented similar subjects as used to be found in *Taalstudie*. During the first years of its existence, indeed for the next six decades, it offered a variety of subjects with the emphasis on language and literature study, rather than on methodological problems concerning modern language teaching.

Most foreign language teachers taught other subjects as well. If they restricted themselves to FLT only, they usually taught more than one language. This implies that for most of the nineteenth century one can hardly speak of a language-specific teaching methodology. After 1857 many teachers were employed in MULO schools, in which they usually taught more than one foreign language. The introduction of 'M.O.' examinations in the 1860s created a category of foreign language teachers who outdid their colleagues in MULO schools, as far as expert knowledge

⁴²⁹ The full title read: *De Engelsche Taalgids, wekelijksch tijdschrift voor allen, die zich voor het examen L.O. wenschen te bekwamen, of hunne verkregen kennis wenschen te onderhouden* edited by K. ten Bruggencate and L. van der Wal. The *Duitsche Taalgids* was edited by P.A. Schwippert.

⁴³⁰ Later it simply bore the title *Levende Talen*. During the first few years, only three issues were published annually.

⁴³¹ See the first issue, November 1914.

was concerned. Many foreign language teachers in Higher Burgher Schools and grammar schools developed into specialists for French, German or English. This is borne out by the foundation of the journal *Taalstudie* and the establishment of an association for modern language teachers in 1911, under the name of *Vereniging van Leeraren in Levende Talen* [Society of teachers in living languages]. It is characteristic of the development towards specialisation that the journal *Taalstudie* (1879-1890) aimed at teachers in Higher Burgher Schools and grammar schools and that membership of the *Vereniging van Leeraren in Levende Talen* was initially restricted to the same group of teachers⁴³². In absolute numbers these teachers formed a small group, which might explain why *Taalstudie* gave up publication so soon. Since, at the end of the nineteenth century, there was no organisation for modern language teachers yet, it was common practice for this category to hold special meetings on FLT during the conferences of the general association of teachers in secondary schools⁴³³. The members of the editorial boards of the teacher journals formed the elite of the *corps* of foreign language teachers in the Netherlands. At the same time, they would often act as examiners at 'M.O.' and 'L.O.' examinations. Van Essen (1983:75) points out that it was this circuit of State-conducted examinations that started off the Dutch scholarly tradition of the study of contemporary English. It is, therefore, reasonable to place the beginnings of English Studies in the Netherlands in the 1880s, the more so because from 1886 it was possible for students to study English language and literature at university level.

In spite of the development towards linguistic specialisation, one must conclude that there was hardly any development towards professional specialisation, due to the lack of a theoretical frame of reference and the absence of teacher training institutes. The absence of initial training may explain the need of 19th century foreign language teachers for (extra) proficiency training by means of journals for distance-teaching. We know little about the 'L.O.' examinations before 1880, but those who qualified were teachers who had already gained a great deal of practical experience

⁴³² See the first issue, November 1914.

⁴³³ See the reports in the journal *Bijdragen en Mededelingen* of the (annual) meetings of the *Vereeniging van Leeraren aan Inrichtingen van Middelbaar Onderwijs*.

in schools. Therefore, it is very likely that FLT methodology did not play a significant role at the examinations, considering that this was not the case after 1880 either (Wilhelm 1993). The 'M.O.' examination programme made few, if any, demands on prospective teachers with respect to their professional preparation for FLT⁴³⁴. And, although from the 1880s onwards students were enabled to study foreign languages at university level, the universities were reluctant to occupy themselves with teacher training (Van Els 1992:43-44; Kwakernaak 1996:47-50). Hence, it does not come as a surprise that there was little fundamental discussion on FLT. There was hardly any literature on (foreign) language teaching, in contrast with Germany⁴³⁵, where publications appeared earlier and more frequently and where universities concerned themselves with teacher training⁴³⁶. Even after the introduction of the Higher Burgher Schools and the reorganisation of grammar schools, there was little discussion on FLT methodology. As late as 1895, J.J.A.A. Frantzen observed that there was hardly, if any, discourse going on⁴³⁷:

Men kan nu wel zeggen dat de aanhangers eener gematigde hervorming van het onderwijs in vreemde talen in Duitschland het pleit gewonnen hebben [...] Hoe het bij ons te lande met deze zaak staat, is moeilijk te zeggen; men komt daarvan zoo weinig te weten, eensdeels omdat ieder-een hier zijn eigen gang gaat, en er noch vertrouwelijk, noch in het openbaar, op vergaderingen, overleg gepleegd wordt...

⁴³⁴ Before 1935 primary school teachers were exempted from this part of the M.O. examination. Zeeman (1962:8-9).

⁴³⁵ German modern language teachers had more opportunities to communicate their ideas. The first German modern language teacher journal dates from 1846, while the first society for the study of modern languages was founded in 1856 (see Klippel 1994:311-312). A well-known example of such a journal, giving information both on 'content' and 'teaching' was *Englische Studien* (cf. Loonen 1996:23).

⁴³⁶ See Schröder's comprehensive study (1980-1985) on ELT in Germany between 1500 and 1800, which proves that English studies in German higher education had a more official and therefore higher status than in the Netherlands. Also see Von Walter (1982:150ff) on foreign language teacher qualifications in higher education.

⁴³⁷ Cited in Kwakernaak (1996:40). Frantzen had been editor (1880-1883) of the German section of *Taalstudie* and author of the Gouin-based textbook *Handleiding voor de beoefening der Hoogduitsche taal* (1894-1896).

[One may now claim that the supporters of moderate FLT reform have won in Germany [...] How things are in this country is difficult to say; one gets so little information, partly because everyone here goes their own way and because there is little communication, either privately or at public meetings...]

This observation is all the more telling, because in retrospect it appears that the 1890s were the most innovative decade of the nineteenth century. This period saw the publication of the most brochures, teacher's guides and articles and of the most innovative textbooks⁴³⁸. However it may be, Frantzen's observation at least underpins Baardman's assertion (1953:549) that contemporary FLT teachers held widely diverging opinions.

4.5 ELT and the teaching materials

FLT teachers wrote their textbooks because they were not satisfied with the existing materials and perhaps because these were sometimes difficult to come by. As most of them also taught other modern languages besides English, they usually wrote textbooks for these languages as well, French in the first place. A case in point was Rudolph van der Pijl, who managed to have 31 different titles published between 1810 en 1826 (Wilhelm 2000:5). Apart from Van der Pijl, also such foreign language teachers as Bomhoff (c1840), Gerdes (c1850), Maatjes (c1850), Roodhuyzen (c1860), Valkhoff (c1870) and De Bruin (c1880) produced many textbooks. If a textbook had been received well, there was every reason to apply the same method to a following language textbook, which would lead to uniformity in teaching methods. Towards the end of the nineteenth century foreign language teachers tended to specialise in one or two languages, which gave rise to greater differentiation in methodology.

Copying existing materials had long been the rule rather than the exception. In the worst case, the book was printed illegally and published as if it were a new textbook. As textbooks formed a reasonably stable source of

⁴³⁸ See the treatises by Valette (1889/1899I), Esmeijer (1892I), Eijkman (1894I), Grasé (1896I) as well as the coursebooks by Eijkman/Frantzen/Hofman (1894-1896II) and Grasé (1895II).

income, quite a few publishers resorted to publishing pirated versions. Loonen (1991:180-184;189-267) has shown that ELT textbooks published in the Low Countries before 1800 borrowed freely from each other and from foreign sources. There is no reason to assume that textbook writers for FrLT and GLT did not do the same⁴³⁹. For instance, it is known that Pierre Marin's textbooks, which had been published originally around 1700, kept being reprinted in adapted versions well into the nineteenth century. Thus, the *Méthode Familiale*, a textbook for beginners which first came out in 1698, appeared in a new edition as late as 1874 (Loonen 1997:16). Also outside of the Low Countries the practice of copying and compiling was quite common, as was the case with Lindley Murray's popular *English Grammar*, dating back to 1795⁴⁴⁰. In the Netherlands, it was not unusual for textbook writers to borrow from others, even still in the early part of the nineteenth century (Lehman 1805II, Kappelhoff 1807II). Some writers confessed that they had borrowed from others, without mentioning the exact source, like Leendert Koning, who in his *Aangename en leerzame oefeningen tot het leeren lezen en vertalen der Engelsche taal* (1815) noted that his work had been "gedeeltelijk vervaardigd en gedeeltelijk uit geachte schrijvers [...] ontleend" [partly compiled and partly borrowed from respected writers]. The practice ground to a halt after legal regulations concerning copyright had come into operation⁴⁴¹. However, the dividing-line between copying, compiling and adapting is often very thin. It is therefore difficult to prove if and in how far a textbook writer produced work of his own. A good example is Van der Pijl's *Engelsche Spraakkunst*, whose first edition appeared anonymously in 1816. Not until 1822 did Van der Pijl have his name put on the title-page, presumably because the book had been received well and possibly because of the new Copyright Act of 1817. Recent study has shown that Van der Pijl's *Engelsche Spraakkunst* was at least partly "a slightly adapted

⁴³⁹ Unfortunately, Riemens (1919) does not discuss this matter with regard to FrLT. W. Kuiper (1961) touches upon the matter, but does not go into much detail regarding GLT.

⁴⁴⁰ Vorlat shows how Murray Lindley freely made use of the grammars of his contemporaries for his popular *English Grammar* (1795) without naming his sources (Vorlat 1996:165).

⁴⁴¹ Compare the criticism of Kappelhoff's plagiarism in *Vaderlandsche Letteroefeningen* (1815).

translation” of Murray’s *English Grammar* of 1795 (Noordegraaf 1996:113). It seems that in the course of time the custom of ‘borrowing’ gradually disappeared due to stricter legal measures.

Loonen (1996:24-25) observes that the prefaces to Dutch 18th century ELT materials were invariably concise, that their writers hardly accounted for the contents of their books and that on the whole they showed little vision. He thinks that the main reason why these writers were so reluctant to express their views, was the fact that the production of ELT textbooks was not very profitable. For that reason ELT textbook writers might be more inclined to ‘borrow’ and consequently less willing to render account. Considering the limited production of textbook copies in the Netherlands, compared to a language area like Germany, this was probably true for English and German, and to a lesser extent for French. Another argument for the lack of extensive prefaces may be related to the typically Dutch liking for what is practicable. Traditionally, Dutch teachers have always been very free in their choice of materials. This has left a strong mark on FLT methodology in the Netherlands. It would seem that the question ‘what is practicable?’ has strongly contributed to a common sense tradition in that there was little room for ‘theory’. Yet another argument might be the fact that foreign language teachers before the 1860s were largely free entrepreneurs. A teacher who ran a private school had to do his best to maintain a good reputation and his commercial enterprise compelled him to be cautious with experiments. When teachers came to be employed in MULO schools, Higher Burgher Schools and grammar schools and received regular salaries from municipalities or the national government, there was more room for experiment.

Thus, the tradition of eclecticism, in which the central question was ‘what is practicable?’, has strongly determined the character of Dutch FLT. Besides, a State-imposed methodology has always been an unknown phenomenon in the Netherlands. To the present day, it is up to (foreign language) teachers themselves and the schools to select their own materials and use them at their own discretion. However, during the first few decades of the nineteenth century, the Ministry of Education tried to prescribe a limited number of textbooks for primary schools⁴⁴². This policy did not affect FLT, however, as FLT largely took place in the private sector. It is true, there were critical textbook reviews in the *Nieuwe Bijdragen*,

but these were of no consequence. Also, after the introduction of State-funded secondary education from about 1860 onwards, every foreign language teacher was free in his choice and use of materials, while the role of school inspectors was limited to an advisory one⁴⁴³.

The methodological development of FLT can be measured by the role of the most prominent textbooks. Textbooks that had most reprints and editions and were kept in circulation for a long time, give a good indication of the state of FLT. The frequency of reprints and/or editions and the time of circulation of certain textbooks prove that their contents and teaching methods were appreciated more than others. However, also the opposite may be an indication. If the publication of innovative materials, say Roodhuyzen's textbooks around 1860, did not catch on, this may be called representative of unwillingness on the part of teachers to try out something new. Conversely, the length of circulation time of certain successful textbooks may indicate a certain measure of conservatism. Information on ELT textbooks will be provided in Chapter Five.

4.6 Summary

Before 1800 there seem to have been few theoretical treatises with explicit ideas on learning and teaching foreign languages. As far as we know, there was no single monograph on the subject. From about 1800 theoretical treatises on learning and teaching foreign languages began to appear in print. The ideas were expressed in monographs, reports, brochures, arti-

⁴⁴² In the Education Act of 1806 the Ministry of Education issued detailed regulations on pedagogical and teaching methods to an extent that has not been equalled since. Similarly, the publication of the official Book List of 1810 was an attempt to control teaching content in primary education. As far as FLT was concerned, it must be noted that in 1826 the government commissioned professor J. Kinker to write a report on J. Jacotot's teaching method. Again, such a measure was unprecedented in the history of Dutch education policy. It demonstrates that at the beginning of the 19th century there were deliberate attempts on the part of the Ministry of Education to impose uniformity on the schools through government-controlled pedagogy and methodology.

⁴⁴³ See Ten Bruggencate's treatise on the state of FLT in the Netherlands (1905-1906I).

cles in teacher journals and so on. The number of monographs, reports and brochures pertaining to FLT, published between 1800 and 1920, was relatively small, whereas the number of articles on FLT was considerably greater. The ideas contained in the treatises have been divided into ideas on aims in FLT and ideas on the selection, gradation and presentation of learning content. The majority of the treatises were not so much concerned with the question what should be taught but rather with how it should be done. The aims of FLT ('what' should be taught) were discussed in very general terms. Until well into the nineteenth century, intellectual and cultural education were regarded as the principal aims of FLT, at least as important as proficiency training, but sometimes of even greater value. Around the middle of the nineteenth century, language proficiency seemed to be valued higher than intellectual education in some treatises. Their number was growing at the end of the century, when a number of treatises plainly pointed to language communication, i.e. the use of the living language, as the first aim of FLT in secondary schools. As far as the selection and gradation of learning content were concerned, the treatises did not go into great detail, but spoke in general terms.

ELT was subject to the influence of many other forms of language teaching, if only because most teachers of English also taught other (modern) languages. The classical languages served as a model to ELT because of their grammar and literature teaching. During the second half of the 19th century, however, more and more ELT coursebooks distanced themselves from the classical model and developed their own grammatical scheme. Throughout the nineteenth and well into the twentieth century, French was the dominant foreign language in the Netherlands. During the first half of the nineteenth century, innovations affected ELT (and GLT) in the first place through FrLT. Most foreign language teachers were primarily teachers of French, most FLT textbooks were French, most FLT lessons were French lessons and at the beginning of the century some learners studied English or German through French textbooks. We may therefore assume that initially FrLT methods were more or less identical with those for ELT. This is borne out by the fact that the number of references to French 'authorities' was greatest at the beginning of the century. However, the absolute number of references to French 'authorities' is relatively small compared to the numbers of German and English 'authorities'. The English 'authorities' were primarily cited because of their lin-

guistic knowledge, the German 'authorities' because of their methodological expertise. Towards the end of the century the influence of German 'authorities' became predominant, judging by the number of references in ELT textbooks to German 'authorities' and textbooks.

For the greater part of the 19th century the informal circuit of foreign language teachers formed a trade rather than a profession. There was a great need for schooling. This becomes apparent through the publication of foreign language teacher journals, which in varying degrees provided a form of distance-teaching. Judging by the content of these journals, there was a greater need for schooling in language proficiency than FLT methodology. After the introduction of the secondary school teacher examinations in the 1860s, a number of foreign language teachers, especially those in Higher Burgher Schools and grammar schools developed into specialists. Generally they took a greater interest in the content of their subjects than in teaching methodology. The absence of teacher training institutes may explain the lack of discourse on FLT.

Most foreign language teachers wrote textbooks in the first place for use at their own schools. As most of them also taught other modern languages besides English, they usually wrote textbooks for these languages as well, French in the first place. This fact will have contributed to uniformity in FLT methodology. Towards the end of the 19th century teachers tended to specialise in writing textbooks for one or two languages, so that it is here that the beginnings of language-specific teaching methodologies are to be found.

5. CHAPTER FIVE

THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHING TEXTBOOKS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter gives an overall description of the ELT textbooks published in the Netherlands between 1800 and 1920 so as to provide insight into the quantity and nature of this material. The description of the textbook material has been carried out primarily on the basis of the textbook titles. The titles have been collected in the form of a short-title bibliography, which is added as Appendix Two to this book. Our description is global in the sense that a number of external characteristics of textbooks are described and not their contents. If more information is available from full titles, prefaces, contents or other sources, these data have also been used in the description. The part on the production of ELT textbooks (5.1) provides information on the number of materials published. The part on the distribution of ELT textbooks (5.2) tells about the popularity of these textbooks on the basis of the number of printings as well as on the basis of their circulation time, i.e. the period during which a book was in print. Besides, a brief characterisation is given of the writers of the most successful textbooks. Both part 5.1 and part 5.2 have been divided into two sections, 1800-1859 and 1859-1919, in order to distinguish the period in which ELT was not yet a compulsory school subject from the one in which ELT was introduced as such in higher secondary education. Thus, it is possible to see if there were any significant changes in the production and distribution of ELT textbooks due to this factor. This division runs parallel to the division made in Chapters Two and Three. The part on the diversification of materials (5.3) gives an overview of eight different categories of textbooks by means of which English was taught and learnt. The chapter is concluded with a summary (5.4).

5.1 The production of ELT textbooks

The corpus of titles collected in Appendix Two currently comprises 754 titles. Reprints or later editions have not been counted as new titles, but textbooks consisting of more than one volume have been regarded as separate publications. The total number of 754 titles would increase considerably, if reprints and later editions were included. By comparison, it should be noted that Loonen (1991) traced a total of 43 titles over a period of about 270 years, i.e. from about 1530 to 1800. Furthermore, it should be pointed out that the bibliography will never be altogether complete, if we allow for the possibility of unknown textbooks to turn up. In this respect it is quite significant that Breet & Ceton (1982) arrived at a total number of 394 titles of ELT textbooks for the period 1800-1900. Nevertheless, we can be certain that at this moment we have a virtually complete bibliography of ELT materials published during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. There can be no doubt that the dominant textbooks, i.e. those that had most reprints or editions and the longest circulation time, have all been included.

The production of ELT materials rose in the course of 120 years. However, this rise shows one or two drops during the decades 1820-1830 and 1880-1890. Between 1890 and 1900 there was a period of spectacular growth, which continued after 1900, albeit at a more moderate pace. Nearly seventy percent (533 textbooks) of the total output of ELT materials (754) was produced during the second half of the researched period, that is, between 1860 and 1920. Table 5.1 presents a survey of the number of textbooks produced per decade over the period 1800-1920.

Decade	Number of textbooks
1800-1809	25
1810-1819	42
1820-1829	13
1830-1839	25
1840-1849	47
1850-1859	69
1860-1869	61
1870-1879	63
1880-1889	37
1890-1899	94
1900-1909	136
1910-1919	142
Total number	754

TABLE 5.1 THE PRODUCTION OF ELT TEXTBOOKS PER DECADE BETWEEN 1800 AND 1920

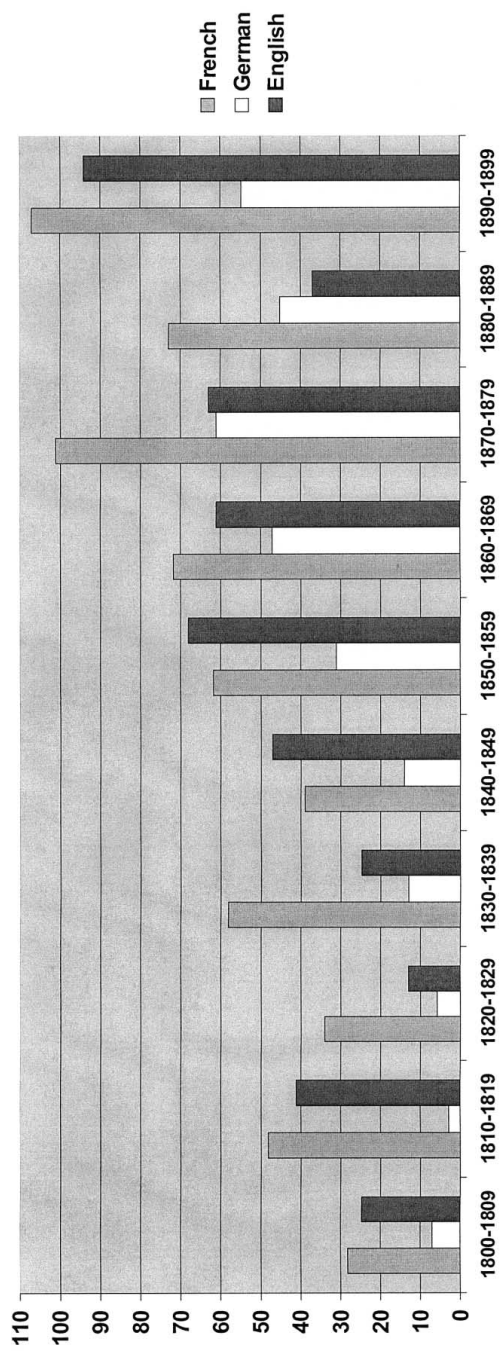
By way of comparison, Table 5.2 and Graph 5.1 give some indication of the production of language textbooks for French, German and English during the 19th century on the basis of two unpublished theses⁴⁴⁴.

Decade	French	German	English
1800-1809	28	7	25
1810-1819	48	3	42
1820-1829	34	6	13
1830-1839	58	13	25
1840-1849	39	14	47
1850-1859	62	31	69
1860-1869	72	47	61
1870-1879	101	61	63
1880-1889	73	45	37
1890-1899	107	55	94
Total 1800-1899	622	282	476

TABLE 5.2 THE PRODUCTION OF FRLT, GLT AND ELT TEXTBOOKS PER DECADE BETWEEN 1800 AND 1900

⁴⁴⁴ See the unpublished theses by Breet & Ceton (1982) and Knops (1982). These theses discuss the period 1800-1900.

GRAPH 5.1 THE PRODUCTION OF FRLT, GLT AND ELT TEXTBOOKS PER DECADE BETWEEN 1800 AND 1900



5.1.1 *The production of ELT textbooks from 1800 to 1859*

During the first sixty years of the 19th century, the teaching of English depended to a large extent on coincidence, such as the presence of teachers who were skilled enough to teach the language or the wish of parents that their children should learn English. After 1860 English became a compulsory subject in the greater part of what is now known as secondary education. For this reason the period 1800-1920 has been split into two halves, 1800-1859 and 1860-1919.

The first decade of the 19th century is characterised by a relatively large output of textbooks, if compared with the production of materials at the end of the 18th century⁴⁴⁵. Already during the last two decades of the 18th century the production of ELT textbooks had risen sharply compared to the preceding two hundred and fifty years. Between 1780 and 1800 ten textbooks were published in the Low Countries, which was about a quarter of the total number of textbooks published between 1530 and 1800. Obviously, towards the end of the 18th century the demand for ELL was growing and the share of ELT in education was on the increase. Despite this rising trend, it is still surprising to see that in the first decade of the new century – a period in which the Batavian Republic (1795-1806) and the Kingdom of Holland (1806-1810) were almost continuously at war with Britain – the production of ELT textbooks managed to climb to 25 new titles. The peak year in the first decade of the 19th century was 1803. Perhaps this had something to do with the breaking off of hostilities, since in March 1802 France and the Batavian Republic concluded the peace with the United Kingdom⁴⁴⁶. However, in June 1803 the countries were at war once again (Bruijn *et al.* 1991:11-12). The relative increase of textbooks in the second decade is easy to explain because of the fact that in 1813 French rule in the Low Countries came to an end and, as a consequence, the Dutch had high hopes of reviving their trade with England. Several textbook writers refer to the end of the French occupation, looking forward to the old trade contacts with Britain (see 2.2.2.1). After just one textbook had come out in 1813, the production soared to 13 books in the following year. However, writers

⁴⁴⁵ See Loonen (1991:278-315; appendix 1a).

⁴⁴⁶ This happened at the Treaty of Amiens of 27 March 1802.

may have set their hopes too high, for between 1820 and 1830 there was a substantial reduction in publications. Presumably, trade with Britain was slackening and there was less urgency to publish new materials. In these years also the number of French textbooks went down, which may be additional proof of a period of economic slump (see Table 5.2). After 1830 the number of publications gradually rose again and round about 1860 the production of English materials was at a significantly higher level than at the beginning of the century. This phenomenon may be explained by the fact that the Dutch Constitution of 1848 had made it easier for individual teachers to set up schools of their own, so that the number of private schools was growing. In these privately-owned schools foreign language teaching occupied a prominent place.

Between 1800 and 1860 the production of ELT materials averaged 3.7 textbooks annually and in this period respectively 2.5, 4.2, 1.3, 2.5, 4.7 and 6.9 textbooks were published per decade. Altogether, 221 textbooks were published in that period, which is 29.3% of the total production between 1800 and 1920. This textbook production is shown in table 5.3⁴⁴⁷.

TABLE 5.3 THE ANNUAL PRODUCTION OF ELT TEXTBOOKS 1800-1859

1800	1	1810	2	1820	1	1830	3	1840	2	1850	14
1801	1	1811	2	1821	0	1831	1	1841	4	1851	7
1802	0	1812	3	1822	1	1832	2	1842	3	1852	2
1803	7	1813	1	1823	2	1833	0	1843	10	1853	7
1804	4	1814	13	1824	2	1834	2	1844	4	1854	7
1805	1	1815	6	1825	1	1835	4	1845	4	1855	6
1806	0	1816	5	1826	2	1836	3	1846	7	1856	12
1807	6	1817	4	1827	0	1837	5	1847	5	1857	5
1808	3	1818	3	1828	0	1838	3	1848	6	1858	4
1809	2	1819	3	1829	4	1839	2	1849	2	1859	5
Total	25		42		13		25		47		69

⁴⁴⁷ Strictly speaking, no textbooks were published in the year 1800, while table 5.3 lists 1. However, in 1798 the first instalment of the *Nieuw Prentenboek voor Kinderen* appeared, which continued to be published in nine other instalments until 1810.

5.1.2 *The production of ELT textbooks from 1860 to 1919*

The Education Act of 1857 introduced lower secondary education (MULO) in which the three foreign languages French, German and English were acknowledged as optional subjects in the curriculum. In this way the Act anticipated compulsory FLT in higher secondary education, which came about in 1863 and took shape in the Higher Burgher Schools. Contrary to what one might expect, the first few decades after the introduction of the Higher Burgher Schools and grammar schools (1876) did not show a significant increase in the production of ELT textbooks, apart from a modest peak in 1864. This is in great contrast with the production of textbooks for French and German, which did show a remarkable increase (see Table 5.2). This phenomenon is not easy to account for. One explanation could be that FrLT was needed anyway for pupils to be admitted to (State-funded) Higher Burgher Schools and grammar schools. Another explanation might be that, now that they had access to (lower) secondary education, a larger number of learners preferred to study French, since it was the first foreign language⁴⁴⁸. For GLT the situation was different. It simply had to catch up with French and English, after it had been made into a compulsory school subject in 1863.

After a fairly constant flow of FLT textbooks had been published between 1850 and 1880, the 1880s show a sudden drop. This may have been caused by the economic crisis of the time⁴⁴⁹. Another explanation could be the abolition of MULO as a separate type of school under the

⁴⁴⁸ On the other hand, one should take into account that the number of secondary schools and the number of pupils in them remained comparatively small. In 1880 higher secondary education (Higher Burgher Schools and grammar schools) and lower secondary education (MULO) numbered about 12,000 pupils in each category. It was not till the end of the century before the number of pupils in these schools was growing substantially. It is estimated that by 1900 the number of lower secondary pupils had risen to 12,000 and the number of higher secondary pupils had grown to 23,000 (Mandemakers 1996:363 and 553, table 7.5).

⁴⁴⁹ See De Jonge (1968 [1976:242]). The 1870s and 1880s were characterised by a world-wide economic slump, which also affected the Dutch economy. As a matter of fact, it was not until the 1890s that the Netherlands really became an industrialised nation.

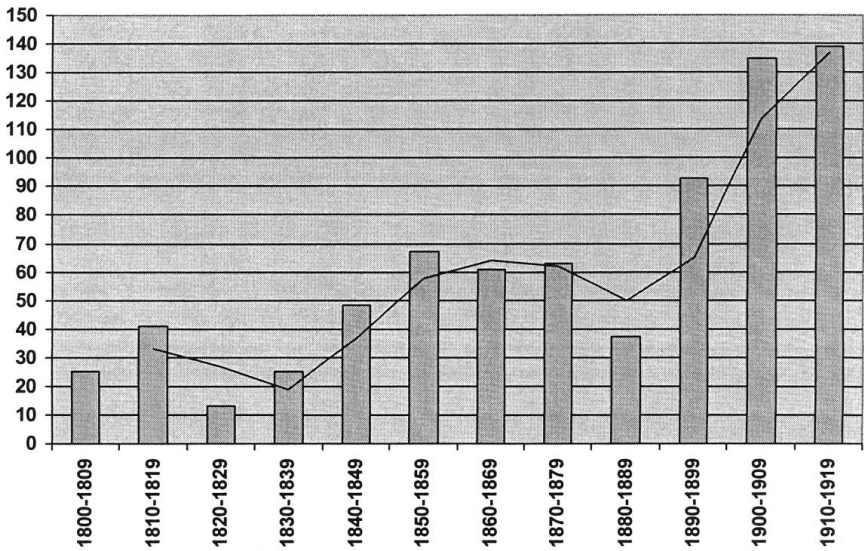
1878 Education Act⁴⁵⁰, as the decrease affected all three foreign languages (see table 5.2). After 1890, however, there was a spectacular recovery. The number of ELT textbooks nearly tripled and the years 1890-1900 show the fastest growth of textbooks of all the decades between 1800 and 1920. This increase may be accounted for by the economic boom and the growing participation in education. The Netherlands were now developing fast into an industrialised nation and there was a growing demand for knowledge. This demand can be traced in the rise of secondary and vocational schools, especially commercial schools. The enormous increase in the output of commercial textbooks of English between 1900 and 1920 points to the specific need for English as the language of trade and commerce. After 1900 the production of English textbooks continued at a high rate. Between 1860 and 1920 the production of ELT materials averaged nearly 8.9 textbooks annually (see Table 5.4). In this period respectively 61, 63, 37, 94, 136 and 142 textbooks were published per decade. Altogether, 533 textbooks were published in this period, which is 70.7% of the total textbook production between 1800 and 1920. Graph 5.2 presents an overall view of the ELT textbook production between 1800 and 1920.

TABLE 5.4 THE ANNUAL PRODUCTION OF ELT TEXTBOOKS 1860-1919

1860	4	1870	8	1880	3	1890	7	1900	10	1910	12
1861	6	1871	7	1881	2	1891	9	1901	7	1911	15
1862	5	1872	6	1882	2	1892	6	1902	12	1912	20
1863	8	1873	5	1883	3	1893	11	1903	8	1913	14
1864	11	1874	5	1884	4	1894	12	1904	11	1914	10
1865	5	1875	7	1885	5	1895	14	1905	15	1915	18
1866	8	1876	5	1886	4	1896	16	1906	13	1916	15
1867	1	1877	6	1887	5	1897	3	1907	18	1917	13
1868	7	1878	6	1888	4	1898	3	1908	19	1918	13
1869	6	1879	8	1889	5	1899	13	1909	23	1919	12
Total	61		63		37		94		136		142

⁴⁵⁰ It may have resulted in fewer subsidies. Gradually MULO recovered, however, as more money became available. Under the Education Act of 14 July 1910 (M)ULO was restored as a separate type of school (Mandemakers 1996:28).

GRAPH 5.2 THE PRODUCTION OF ELT TEXTBOOKS PER DECADE BETWEEN 1800 AND 1920



5.2 The distribution of ELT textbooks

Which textbooks dominated the supply of ELT materials between 1800 and 1860 and who were the most prominent textbook writers? The number of printings, i.e. reprints and/or editions⁴⁵¹, is an indication of how well a textbook was received. But not only the mere number of printings would show its popularity, also the time span during which a textbook was reprinted or re-edited, reflected its success. In theory, a textbook would have the greatest impact on its environment, if it had a large number of printings and if, at the same time, it was reprinted over a long

⁴⁵¹ It is often difficult to conclude from the title if we are dealing with a reprint, a new edition or even a pirated version. The point is closely related to the matter of copyright, which until the arrival of new government measures at the beginning of the 19th century had been organised poorly. This resulted in textbooks being secretly printed and published under the name of “new issue” or the like. It also regularly happened that a publisher’s stock was transferred to a colleague publisher, so that the history of a book is often difficult to trace. For that reason the term ‘printing’ is used here for all reprints and editions.

period of time. Hence, it is important to know which textbooks were produced frequently and for how long, since it was these books that may be said to have fulfilled a model function in ELT. At any rate, these textbooks provide a fairly reliable impression of the methodological preferences of the Dutch teachers of English. At the same time, some degree of caution is called for, as the success of a textbook could also depend on accidental circumstances, such as the publisher's willingness to advertise his new publication or the benevolent reaction of a book reviewer. Moreover, the mere number of printings does not tell us everything about the success of a textbook. Also the number of copies that were produced played a significant part in the distribution of textbooks, since it is very well possible that the number of copies of one textbook differed substantially from that of another.

Occasionally, we happen to know the exact number of copies, as is the case with some textbooks published by Blussé around 1800⁴⁵². Also, from the *Bibliographie de l'Empire français* (BEF) we know the number of copies of some twenty FrLT coursebooks, of one FrLT-ELT-Dutch coursebook and of one ELT coursebook published during the years 1812 and 1813. The number of copies of the FrLT coursebooks varied between 350⁴⁵³ and 5,000⁴⁵⁴. On average, of these twenty French coursebooks, some 1,200 copies were printed for each publication. In view of the political situation – between 1810 and 1813 the Netherlands were annexed by France and French was a compulsory language in schools in those years, at

⁴⁵² Baggerman (2000:337-340) managed to trace figures from the archives of Blussé Publishers in Dordrecht relating to copies of textbooks printed between 1797 and 1818. She found that in those years Blussé's average output of schoolbooks amounted to 1336 copies. As for FLT, she discovered that Holtrop and Zeydelaar's edition of Marin's French-Dutch and Dutch-French dictionary (1810) consisted of 5,000 copies. The 1811 reprint of the French-Dutch volume consisted of 2,500 copies, while the print number of the Dutch-French volume was 4,000 in 1811 and 1,100 in 1818. English textbooks were printed in similar numbers, although not in such large quantities as their French counterparts. The 1804 edition of Jan Holtrop's grammar of 1780 consisted of 3,000 copies, while Baldwin Janson's pocket dictionary was reprinted with 1,500 copies in 1807 and 1819.

⁴⁵³ The *Méthode familière* by P. Marin ("Boemel" [Zaltbommel]: Noman, 1813) had 350 printed copies (BEF 1813:399)

⁴⁵⁴ The *Méthode familière* by P. Marin, adapted by J. van Bemmelen (Leiden: Du Mortier, 1811) had 5,000 printed copies (BEF 1812:333).

least in name – it is very likely that the total number of FrLT coursebooks published was larger than that for ELT. Possibly also the number of copies for each FrLT publication was larger. On the basis of the number of copies of four ELT coursebooks, published between 1804 and 1816, it seems reasonable to estimate that in the period 1800-1840 on average 1,000 copies of ELT textbooks appeared in print. Probably the number of copies increased, as more pupils began to learn English in the course of the 19th century.

The printing history of textbooks is very relevant for our knowledge of the reception of teaching methods, as the most prominent textbooks illustrate the mainstream of teaching methods within a certain period. A textbook that was reprinted frequently was probably welcomed because it offered new elements and/or showed outstanding qualities. The first case applies, for instance, to Rudolph van der Pijl's *Engelsch Lees- en Vertaalboekje voor Eerstbeginnenden* (1814 and 1815), which presents practice material in the form of reading lessons as well as translation exercises English-Dutch and Dutch-English. Such practice books had not been published before. On the other hand, a successful textbook did not necessarily have to be innovative, but might fit in the mainstream of the moment and simply offer better qualities than other material, for instance in the way in which the learning content was selected, graded and presented. This was the case, for instance, with Roorda's highly successful *Engelsche Spraakkunst* (1886).

Successful textbooks were often reprinted or adapted into new editions. This would even happen long after the book had been published for the first time. Thus, the above-mentioned *Engelsch Lees- en Vertaalboekje voor eerstbeginnenden ... Eerste stukje* (1814) was revised in a new edition as late as 1897 and the *Leercursus ter beoefening der Engelsche taal* by Cowan & Maatjes, which first appeared in 1854, was printed in a new edition as late as 1898. If textbooks were simply reprinted without undergoing any fundamental revision, this would point to a relative standstill in teaching method. This was the case with a number of early 19th century textbooks that were based on traditional French materials, like the textbooks by Pierre Marin and Charles Cazelles. Their work was adapted by Van der Pijl, Kappelhoff and Bomhoff. Roorda's above-mentioned *Engelsche*

Spraakkunst may be seen as another example of relative standstill, as it hardly changed in eighty years⁴⁵⁵.

If a textbook had few editions or was not reprinted at all, one is inclined to think that it had little impact on current teaching methods. This seems to have been the case with Langerveldt's *English taught in English. A New Method of teaching the English Language* (1891), whose title suggests that it was representative of the Reform Movement in Holland. Innovative textbooks that were unsuccessful in terms of new printings thus suggest that there was little innovation in ELT. However, it may well be that relatively unsuccessful textbooks affected other textbooks in the long run. Thus, it is possible to indicate the effect that the Reform Movement had on Dutch ELT textbooks of the early 20th century. In other words, the number of printings and the circulation time of textbooks do not tell the whole story about their influence on teaching methods.

5.2.1 *The distribution of ELT textbooks from 1800 to 1859*

Table 5.5 gives an overview of the textbooks that were printed most frequently between 1800 and 1860. Only the textbooks that had five or more printings have been included in the list. In this way 23 textbooks have been traced as the most successful. The list is topped by Cowan & Maatjes' *Leercursus. Eerste Gedeelte* (1854), Van der Pijl's *Gemeenzame Leerwijjs* (1814), his *Engelsch Lees- en vertaalboekje* (two volumes 1814 and 1815) and Williams/Bomhoff's *Engelsch-Nederduitsche gesprekken* (1832). Table 5.6 presents an overview of the textbooks that had the longest circulation time in the same period. Only those that were in circulation for at least 25 or more years have been included⁴⁵⁶. In this way 28 textbooks have been traced as the most successful. The list is once again topped by Van der Pijl's *Engelsch Lees- en vertaalboekje* (two vols. 1814 and 1815), Cowan & Maatjes' *Leercursus. Eerste Gedeelte* (1854), Williams/Bomhoff's *Engelsch-Nederduitsche gesprekken* (1832) and Van der Pijl's *Gemeenzame Leerwijjs* (1814). Thus, it appears that these textbooks not only had the greatest number of printings but also the longest circulation time. Below

⁴⁵⁵ The last edition appeared in 1962.

⁴⁵⁶ Dictionaries have not been included.

follows a brief characterisation of the occupation and textbook output of the writers of the most successful textbooks between 1800 and 1860.

The most successful ELT textbooks and their writers, 1800-1859

Rudolph van der Pijl (1790-1828) became the most prominent textbook writer of the second decade in terms of successful publications. Between 1811 and 1823 Van der Pijl produced ten English and thirteen French textbooks in a total of 37 publications. Through these books he left his stamp on English and French language teaching during a major part of the century (Wilhelm 2000). Five of his English textbooks were printed many times and over a long period. In the first place this applies to the two volumes of his *Engelsch Lees- en vertaalboekje voor Eerstbeginnenden*. These practice books were published in 1814 and 1815 and went through 11 and 12 editions respectively until 1897. His *Gemeenzame Leerwijs*, modelled on Pierre Marin's *Méthode Familiale*⁴⁵⁷, appeared in 1814. This textbook was published in a twelfth edition in 1866 and thus circulated for at least 52 years. Another important publication was the *Engelsche Spraakkunst* by Lindley Murray, which had originally been published in England in 1795 and was adapted for Dutch learners by Van der Pijl in 1816 (Noordegraaf 1996:107-123; also see 6.2.4). This coursebook had its eighth edition in 1871 and played a prominent role for at least 55 years. Finally, there was Van der Pijl's earliest English publication, the *Engelsche Spraakkunst* (1811), which ran into three editions (see 6.2.3). Van der Pijl was indisputably one of the most productive and influential English textbook writers of the 19th century, judging by the number of textbooks that he produced, by the number of printings and by the period of time during which they circulated.

The writer who produced the most successful textbooks after Van der Pijl was **Dirk Bomhoff Hzn.** (1892-1860)⁴⁵⁸. Between 1822 and 1851 he wrote or adapted thirteen textbooks for English. Four of his works went through many editions or reprints for a long time. They were T.S. Williams' *Engelsch-Nederduitsche Gesprekken* 1832-1886¹⁰, H.E. Lloyd's *Nieuwe Engelsche Spraakkunst* 1835-1855⁵, his *Beknopte Engelsche Spraak-*

⁴⁵⁷ Marin's *Méthode Familiale* was originally published in 1698 (see Loonen 1997: 23-28).

⁴⁵⁸ See BWNZL, 86-87; NNBW II, 204; SWKK II, 181.

kunst 1838-1867⁹ and his adaptation of Wilke's *Handleiding* 1848⁴-1872⁸. However, his other works were popular too, such as the edited version of Lloyd's *Engelsch Leesboek in Proza en Poëzy. Eerste Stukje. Proza* (1837), the edited version of Melford's *Engelsch Leesboek* (1844) and his *Anecdoten en Vertellingen ter Vertaling in het Engelsch* (1846). Bomhoff appears to have been influenced by many textbooks published in the German-speaking area, including the work by T.S. Williams, Hannibal Evans Lloyd (1771-1847), Henry Maria Melford (1787-1864), D. Wilke and Bernhard Schmitz⁴⁵⁹. Also, Thieme's publishing firm, where nearly all his English textbooks appeared, had a strong orientation towards Germany⁴⁶⁰. Apart from being a writer of textbooks, Bomhoff was active as a lexicographer. In 1822 he published a *New Dictionary of the English and Dutch Language* and in 1840 an *English-Dutch and Dutch-English Pocket-Dictionary*. He wrote a Dutch dictionary⁴⁶¹ and was also an expert on French⁴⁶² and German (Knops 1982). By many Bomhoff was considered an authority on contemporary English. Our evidence for this is above suspicion, as it was supplied by B.S. Nayler, who wrote a very hostile comment on Bomhoff's ideas about the teaching of English pronunciation⁴⁶³.

A writer who had a remarkably large output during the 1830s and 1840s was the Rotterdam teacher **Lodewijk Hakbijl** (c1786-1862). Between 1829 and 1848 he wrote ten quite different kinds of ELT textbooks. The *Handleiding tot het Lezen en Beoefenen der Engelsche Taal* first came out in 1830 and had a fifth edition in 1872. According to the title it was based on "Murray's reading lessons", i.e. his *Spelling-Book*⁴⁶⁴. Hakbijl's coursebook *Gronden der Engelsche Spraakkunst* also appeared in 1830, initially without mentioning place and year of publication; it had a

⁴⁵⁹ See Macht (1986) and Klippel (1994) for a discussion of their works and teaching methods.

⁴⁶⁰ Bomhoff had nearly all his textbooks of English published by Thieme (in Zutphen, Nijmegen or Arnhem). The founder of this publishing house, H.C.A. Thieme, was German by birth (see Kalkwiek 1992).

⁴⁶¹ *Nieuw Groot Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal* (1857).

⁴⁶² In 1844 he edited a new version of Pierre Marins *Méthode familière* (see Breet/Ceton 1982).

⁴⁶³ See Nayler (1848:Appendix).

⁴⁶⁴ In his preface Hakbijl states that he used Murray's *An English Spelling-Book* (1804) as his source (also see Barr 1996:221-223).

fourth edition in 1859. Another coursebook, *Grondbeginselen om het Engelsch te Leeren Spreken*, partly based on Jean Perrin's *Elements of English Conversation*, was published in 1831 and a third edition appeared in 1855. Hakbijl's other work consists of practice books for writing and speaking.

The very successful *Leercursus ter Beoefening der Engelsche Taal* by F. M. Cowan and A.B. Maatjes (three volumes: 1854-1916¹⁶, 1856-1897¹⁰, 1857-1890⁶) was looked upon as a kind of standard work for decades. During the 1890s it was still used in secondary schools in Rotterdam (Dodde 1991:296). F.M. Cowan (1822-1862), Englishman by birth, taught at the well-known private boarding-school 'Noorthey', before he was appointed as English master at the Amsterdam grammar school in 1845. Fifteen years later he left Holland after accepting a post as interpreter and translator at the British consulate in Japan (see 6.2.6). His colleague A.B. Maatjes (1820-1873) was a modern language teacher in Amsterdam, who wrote a great number of textbooks for French, German and English, which were used in schools for a long time. Among these were a translation practice book and a key (1862). His vocabulary and phrasebook *A Selection of English Words and Dialogues* (1850-1863⁹) went through nine editions (see 6.2.6).

Around the middle of the century there was a small number of textbooks that ran into many editions. They all appeared in the 1850s, consisted of more than one volume and with one exception were all coursebooks. They were, in order of appearance the *Handleiding bij de Beoefening der Engelsche Taal* by J.J. De Hollander (three volumes: 1850-1871⁷, 1851-1888⁹, 1853-1863²), the *Verzameling van Opstellen* by W.D. Frerichs (three volumes: 1853-1882⁶, 1853-1884⁵, 1853-1869²), and the *Nieuwe Leerwijze* by Eduard Gerdes (two volumes: 1855-1883⁶ and 1856-1862²). De Hollander's course was to become one of the best-known courses of the 19th century. It laid down a kind of standard for boys who sought admission to the Royal Military Academy, where De Hollander was a lecturer (see 6.2.5). E. Gerdes wrote an English coursebook (1851) and two readers (1856 and 1858), before writing his *Nieuwe Leerwijze der Engelsche Taal* (1855). Before that time, Gerdes had already published a successful *Nieuwe Leerwijze der Fransche Taal* in 1850⁴⁶⁵ and an equally successful *Nieuwe Leerwijze der Hoogduitsche Taal* in 1853 (Knops 1982) (see 6.2.7).

Between 1800 and 1860 there were quite a few minor authors whose textbooks were somewhat less successful, but who cannot be left out here. Their names are **G.W. Lehman**, **F. Gedike**, **J. Lagerweij**, **H. A. Hamelberg**, **E. Peel**, **J. Huddleston Slater** and **L.C.J. Ludolph**. Both Peel and Huddleston Slater were native speakers of English. Lehman (see 6.2.1) as well as Gedike compiled readers, respectively the *Engelsche Chrestomatie* (1808 and 1848) and the *Engelsch Leesboek voor Eerstbeginnenden* (1809). The latter book was an adaptation of a German reader dating from 1795⁴⁶⁶. Its Latin, Greek and French versions had been edited for Dutch learners some time before, so that it may be assumed that Gedike's readers were much favoured in Latin schools and grammar schools. **J. Lagerweij**, who ran a school at Geertruidenberg, published a *Nieuw Engelsch Lees-, leer- en vertaalboek voor Eerstbeginnenden* in 1837. The grammar school teacher **Hendrik Antonie Hamelberg**⁴⁶⁷ (1792-1852) produced five translation practice books between 1829 and 1848, whose best-known title is *Verzameling van Leerzame en Onderhoudende Stukken, ter Vertaling in het Engelsch* (1842-1876⁴). Hamelberg also published a successful five-volume French course (Breet & Ceton 1982) as well as a German grammar (Knops 1982). **E. Peel** wrote the *Nieuwe Practische en Gemakkelijke Leerwijze ter Beoefening der Engelsche Taal* (two volumes: 1855-1886⁴ and 1856-1861²). Furthermore, Peel wrote two conversation guides for English, French and Dutch (1861 and 1872). **John Huddleston Slater**, a grammar school teacher in Rotterdam, produced a successful grammar named *A Concise Grammar of the English Language, for the Use of Dutch Students* (1856-1885⁵) and a practice book in 1864. **L.C.J. Ludolph** wrote a quite popular phrasebook, *Engelsch Leerboekje voor Eerstbeginnenden* (1859-1895⁹), and a practice book in two volumes (1863 and 1870).

⁴⁶⁵ First volume 1850-1880¹⁰, second volume 1851-1884⁵ (Breet & Ceton 1982).

⁴⁶⁶ It was a translated version of the *Englisches Lesebuch für Anfänger, nebst Wörterbuch und Sprachlehre*. See Saalmink (1993:666) and Klippel (1994:176).

⁴⁶⁷ NNBWII:542-543.

TABLE 5.5 ELT TEXTBOOKS WITH THE GREATEST NUMBER OF PRINTINGS
1800-1859

Author/Title	First and last year of publication	Number of printings
Cowan & Maatjes <i>Leercursus. Eerste Gedeelte</i>	1854-1916	13
Van der Pijl <i>Gemeenzame Leerwijs</i>	1814-1866	12
Van der Pijl <i>Engelsch Lees- en vertaalboekje voor Eerstbeginnenden. Eerste Stukje</i>	1814-1897	12
Van der Pijl <i>Engelsch Lees- en vertaalboekje voor Eerstbeginnenden. Tweede Stukje</i>	1815-1897	11
Williams/Bomhoff <i>Engelsch-Nederduitsche Gesprekken</i>	1832-1886	10
Cowan & Maatjes <i>Leercursus. Tweede Gedeelte</i>	1856-1897	10
Bomhoff <i>Beknopte Engelsche Spraakkunst</i>	1838-1867	9
Maatjes <i>A Selection of English Words and Dialogues</i>	1850-1883	9
De Hollander <i>Handleiding. Tweede Afdeeling</i>	1851-1888	9
Ludolph <i>Engelsch Leerboekje</i>	1859-1895	9
Murray/van der Pijl <i>Engelsche Spraakkunst</i>	1816-1871	8
Wilke/Bomhoff <i>Handleiding</i>	1848 ^d -1872 ^a	8
De Hollander <i>Handleiding. Eerste afdeeling</i>	1850-1871	7
Gedike <i>Engelsch Leesboek voor Eerstbeginnenden</i>	1809-1853	6
Frerichs <i>Verzameling van Opstellen. Eerste Gedeelte</i>	1853-1882	6
Gerdes <i>Nieuwe Leerwijze</i>	1855-1883	6
Cowan & Maatjes <i>Leercursus. Derde Gedeelte</i>	1857-1890	6
Hakbijl <i>Handleiding</i>	1830-1872	5
Lloyd/Bomhoff <i>Nieuwe Engelsche Spraakkunst</i>	1835-1855	5
Lagerwey <i>Nieuw Engelsch Lees-, leer- en vertaalboek voor Eerstbeginnenden</i>	1837-1863	5
Anon. <i>Engelsche Koopmans-Correspondentie</i>	1854-1890	5
Frerichs <i>Verzameling van Opstellen. Tweede Gedeelte</i>	1853-1884	5
Slater <i>Concise Grammar</i>	1856-1885	5

TABLE 5.6 ELT TEXTBOOKS WITH THE LONGEST CIRCULATION TIME
1800-1859

Author/Title	First and last year of publication and number of printings	Minimum number of years in circulation
Van der Pijl <i>Engelsch Lees- en vertaalboekje voor Eerstbeginnenden. Eerste Stukje</i>	1814-1897 ¹²	83
Van der Pijl <i>Engelsch Lees- en vertaalboekje voor Eerstbeginnenden. Tweede Stukje</i>	1815-1897 ¹¹	82
Cowan & Maatjes <i>Leercursus. Eerste Gedeelte</i>	1854-1916 ¹³	62
Williams/Bomhoff <i>Engelsch-Nederduitsche Gesprekken</i>	1832-1886 ¹⁰	54
Van der Pijl <i>Gemeenzame Leerwijs</i>	1814-1866 ¹²	52
Murray/van der Pijl <i>Engelsche Spraakkunst</i>	1816-1871 ⁸	45
Gedike <i>Engelsch Leesboek voor Eerstbeginnenden</i>	1809-1853 ⁶	44
Hakbijl <i>Handleiding</i>	1830-1872 ⁵	42
Cowan & Maatjes <i>Leercursus. Tweede gedeelte</i>	1856-1897 ¹⁰	41
De Hollander <i>Handleiding. Tweede Afdeling</i>	1851-1888 ⁹	37
Anon. <i>Engelsche Koopmans-Correspondentie</i>	1854-1890 ⁵	36
Ludolph <i>Engelsch Leerboekje</i>	1859-1895 ⁹	36
Hamelberg <i>Verzameling van Leerzame en Onderhoudende Stukken</i>	1842-1876 ⁴	34
Lehman <i>Engelsche Chrestomatie</i>	1808-1841 ²	33
Maatjes <i>Selection</i>	1850-1883 ⁹	33
Cowan & Maatjes <i>Leercursus. Derde Gedeelte</i>	1857-1890 ⁶	33
Frerichs <i>Verzameling van Opstellen. Tweede Gedeelte</i>	1853-1884 ⁵	31
Peel <i>Nieuwe Leerwijze</i>	1855-1886 ⁴	31
Hakbijl <i>Gronden der Engelsche Spraakkunst</i>	1830-1859 ⁴	29
Bomhoff <i>Beknopte Engelsche Spraakkunst</i>	1838-1867 ⁹	29
Frerichs <i>Verzameling van Opstellen. Eerste Gedeelte</i>	1853-1882 ⁶	29
Slater <i>Concise Grammar</i>	1856-1885 ⁵	29
Gerdes <i>Nieuwe Leerwijze</i>	1855-1883 ⁶	28
Van der Pijl <i>Engelsche Spraakkunst</i>	1811-1837 ³	26
Lagerwey <i>Nieuw Engelsch Lees-,Leer- en Vertaalboek voor Eerstbeginnenden</i>	1837-1863 ⁵	26
Hakbijl <i>Grondbeginselen</i>	1831-1855 ³	25
Hamelberg <i>Aanwijzingen voor de Vertaling</i>	1843-1868 ³	25
Lindo <i>Grondbeginselen</i>	1855-1880 ²	25

5.2.2 The distribution of ELT textbooks from 1860 to 1919

Table 5.7 gives an overview of the textbooks that were printed most frequently between 1860 and 1920. Only the textbooks that had five or more printings have been included in the list. In this way 61 textbooks have been traced as the most successful. The list is topped by three textbooks by Roorda, i.e. *Engelsche Spraakkunst, deel I* (1886), *Engelsche Spraakkunst, deel I Supplement* (1895) and *Engelsche Leesboek, Deel I* (compiled together with C. Grondhoud). The other three most popular textbooks were by Grasé *Oefeningen in de Engelsche Taal, II* (1896), IJmker & Velthuysen *English for Children, 1e deeltje* (1907) and Stoffel *Handleiding bij het Onderwijs in het Engelsch, deel II* (1881). Table 5.8 presents an overview of the textbooks that had the longest circulation time in the same period. Only those that were in circulation for ten or more years have been included⁴⁶⁸. In this way 57 textbooks have been traced as the most successful. The list is topped by Valkhoff's *Vocabulary* (1872), an anonymous writer's *De Vlugge Engelschman* (1863), Dingemans' edition of *Zimmermann's Korte Engelsche Lees- en vertaal oefeningen* (1864), De Bruin's *Help Uzelf op Reis met Engelsch* (1877), Gomm's *Elementary Word and Phrasebook* (1877) and Valkhoff's *Volledige Leercursus, Eerste Stukje* (1874).

Unlike period 1800-1860, in which the textbooks with the largest number of printings were identical with those that had the longest circulation time, this period shows a different kind of textbooks that had the longest circulation time. In the group of textbooks with the largest number of printings, the reprints and editions succeeded each other fairly quickly in the period 1860-1920, whereas in the group with the longest circulation time this did not happen to the same extent; they simply kept being published with longer intervals. The latter group offers more vocabulary and phrases, which could have been used outside of schools, whereas the former group consisted of works that were primarily intended for use in schools. Below follows a brief characterisation of the occupation and textbook output of the writers of the most successful textbooks published between 1860 and 1920.

⁴⁶⁸ Dictionaries have not been included.

The most successful ELT textbooks and their writers, 1860-1919

J. N. Valkhoff (1834-1900), a Higher Burgher School teacher who was to become an inspector of schools, successfully produced a great number of French, English and German textbooks. His most productive years were the 1870s. In each year of that decade, with the exception of 1877, he published one or two textbooks for English, 13 altogether. Six of these textbooks ran into many editions. They were *The Young Teacher* (1872-1907⁷), his *Vocabulary* 1872-1923⁷), *The English Reader* 1874-1902⁷), the *Volledige Leercursus der Engelsche taal* (three volumes: 1874-1914¹⁴, 1875-1904⁸, 1878-1895³) and his *First English reading-book* (1876-1923¹²). Some of his English textbooks had been adapted from French versions.

Cornelis Stoffel (1845-1908), was primarily a scholar (Stuurman 1993). In 1879 he became a co-founder of the modern language journal *Taalstudie* and editor of the English section (Wilhelm 1996). He may be said to be one of the founding-fathers of English studies as an academic discipline in the Netherlands and in 1886 he was a serious candidate for the first professorship in English (Koops 1980). His textbooks clearly bore the mark of scholarship and as such they were perhaps less suited to the needs of young learners. Nevertheless, the three-volume *Handleiding bij het Onderwijs in het Engelsch* was reprinted a number of times and was re-edited by A.E.H. Swaen (1863-1947). The first volume, which chiefly focuses on the phonology of English, went through 8 editions (1880-1919). The second volume was an even greater success; the 17th edition came out towards the end of the 1920s. The third book had its 6th edition in 1924. As they never failed to occur on the list of recommended manuals for the teacher examinations⁴⁶⁹, these coursebooks were presumably used by student teachers of English. For many contemporary teachers of English Stoffel's *Handleiding* must have been a standard work. Stoffel also compiled four or five prose anthologies for use in schools (1890-1893).

K. ten Bruggencate (1849-1922)⁴⁷⁰ was a Higher Burgher School and grammar school teacher and is especially known for his *Engelsch Woordenboek* (1895/1896). He was Stoffel's successor (1885-1889) as edi-

⁴⁶⁹ See *De Drie Talen* between 1884 and 1920.

⁴⁷⁰ For an extensive biography see Stuurman (1993:52-56).

tor of the English section of *Taalstudie*. Together with L. van der Wal he set up a weekly journal for student teachers of English in primary education, named *The Engelsche Taalgids* (1896-1905). He chaired the English examination board for some time and became a Higher Burgher School inspector in 1899. As such he played a prominent role in the discussions on FLT methodology. Altogether, he wrote or edited ten textbooks, i.e. a conversation guide in 1878, a coursebook for lower and higher secondary schools in 1880, another, more successful one in 1886, called *De Hoofdzaken der Engelsche Grammatica, ten gebruike van Gymnasia en Hoogere Burgerscholen* (1886-1909⁶), a successful textbook on English pronunciation *De uitspraak van het Engelsch. Met leesoefeningen, volgens eene geheel nieuwe methode ...* (1887-1918⁷), a collection of examination papers in 1888 (which was subsequently updated in later editions) and the two-volume English-Dutch and Dutch-English dictionary (1895/1896), which at once became a standard work and has been re-edited up to the present day. Other successful textbooks followed, such as a coursebook for secondary schools, called *Leerboek voor het Engelsch ten dienste van Gymnasia, Hoogere Burger- en Muloscholen* (1899-1919⁸), a grammar book for student teachers of English (1899-1915⁴) and a textbook on English phonology, entitled *De Uitspraak van het Engelsch, met eene Korte Inleiding in de Klankleer* (1899-1910⁵).

In terms of number of printings the most successful writer of textbooks of the latter half of the 19th and the first half of the 20th century was P. Roorda (1855-1930), a grammar school and Higher Burgher School teacher in Groningen⁴⁷¹. His *Engelsche Spraakkunst* (vol. one) was reprinted 74 times after it had first been published in 1886. The 75th edition (1962) marked a time span of 76 years. It is only in circulation time that it was surpassed by Van der Pijl's *Engelsche lees- en vertaalboekje*, whose volumes one and two kept circulating for 83 and 82 years, respectively. Roorda wrote eight textbooks, including five coursebooks, which were all received very well. They were in chronological order: the *Engelsche Spraakkunst voor Schoolgebruik* (two vols., 1886-1962⁷⁵ and 1887-1939¹⁵), *Dutch and English Compared* (two vols., 1892-1926⁴ and 1893-1918⁴) and the *Supplement to the Engelsche Spraakkunst* (1895-1951³¹).

⁴⁷¹ For an extensive biography see Stuurman (1993:68-73).

Furthermore, he co-operated with C. Grondhoud in compiling a reader in three volumes, *Engelsch Leesboek* (1899-1935²¹, 1899-1924¹¹, 1900-1924⁴). For further details concerning his life and works see 6.2.10.

Minor textbook writers in terms of successful publications were De Bruin, Dingemans, Gomm, Vink, Mertens, Hofman, Van Neck and Van Tiel. **Servaas de Bruin** (1821-1901)⁴⁷², was a prolific writer but a minor one in terms of successful publications. Yet he must be mentioned here, because of the exceptional output of his works. Altogether De Bruin wrote or adapted at least 21 textbooks for English. Servaas de Bruin was a lexicographer, who published a *Nieuw Engelsch Woordenboek* in 1861, but above all he was an editor of existing material. Thus, he adapted Carl Crüger's *Lehrbuch der Englischen Sprache*⁴⁷³ into *De Engelsche Meester* (1863-1898⁶), edited William Crump's *English as it is spoken* (1863-1893⁷), P. Jacobi's *Het Gebruik der Engelsche Werkwoorden* (1864-1879), Langenscheidt's *Volledige Leercursus in 18 Brieven* (1868-?⁸) and *Chesterfield's Advice to his Son. Vertaalstudie...* (1868). His work was specifically meant for self-tuition and for the greater part consisted of phrasebooks and language guides. The material was frequently adapted in such a way that it could be used for several languages at once. Since his work was usually published anonymously, it is difficult to establish in how far a publication was his own. The prime of his production is found in the 1860s and 1870s when he produced successful works like *Help Uzelf op Reis met Engelsch* (1877-[1925]⁹).

Around 1864 **B. Dingemans** was a teacher of "living languages and their literature" at the Higher Burgher School and grammar school of Zutphen, where he succeeded W.G. Brill. Four of his works were published in 1864. Two of them were successful adaptations of textbooks by Wilhelm Zimmermann, i.e. the *Korte Engelsche Lees- en vertaal oefeningen* (1864-1902⁶) and the *Engelsche Spraakkunst*⁴⁷⁴ (1864-1887⁶). Possibly Dingemans also edited the anonymous *De Vlugge Engelschman* (1863-1908¹⁴).

⁴⁷² See Dongelmans (1994) for more details.

⁴⁷³ Crüger's grammar was published in 1861; in its turn it was based on Carl Ploetz (Macht 1986:206).

⁴⁷⁴ This grammar book was based on Karl Ploetz' popular *Lehrbuch der englische Sprache* (1850) (Macht 1986:189).

F.S. Gomm had his popular *Elementary Word and Phrase Book*, a book of idioms, published in 1877. It went through 12 editions between 1877 and 1922. Gomm was a native speaker of English and a Higher Burgher School teacher in The Hague.

K.H. Vink, a teacher at the Amsterdam Nautical College and the HBS in Haarlem, wrote five textbooks: a reader (1850), a cacography⁴⁷⁵ and a key to it (both 1854), an adapted version of Rudolph Degenhardt's *Naturgemässer Lehrgang zur schnellen und gründlichen Erlernung der englischen Sprache*⁴⁷⁶ entitled *Practisch Leerboek tot het Spoedig en Grondig Leeren der Engelsche Taal* (1861) and a practice book (1868).

J.G.R. Vos, an English teacher at the Royal Naval College "Willems-oord" at Den Helder, wrote six textbooks: an *English Grammar* (1859-1879³), a conversation guide *Engelsch in den Conversatie-stijl* (1872-1906²), a translation practice book (1877), a coursebook in two volumes (1878) and an idiom book (1892).

Together with three others **I.M. Calisch** wrote a book of commercial correspondence in 1871. He is especially known, however, for his English-Dutch (1871) and Dutch-English dictionary (1875), which was revised by N.S. Calisch⁴⁷⁷.

A.J. Mertens taught at the Nijmegen grammar school and wrote eight textbooks. His main coursebook, *Engelsche Spraakkunst*, was published in three volumes in 1879-1889³. Furthermore, Mertens wrote two other coursebooks (1871 and 1885), a grammar book (1885), a practice book for speaking and letter writing (1885) and a reader (1890).

C.A. Hofman, a teacher at The Hague, who was editor of the French section of *De Drie Talen* for decades and whose name is associated with the Reform movement in FLT of the 1890s, edited a phrasebook (1865), and a successful English course in two volumes: *Practisch Leerboek der Engelsche Taal* (1886-1910⁶ and 1887-1902³).

M.G. van Neck (1859-1945)⁴⁷⁸ is especially known for his *Conversational English* (1892-1924¹¹) and a book of idioms named *Nederlandsch-*

⁴⁷⁵ A cacography is an exercise in which the learner has to correct mistakes that have been included on purpose.

⁴⁷⁶ It first came out in 1859 and went through 50 editions until 1891 (Klippel 1994:314).

⁴⁷⁷ See Posthumus (1993a) for more details.

Engelsche Klank- en zinverwante Woorden (1889-1946⁶). It is likely that the latter book owed its popularity to its usefulness for teacher examinations, like Nolst Trenité's *Drop your Foreign Accent* (1909-1947¹³), considering that it was intended for an advanced level of proficiency and had several reprints in the 20th century. Furthermore, Van Neck wrote two readers, viz. *Easy English Prose for Class-reading* (1887) and *Preparatory English Prose* (1889).

About C. van Tiel little is known. We do know that he was a teacher at grammar schools and Higher Burgher schools in Leiden and The Hague and that, like so many others, was a member of the examination board for the certification of teachers of English. Van Tiel took a great interest in literature teaching, as he compiled a literary history and anthology of English and American prose and poetry. His *Course of English Literature* was published by E.J. Brill in Leiden in five volumes from 1879 onwards. Besides, in 1886 he compiled a literary reader in co-operation with M.G. van Neck. Between 1871 and 1898 Van Tiel published eight English textbooks, five of which went through many editions. These were, in order of appearance, the *Voorbereidende Cursus*⁴⁷⁹ (1871-?), his *English Grammar for Schools and for Self-teaching* 1873-1902⁵), his *Course of Translation from Dutch into English*, parts one and two (1877-1909⁶ and 1878-1908⁶), and the *English Grammar for Dutch Schools* (1884-1919⁷).

After 1890 the textbooks by Valkhoff, Van Tiel, Ten Bruggencate and Roorda continued to be reprinted and their writers went on to publish new works. At the same time we encounter new names: J.H.A. Günther, J.C.G. Grasé (see Wilhelm 1994), G.J. van Harte, P. Fijn van Draat (Stuurman 1993:82-88), J.F. Bense, S.F. Kleinbentink & A. van Dissel, H. Poutsma (Stuurman 1993:74-81), C. Grondhoud and L.P.H. Eijkman at the end of the 19th century, and H. Ijmker/W. Veldhuysen, W. Huy-nink, G. Nolst Trenité, A. Broers/R. Hameetman, A. Broers/H. Koolho-

⁴⁷⁸ Van Neck is mentioned together with J.H.A. Günther as one of the advocates of the Reform movement by Grasé in his preface to *Oefeningen in de Engelsche taal. I. Leerstof for the first three months* (1895).

⁴⁷⁹ The third edition came out in 1880. There was even an eighth edition by Helsdon Rix, but the year is unknown.

ven, H. Jansonius and A. De Froe, at the beginning of the 20th. Some of these writers concentrated on writing textbooks for commercial use, such as Jansonius, De Froe and Broers & Hameetman. The great output of commercial textbooks at the beginning of the new century proves that there was a great need for commercial ELT.

J.H.A. Günther (1853-?) wrote five textbooks, including two course-books which may be called innovative in ELT (see 6.2.11). The first of these came out in 1890 and was called *Leerboek der Engelsche Taal voor Eerstbeginnenden*. It caught on well and ran into 15 editions until 1920. His *Handbook of the English Language for the Use of Schools* was published in 1891 and had its 6th edition in 1920. Günther also wrote a reader for schools (1900) and produced two handbooks for Dutch student teachers, i.e. the *Manual of English Pronunciation and Grammar for the Use of Dutch Students* (1899-1916³) and *English Synonyms Explained and Illustrated* (1904-1992⁴).

G.J. Van Harte wrote seven textbooks, including one course named *The English Language*, which perhaps may be called innovative, too. It was published in three parts in 1894-1895: *The Beginner: Plain Tales and Stories* (1894-1919¹²), *First Steps in Grammar* (1894-1916⁷) and *Last Steps in Grammar* (1895-1917⁴). Furthermore, Van Harte wrote a successful book of idioms called *Words and Idioms* (1812-1938⁸).

P. Fijn van Draat (1860-1945) was a teacher in Utrecht who was to become professor of English language and literature at the University in 1924⁴⁸⁰. He produced seven textbooks that were chiefly concerned with translation and idioms. The five books that were sold best were *Engelsche Schetsen. Opstellen ter Vertaling voor Beoefenaren van het Engelsch, In Engeland. Opstellen ter Vertaling van 't Hollandsch in 't Engelsch* (1895-1912⁵), *In Engeland. Opstellen ter Vertaling van 't Hollandsch in 't Engelsch* (1891-1924⁸), *Vertaalboek voor a.s. Candidaten Middelbaar Onderwijs* (1906-1939⁷) and *A Short English Grammar* (1908-1932⁸).

J.C.G. Grasé (1864-1934) was a teacher of English in Amsterdam who wrote only one coursebook entitled *Oefeningen in de Engelsche Taal*,

⁴⁸⁰ In his obituary it was said that Fijn van Draat had developed a throat disease owing to "the demanding new method of teaching English in school" (Stuurman 1993:86).

consisting of four volumes (see 6.2.12). The first volume *Oefeningen in de Engelsche Taal. I. Leerstof for the first three months* was first published in 1895 and had its 14th edition in 1921. It was accompanied by *English Grammar of the First Year* (1895-1915³). In 1896 *Oefeningen in de Engelsche taal. II. Leerstof for the First Year* came out. It went through 28 editions, the last of which appeared in 1923. Volume three, *Oefeningen in de Engelsche Taal III. Idiom and grammar for higher forms, on an inductive plan*, appeared in 1905 and had only one (revised) edition in 1915. In 1912 Grasé published his *Exercise Book to English Grammar of the First Year* as an addition to his 1895 grammar. For further details concerning his life and works see 6.2.12.

J.F. Bense was a grammar school teacher in Arnhem, who wrote *De Hoofdvormen der Engelsche Taal* (1895-1921⁵), *Opstellen ter Vertaling in het Engelsch, met Verklarende Woordenlijst* (1895-1926⁸) and in 1906 *A Progressive English Reader for Secondary Schools, with an Illustrating Appendix on English Institutions*.

S.F. Kleinbentink and **A. van Dissel** produced seven textbooks between 1893 and 1917. Their best-known book was *An English School-grammar* (1893-1922⁶). Besides, both Van Dissel individually and he and Kleinbentink together produced several German textbooks (Knops 1982).

L.P.H. Eijkman⁴⁸¹ (1854-1937) is known for his publication of a Gouin-based coursebook, *Handleiding voor de Beoefening der Engelsche Taal*, the teacher's manual *Handboek voor den Onderwijzer ... volgens de Leerwijze van Gouin* (both 1894) and a reader in 1895. In spite of Eijkman's dogmatic zeal, the course did not catch on. Ironically enough, Eijkman had much more success with a traditional collection of examination papers for student teachers, named the *A and B Certificates* (1906-1925²), which included a fair amount of the translation exercises that Eijkman had criticised so much before. Eijkman had another collection of texts for translation published in 1919.

C. Grondhoud collaborated with P. Roorda in compiling the *Engelsch Leesboek* in three volumes (1899 and 1900). Moreover, he put together a collection of texts for translation for student teachers (1910) and edited a series of readers for schools.

⁴⁸¹ For biographical details see Stuurman (1993:58-66).

H. Poutsma (1856-1937)⁴⁸² was one of the great Dutch grammarians of modern English, who established his reputation with the publication of *A Grammar of Late Modern English* in 1904-1905. His contribution to ELT at school level consisted of just one book of idioms entitled *Do you speak English?* (1893-1930⁷).

Eenvoudig Engelsch by **W. Huynink** consisted of two little volumes (1905-1938¹⁷ and 1907-1924⁷), which were accompanied by at least two reading books (1908-?). Huynink was probably a teacher in (M)ULO schools, who also wrote textbooks for other subjects, such as arithmetic and German.

H. IJmker and **W.Th. Veldhuysen** were probably teachers in lower secondary education who designed their course *English for Children* for MULO pupils (12-to-15-year-olds). The title seems to suggest a pedagogic-didactic approach with the interest and comprehension of young learners as leading principles. The course was first published in 1907-1908 and consisted of four small volumes (1907-1969⁵⁸; 1907-1970³⁴; 1908-1960¹⁹; 1908-1932⁹) which were accompanied by four readers (1909-1967¹⁸; 1909-1966¹⁵; 1910-1968⁹; 1910-1919³). The textbooks were exceptionally popular and continued to be published until the end of the 1960s. By that time the course had outlived itself. Apart from *English for Children* the writers published a smaller course *English for Advanced Pupils* in two volumes (1913-1919³ and 1913-1920²).

G. Nolst Trenité (1870-1946) is especially known for a pronunciation practice book which kept being reprinted well into the 20th century. This publication with the challenging title *Drop your Foreign Accent. Vocal Gymnastics* came out in 1909 and had its 13th edition in 1973⁴⁸³. Besides, the writer published eight other practice books that were a novelty in contemporary ELT and indicate his interest in oral language teaching, such as *First Recitation Book* (1906-1928⁸), *The Nutshell. Shortest English Grammar* (1906-1910²), *First Pictorial Wordbook* (1908), *Second Recitation Book* (1908), *Second Pictorial Wordbook* (1909), *Verbs of the First Recitation Book* (1916), *Engelsche Uitspraakoeefeningen voor Schoolgebruik* (1917) and *The Punster. One hundred puns for schools* (1919). Nolst Trenité also wrote a German vocabulary along the lines of the “direct method” (1909) (Knops 1982).

⁴⁸² For biographical details see Stuurman (1993:74-81).

⁴⁸³ See Stuurman (1997); Loonen (1998); Posthumus (1998).

A. de Froe was a prolific writer, for he produced seventeen textbooks for English between 1904 and 1919, nine of which were concerned with commercial English. The most successful works were *An English Reader for Commercial Schools* (1904-1920⁵), *Kern der Engelsche Spraakkunst* (1905-1925⁶) and *Oefeningen bij de "Kern der Engelsche Spraakkunst"* (1910-1921⁵).

H. Jansonius (c1881-c1971) made a name for himself with his commercial textbooks of English. Quite a few of them ran into a great number of editions and continued to be reprinted well into the 1960s. He produced eight textbooks between 1911 and 1917, of which the most successful were his *Engelsche Handelsbrieven voor Beginners* (1915-1968⁶¹), *Beknopte Engelsche Handelsgrammatica* (1911-1968⁴⁶), *Engelsche Handelsbrieven voor Examencandidaten* (1915-1953²³) and *Engelsche Handelsterminologie voor Examen-candidaten* (1916-1963²¹). Jansonius was a lecturer at the then Rotterdam School of Economics (currently: Erasmus University).

The commercial coursebook *Leerboek der Engelsche Taal ten dienste van Handelsdag- en avondscholen* by **A. Broers** and **R.P.G. Hameetman** was a great success. The first part, published in 1915, had its 23rd edition in 1955; the second part came out in 1916 and had its 16th edition in 1954. Together with **H. Koolhoven**, Broers also wrote *Engelsch Leesboek, met Hulpboekje, voor Middelbare, MULO en Handelsscholen voor Middelbare en MULO scholen* (part one: 1916-1954²¹; part two: 1916-1925⁶).

TABLE 5.7 ELT TEXTBOOKS WITH THE GREATEST NUMBER OF PRINTINGS BETWEEN 1860 AND 1920 AND BEYOND

Author/Title	First and last year of publication	Number of printings before 1920	Total number of printings
Roorda <i>Engelsche Spraakkunst, Deel I</i>	1886-1962	48	75
Grasé <i>Oefeningen in de Engelsche taal. II</i>	1896-1923	26	28
Roorda <i>Engelsche Spraakkunst, Deel I Supplement</i>	1895-1950	c21	31
Ijunker & Veldhuysen <i>English for Children, 1e deeltje</i>	1907-1969	18	58
Grondhoud & Roorda <i>Engelsch Leesboek. Deel I</i>	1899-1935	17	21
Stoffel <i>Handleiding. Deel II</i>	1881-c1924	15	17
Van Neck <i>Preparatory English Prose</i>	1889-1919	15	15
Anon. <i>De Vlugge Engelschman</i>	1863-1908	14	14
Valkhoff <i>Volledige Leercursus. Eerste Stukje</i>	1874-1914	14	14
Günther <i>Leerboek der Engelsche Taal</i>	1890-1920	14	15
Grasé <i>Oefeningen in de Engelsche taal. I</i>	1895-1921	c13	14
Ijunker & Veldhuysen <i>English for Children, 2e deeltje</i>	1907-1970	13	34
Roorda <i>Engelsche Spraakkunst. Deel 2</i>	1887-1939	c12	15
Van Harte <i>The English Language. Part I</i>	1894-1919	12	12
Anon. <i>Direkte Methode</i>	1901-1909	11	11
Valkhoff <i>First English Reading-Book</i>	1876-1903	10	10
Gomm <i>Elementary Word and Phrase-book</i>	1877-1922	10	12
Grondhoud & Roorda <i>Engelsch Leesboek. Deel II</i>	1899-1924	10	11
Van Neck <i>Conversational English</i>	1892-1924	9	11
Huynink <i>Eenvoudig Engelsch, 1e deeltje</i>	1905-1938	c9	17
Ijunker & Veldhuysen <i>English for Children, 3e deeltje</i>	1908-1960	9	19
Langenscheidt/de Bruin <i>Volledige Leercursus</i>	1868-[1900]	8	8
van Tiel <i>Voorbereidende Cursus</i>	1871-?	8	8
Valkhoff <i>Volledige Leercursus. Tweede Stukje</i>	1875-1904	8	8
De Bruin <i>Help uzelf op reis met Engelsch</i>	1877-[1925]	c8	9
Stoffel <i>Handleiding. Deel I</i>	1880-1919	8	8
Ten Bruggencate <i>Leerboek voor het Engelsch</i>	1899-1919	8	8
Jansonius <i>Beknopte Engelsche Handelsgrammatica</i>	1911-1968	8	46
Crump/de Bruin <i>English as it is spoken</i>	1863-1893	7	7

Valkhoff <i>The Young Teacher</i>	1872-1907	7	7
Valkhoff <i>The English Reader</i>	1874-1902	7	7
van Tiel <i>English Grammar for Dutch Schools</i>	1884-1919	7	7
Ten Bruggencate <i>De Uitspraak van het Engelsch</i>	1887-1918	7	7
Van Harte <i>The English Language. Part II</i>	1894-1916	7	7
De Bruin <i>De Engelsche Meester</i>	1863-1898	6	6
Dingemans <i>Zimmermann's Korte Engelsche Lees- en Vertaal oefeningen</i>	1864-1909	6	6
Dingemans <i>Zimmermann's Engelsche Spraakkunst</i>	1864-1887	6	6
Van Tiel <i>Course of Translation. Part One</i>	1877-1909	6	6
Ten Bruggencate <i>De Hoofdzaken der Engelsche Grammatica</i>	1886-1909	6	6
Hofman <i>Practisch Leerboek der Engelsche Taal. Eerste Gedeelte</i>	1886-1910	6	6
Fijn van Draat <i>In Engeland. Opstellen ter Vertaling</i>	1891-1924	6	8
Van Harte <i>The English Language. Part Ib</i>	1900-1920	6	7
<i>Best Extracts for Translation into Dutch</i>	1902-1906	6	6
Huynink <i>Eenvoudig Engelsch, 2e deeltje</i>	1907-1924	c6	7
Ijmer & Veldhuysen <i>English for Children, 4e deeltje</i>	1908-1932	6	9
Bouten & Versteeg <i>Elements of English Grammar</i>	1909-1922	c6	7
Ijmer & Veldhuysen <i>The Graduated Reader. A Companion to "English for Children". 2e deeltje</i>	1909-1967	6	18
Valkhoff <i>Vocabulary</i>	1872-1923	5	5
Robinson <i>An English Reading Book</i>	1873-1902	5	5
Van Tiel <i>English Grammar for Schools and for Self-Teaching</i>	1873-1902	5	5
Stoffel <i>Handleiding. Deel III</i>	1883-1924	5	6
Günther <i>A Handbook of the English Language</i>	1891-1920	5	6
Poutsma <i>Do you speak English?</i>	1893-1930	5	7
Kleinbentink & Van Dissel <i>An English School-Grammar</i>	1893-1922	5	6
Fijn van Draat <i>Engelsche Schetsen. Opstellen ter Vertaling voor Beoefenaren van het Engelsch</i>	1895-1912	5	5
Fijn van Draat <i>In Engeland. Opstellen ter Vertaling van 't Hollandsch in 't Engelsch</i>	1895-1912	5	5
Ten Bruggencate <i>De Uitspraak van het Engelsch</i>	1899-1910	5	5
Josselin de Jong <i>Blikken in Britannië. Opstellen ter Vertaling in het Engelsch</i>	1899-1918	5	5
Fijn van Draat <i>A Short English Grammar</i>	1908-1932	c5	8
Jansonius <i>Engelsche Handelsbrieven voor Beginners</i>	1915-1968	5	61
Broers/Hameetman <i>Leerboek der Engelsche taal ten dienste van Handelsdag- en Avondscholen. Eerste Deel</i>	1915-1955	5	23

TABLE 5.8 ELT TEXTBOOKS WITH THE LONGEST CIRCULATION TIME BETWEEN 1860 AND 1920 AND BEYOND

Author/Title	First and last year of publication and total number of printings	Circulation time in years before 1920	Minimum number of years in circulation
Valkhoff <i>Vocabulary</i>	1872-1923 ⁷	48	51
Anon. <i>De Vlugge Engelschman</i>	1863-1908 ¹⁴	45	45
Dingemans <i>Zimmermann's Korte Engelsche lees- en vertaal oefeningen</i>	1864-1909 ⁶	45	45
De Bruin <i>Help uzelf op reis met Engelsch</i>	1877-[1925] ⁹	43	48
Gomm <i>Elementary Word and Phrase-Book</i>	1877-1922 ¹²	43	45
Valkhoff <i>Volledige Leercursus. Eerste Stukje</i>	1874-1914 ¹⁴	40	40
Stoffel <i>Handleiding. Deel II</i>	1881-1924 ¹⁷	39	43
Stoffel <i>Handleiding. Deel III</i>	1883-1924 ⁶	37	41
De Bruin <i>De Engelsche Meester</i>	1863-1898 ⁶	35	35
Valkhoff <i>The Young Teacher</i>	1872-1907 ⁷	35	35
Van Tiel <i>Course of Translation. Part Two</i>	1878-1913 ⁴	35	35
Van Tiel <i>English Grammar for Dutch Schools</i>	1884-1919 ⁷	35	35
De Bruin <i>De Engelse Tekst...</i>	1870-1904 ⁴	34	34
Vos <i>Engelsch in den Conversatie-Stijl</i>	1872-1906 ²	34	34
Roorda <i>Engelsche Spraakkunst, Deel 1</i>	1886-1962 ⁷⁵	34	76
Calisch c.s. <i>De Handels-Correspondent</i>	1871-1904 ⁴	33	33
Roorda <i>Engelsche Spraakkunst. Deel 2</i>	1887-1939 ¹⁵	33	52
Langenscheidt/de Bruin <i>Volledige Leercursus</i>	1868-1900 ⁸	32	32
Van Tiel <i>Course of Translation. Part One</i>	1877-1909 ⁶	32	32
Ten Bruggencate <i>De Uitspraak van het Engelsch</i>	1887-1918 ⁷	31	31
Van Neck <i>Nederlandsch-Engelsche Klank- en Zinverwante Woorden</i>	1889-1946 ⁶	31	57
Crump/De Bruin <i>English as it is spoken</i>	1863-1893 ⁷	30	30
Van Neck <i>Preparatory English prose</i>	1889-1919 ¹⁵	30	30
Günther <i>Leerboek der Engelsche Taal</i>	1890-1920 ¹⁵	30	30
Robinson <i>An English Reading Book</i>	1873-1902 ⁵	29	29
Van Tiel <i>English Grammar for Schools and for Self-Teaching</i>	1873-1902 ⁵	29	29
Valkhoff <i>Volledige Leercursus, Tweede Stukje</i>	1875-1904 ⁸	29	29

Stoffel <i>Handleiding, Deel I</i>	1880-1909 ⁷	29	29
Fijn van Draat <i>In Engeland. Opstellen ter Vertaling</i>	1891-1924 ⁸	29	33
Günther <i>A Handbook of the English Language</i>	1891-1920 ⁶	29	29
Valkhoff <i>The English Reader</i>	1874-1902 ⁷	28	28
Roorda <i>Dutch and English Compared. Part I</i>	1892-1926 ⁴	28	34
Van Neck <i>Conversational English</i>	1892-1924 ¹¹	28	32
Valkhoff <i>First English Reading-Book</i>	1876-1903 ¹⁰	27	27
Poutsma <i>Do you speak English?</i>	1893-1930 ⁷	27	37
Kleinbentink & Van Dissel <i>An English School-Grammar</i>	1893-1922 ⁶	27	29
Maatjes <i>Engelsche Vertaal oefeningen</i>	1862-1887 ⁴	25	25
Roorda <i>Dutch and English Compared. Part II</i>	1893-1918 ⁴	25	25
Van Harte <i>The English Language. Part I</i>	1894-1919 ¹²	25	25
Roorda <i>Engelsche Spraakkunst. Deel I Supplement</i>	1895-1951 ³¹	25	56
Bense <i>Opstellen ter Vertaling in het Engelsch</i>	1895-1926 ⁸	25	31
Grasé <i>Oefeningen in de Engelsche Taal. I</i>	1895-1921 ¹⁴	25	26
Bense <i>De Hoofdvormen der Engelsche Taal</i>	1895-1921 ⁵	25	26
Grasé <i>Oefeningen in de Engelsche Taal. II</i>	1896-1923 ²⁸	24	27
Jespersen/Sarauw <i>Engelsch voor eerstbeginnenden</i>	1898-1923 ³	22	25
Grondhoud & Roorda <i>Engelsch leesboek. Deel I</i>	1899-1935 ²¹	21	36
Grondhoud & Roorda <i>Engelsch Leesboek. Deel II</i>	1899-1924 ¹¹	21	25
de Froe <i>Kern der Engelsche Spraakkunst</i>	1905-1931 ⁷	15	26
Fijn van Draat <i>Vertaalboek voor a.s. Candidaten Middelbaar Onderwijs</i>	1906-1939 ⁷	14	33
Ijmker & Veldhuysen <i>English for Children, 2e deeltje</i>	1907-1970 ³⁴	13	63
Ijmker & Veldhuysen <i>English for Children, 1e deeltje</i>	1907-1969 ⁵⁸	13	62
Ijmker & Veldhuysen <i>English for Children, 3e deeltje</i>	1908-1960 ¹⁹	12	52
Nolst Trenité <i>Drop your Foreign Accent</i>	1909-1973 ¹³	11	64
Ijmker & Veldhuysen <i>The Graduated Reader. A companion to "English for Children", 2e deeltje</i>	1909-1967 ¹⁸	11	58
Schidlof <i>Zelfonderricht naar Schidlof's Taalmethode</i>	1909-1955 ⁹	11	46
Fijn van Draat <i>The Pronunciation of English</i>	1909-1939 ⁴	11	30
Ijmker & Veldhuysen <i>The Graduated Reader. A Companion to "English for Children", 3e deeltje</i>	1910-1968 ⁹	10	58

5.3 The diversification of ELT textbooks

In this study the term ‘textbook’ is used to denote any kind of book for teaching and learning foreign languages. Loonen (1991) gives a survey and description of the ELT textbooks prior to 1800, of which the earliest specimens were printed around 1530. He divides the materials into three main categories: textbooks, dictionaries and spelling books. The term ‘textbook’ is used by him as a general term for a book offering various types of learning content. ‘Textbooks’ before 1800 thus typically contained a grammar section, idiomatic phrases, dialogues and letters, both personal and commercial. In addition, there could be word lists (vocabularies), tables of English money, lists of abbreviations, lists of proverbs, texts and miscellaneous materials. Various terms were used to label these ‘textbooks’, the most popular of which was ‘grammar’. ‘Textbooks’, then, would not restrict themselves to rules on spelling and pronunciation, morphology and syntax, but offer learning content of various kinds. Thus, in many respects ‘textbooks’ had the character of reference works, although they could also be used as practice materials to read and memorise from or to practise letter-writing with. A good example of a late 18th century ‘textbook’ is Holtrop’s *Uitvoerige Engelsche Spraak-Konst* (1780)⁴⁸⁴. In the course of the nineteenth century, the old ‘textbooks’ gradually disappeared and their function was taken over by various categories of textbooks, in the first place by what in this study are called ‘coursebooks’.

The second category that Loonen (1991) mentions was that of dictionaries, a more specific form of textbooks, dealing with both the English and Dutch lexicon and listing lexicographical entries in alphabetical order. Seventeenth and eighteenth century dictionaries would often comprise other elements too, such as pronunciation and grammar sections⁴⁸⁵. These sections were lost at the beginning of the 19th century, when dictionaries took on the form that they still have today. It is often difficult to draw a clear dividing-line between dictionaries and vocabularies, since the terms ‘dictionary’ and ‘vocabulary’ were often used indiscriminately

⁴⁸⁴ See Loonen (1991:303-304).

⁴⁸⁵ See Osselton (1973) for detailed information on English-Dutch and Dutch-English dictionaries.

(Loonen 1991:297 and 301). This study will not pay attention to dictionaries as a special category of textbooks.

The third category, spelling-books, were tools for native speakers to learn to spell and read properly. As originally most of them were English publications (Loonen 1991:179-180), it seems that they were used in the first place by young native speakers of English living in Holland to learn to spell and read English, and only in the second place by (young) speakers of Dutch to learn to pronounce, spell and read English. After 1800, spelling-books were no longer printed, because the English schools in Holland disappeared and because the new FLT methods demanded a comparative approach.

From the beginning of the 19th century, ELT materials appear to be branching out more and more, as is shown in Table 5.9. The new century witnessed the emergence of a variety of categories. Apart from the categories mentioned by Loonen (1991), we come across practice books, grammar books, pronunciation manuals, teacher's guides and examination papers. This diversity arose from changing needs. By the end of the 18th century, pedagogic views on school education were changing. School teaching now required different kinds of textbooks. In order to meet the needs of young learners, learning content had to be selected, structured and graded better than before. Young learners could not be expected to cope with the old-fashioned 'grammars', which to all intents and purposes were works of reference rather than schoolbooks. Besides, the old textbooks or 'grammars' were relatively expensive and awkward to handle. Pupils needed specially adapted materials in the form of coursebooks, practice books, vocabularies and pocket dictionaries. A good example of an early 19th century graded textbook is Kappelhoff's *Handleiding voor eerstbeginnenden* (1807II). From the contents of these 'new' textbooks it may be concluded that these materials were increasingly designed for young learners in an educational setting. Besides, a great number of explicit references in textbook titles suggest that the books were primarily written for use in schools. Thus, during the first decade of the 19th century alone, 25 textbooks were published, thirteen of which contain explicit references to ELT in schools. All this goes to prove that the target group of learners was shifting from adults in a non-educational setting to young learners in schools.

If school education had its own demands for textbooks, certain professional groups needed special textbooks too, which in turn led to a greater diversity of materials. Apart from textbooks for their pupils, teachers of English needed materials for their own studies. T.O. Schilperoort was the first writer to indicate teachers of English as a special target group in a textbook entitled *Grondbeginzels der Engelsche Spraakkunst ... ten dienste van hun, welke in deeze taal onderwijs geeven ...* (1804II). Teachers of English needed grammars, books on phonology, idiom books and dictionaries for their studies and keys to textbooks, teacher's guides and examination papers for the practice of teaching. Initially, there were few textbooks for an advanced study of English. Dutch teachers were either obliged to use the existing materials intended for their pupils, which did not go beyond elementary or intermediate level, or consult the original English handbooks. It is not surprising, therefore, that at the beginning of the 19th century we find a fair amount of references to English 'authorities' on lexicography, grammar and phonology, such as Johnson, Lowth, Murray, Grant, Sheridan and Walker. Gradually, however, the knowledge of English was growing and Dutch teachers took to writing their own study materials, thereby becoming their own 'authorities'. This development is illustrated by the publication of a number of scholarly works, varying from manuals on English phonology, e.g. Beckering Vinckers (1875II), to vocabularies and idiom books, e.g. Van Neck (1889II) and Günther (1904II), to dictionaries, e.g. Ten Bruggencate (1894/1896II), to two authoritative grammars published at the beginning of the 20th century, e.g. Poutsma (1904-1926)⁴⁸⁶ and Kruisinga (1909/1912)⁴⁸⁷.

Other professional groups required special materials too, which contributed to a further diversity of textbooks. These materials mainly served maritime, commercial and technical purposes (also see 2.2.1.2 and 2.3.1). For instance, In 1811 H.W. Lantsheer published a sailor's dictionary listing French, Dutch and English maritime vocabulary. Two years later, another maritime dictionary came out in Dutch, French and English (Twent 1813II). In 1841 H.W. Schokker published a *Zakwoordenboek van Engelsche zeetermen* and one year later K.P. ter Reehorst had a

⁴⁸⁶ See Stuurman (1993:79).

⁴⁸⁷ See Van Essen (1983:345).

dictionary published of technical, nautical, commercial and legal terms in various languages including Dutch and English. The need for separate textbooks for the commercial register is illustrated by the publication of two Dutch-English handbooks of commercial letter-writing in 1818 (Anon. 1818II and Van der Pijl 1818II). Many more textbooks of this kind were to follow in the course of time and especially the beginning of the twentieth century saw an enormous increase in the production of commercial ELT materials. Another group of textbooks for specific purposes was that of materials for technical English (see 2.3.1). The increasing diversity of learning materials during the 19th century enables us to distinguish the following eight categories of ELT textbooks:

1. coursebooks;
2. practice books;
3. grammars;
4. pronunciation manuals;
5. vocabularies/books of idioms;
6. dictionaries;
7. teacher's guides/keys to textbooks;
8. examination papers.

5.3.1 Coursebooks

Coursebooks are defined here as textbooks that contain at least such elements as grammar, vocabulary and exercises. By 'grammar' we understand learning content ranging from orthography and phonology to morphology and syntax. Apart from these grammatical elements, coursebooks typically offer some amount of vocabulary and a number of exercises to enable learners to practise the learning content, especially the grammatical content. Exercises formed a novel element in coursebooks, which was missing in 'textbooks' before 1800. Coursebooks were specifically designed to suit the needs of (young) learners and contained learning content that was selected, graded and presented for this purpose. In this sense they differ from the 18th century 'textbooks', which for this reason show less coherence.

Merely going by the title, it is often difficult to distinguish coursebooks from grammar books. For instance, we must not be misled by the

title of Lehman's coursebook *Engelsche Spraakkunst* (1805II), which offers exercises and vocabulary in addition to grammar rules. Likewise, towards the end of the century, Roorda wrote his immensely successful *Engelsche Spraakkunst* (1886II), which, again, is by no means a handbook of grammar but an ordinary coursebook for schools. Already at the very beginning of the 19th century there were coursebooks that followed a particular method of teaching. Thus, Lehman's *Engelsche Spraakkunst* (1805II) was the first English coursebook that was based on Meidinger's method and Murray/Van der Pijl's *Engelsche spraakkunst* (1816II) was founded on the same principles.

5.3.2 Practice books

Practice books are textbooks that aimed at training one or more language skills. These skills are: 1. spelling, reading and translating from English into Dutch; 2. speaking; and 3. writing and/or translating from Dutch into English. On the basis of this division, we distinguish between 1. spelling-books, (adapted) readers, and translation practice books; 2. practice books for conversational skills, usually referred to as phrasebooks; and 3. books to train writing skills, such as letter-writing and translating from Dutch into English.

Spelling-books were usually English publications imported into Holland, such as *Mavor's new English spellingbook* (1803II). Occasionally, they were adapted to suit English and/or Dutch learners in Holland, e.g. Daniel Fenning's *The universal spelling-book* (1793)⁴⁸⁸, revised by George Ensell in 1806. Already at the beginning of the 19th century, there were plenty of practice books with which learners could read English texts and translate them into Dutch. These readers would often present simplified passages. An early example is Jean Perrin's *Fables Amusantes... Aangename Fabelen... tot gemak des Leerlings in het overzetten* (1803II), originally published in a French-English version. Such readers, especially fables, fitted into a long tradition of children's literature. Other early examples are Lehman's *Engelsche chrestomatie... voor de scholen* (1808II) and Gedike's *Engelsch leesboek voor eerstbeginnenden* (1809II). Sometimes

⁴⁸⁸ See Loonen (1991:308-309).

readers would also offer texts for translation from Dutch into English. Successful practice books for translation into Dutch, specially designed for use in schools, were the *Lessen voor eerstbeginnenden in de Engelsche taal, verdeeld in vier classen* by Van Bemmelen (1794)⁴⁸⁹ and Van der Pijl's popular *Engelsch Lees- en vertaalboekje* (1814II and 1815II). They would be succeeded by numerous collections of translation texts in the course of the 19th century.

Another category of practice books consists of books for conversational skills, so-called phrasebooks. They would contain dialogues and often elementary phrases and word lists, which makes them difficult to distinguish from vocabularies, because the latter often contain phrases and dialogues as well. Phrasebooks are one of the oldest categories of textbooks and have existed ever since book printing was invented. They should be looked upon primarily as conversation guides, since their first goal was to establish a form of oral communication. They aimed at people who had to travel a great deal, such as merchants, diplomats, sailors, soldiers and students. Sometimes they also contain pronunciation and grammar points. Very often phrasebooks combine several languages in one volume⁴⁹⁰. During the 17th and 18th centuries and even during the early part of the 19th century, phrases, dialogues and vocabulary just as commonly occurred in 'grammars' as in phrasebooks. In the course of the 19th century, phrases and dialogues were no longer included in coursebooks, whereas separate phrasebooks survived. Early examples of such phrasebooks are the anonymous *French, Dutch and English dialogues on familiar subjects, for the use of schools* (1803II), Kappelhoff's *English and Dutch vocabulary and dialogues* (1814II) and Van der Pijl's *Gemeenzame leerwijjs* (1814II). Some phrasebooks became popular around the middle of the 19th century, probably owing to the flow of emigrants that left the Netherlands for English-speaking parts of the world in search of better living conditions (Fleischmann 1847II, Picard 1847II, Hillebrands 1848II). In the second half of the century, the number of these phrasebooks grew under the influence of travel and tourism. Thus, in 1865 we find a phrasebook that was based on the Baedeker travel guide: *Taal-*

⁴⁸⁹ See Loonen (1991:309-310).

⁴⁹⁰ A well-known example is (De) Berlaimont's *Colloquia et Dictionariolum septem linguarum* 1576 (see Loonen 1991:190-209).

gids voor reizigers ... naar de beste bronnen, hoofdzakelijk naar Baedekers "Manuel", voor Nederlanders bewerkt (1865II). Phrasebooks have never completely disappeared. Even today, (Dutch) phrasebooks of English still flourish as a result of world-wide tourism. The only difference with previous centuries is the change in vocabulary⁴⁹¹.

The third category is books to practise writing with, including translating L1-L2. There are relatively few examples of practice books for letter-writing in English, but all the more instances of books for translating from Dutch into English. Writing English was mainly limited to writing commercial letters. The earliest 19th century example of a practice book for commercial correspondence is Van der Pijl's *Oorspronkelijke Engelsche koopmans-brieven* (1818II). Many of these practice books were written for use in more languages, e.g. Hakbijl's *Verzameling van gemeenzame brieven* (1836II). As we will see, the major type of exercise in the researched coursebooks was translating L1-L2; hence, also many practice books focus on this type of exercise. The first examples of practice books offering translation exercises from Dutch into English are Hakbijl's *Verzameling van Opstellen om de beoefening der regelen van de Engelsche taal gemakkelijk te maken* (1829) and Van de Laar's *Verzameling van Opstellen, ter beoefening der Engelsche taal, in drie afdeelingen* (1829). Many more practice books of this kind were to follow in the course of time.

5.3.3 Grammar books

Throughout the 19th century there was no lack of grammar sections in coursebooks, but separate grammar books were less frequently published. They can be regarded as a new category as far as their focus was (almost) exclusively on morphology and syntax. If we only have the title to go by, the distinction between grammars and other textbooks is often hard to point out. Examples⁴⁹² of these early grammar books may be the anonymous *Tafel eener Engelsche spraakkonst* (1803II), the *Eenvoudige doch zeer*

⁴⁹¹ A contemporary Dutch example is a phrasebook in 12 languages called *Vakantiepraat* [holiday talk] published by the commercial broadcasting corporation 'Veronica' in 1991. The booklet in the shape of a fan presents a very modern kind of idiom, for instance about contraception.

⁴⁹² Copies of these grammars have not been traced.

dienstige aanmerkingen over de Engelsche spraakkunde (1804II) and T.O. Schilperoort's grammar in French, English and Dutch *Principes de la grammaire Anglaise et syntaxe pratique ... Grondbeginzels der Engelsche Spraakkunst en werkdadige Woordschikkinge* (1804II)⁴⁹³. Before 1860 the number of these grammar books was quite small. It increased in the second half of the century, no doubt owing to a greater scholarly interest in the English language and to a growing demand of student teachers who had to take examinations in English. It seems that at least some of these grammar books were more scholarly than pedagogical in character. In this way the gap between pedagogical grammars on the one hand and books presenting a scholarly description of the grammatical system on the other hand was gradually widening. However, it was not until the very end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century that the study of modern English grammar reached a high level of scholarship with the publications of Stoffel, Poutsma⁴⁹⁴ and Kruisinga⁴⁹⁵. Zandvoort (1974:62) even speaks of "Dutch supremacy", when he refers to their studies in the field of modern English grammar. In his view this period was heralded by Stoffel's *Studies in English Written and Spoken* (1894II) and reached its climax with the publication of Poutsma's *A Grammar of Late Modern English* (1904-1926) and Kruisinga's *A Handbook of Present-Day English* (1911). Aarts (1969) has referred to this contrast as the 'school tradition' versus the 'scholarly tradition' of the study of modern English grammar. It seems reasonable to propose that the Dutch scholarly tradition found its origin in the 'school tradition' and that the scholarly grammars that appeared during the first half of the 20th century could not have been written, had there not been many attempts at grammatical description both in separate grammars and in a host of grammar sections in coursebooks throughout the 19th century, such as by Roorda, Ten Bruggencate and Günther.

⁴⁹³ Some of these grammars appeared in French but not in Dutch, such as William Cobbett's *Le maître d'Anglais, ou Grammaire raisonnée pour faciliter aux français l'étude de la langue anglaise* (1805) (see Saalmink 1993). Similar examples are H.J. Meerman van der Horst's *Observations grammaticales pouvant servir de préliminaires à l'étude de quelques langues vivantes, et principalement à celle de la grammaire Hollandoise* (1826I) and Charles Smyth's *Inflexions Anglaises, pour servir d'introduction directe à l'étude des auteurs* (1830) (see Saalmink 1993).

⁴⁹⁴ For biographies of Stoffel and Poutsma see Stuurman (1993).

⁴⁹⁵ Van Essen (1983) on Kruisinga.

5.3.4 Pronunciation manuals

That the interest in English pronunciation was growing, as the 19th century went by, is borne out by the expanding pronunciation sections in many textbooks⁴⁹⁶. In some cases these sections even developed into separate volumes of rules and exercises. This was the case, for instance, with Vogin's *Leercursus der Engelsche taal in drie deelen. Eerste deel [...] met regels voor de uitspraak en spelling* (1864II); with Mertens (1879II) *Engelsche Spraakkunst [...] Eerste deeltje: De Uitspraak van het Engelsch onder regels gebracht*; and with Stoffel *Handleiding bij het onderwijs in het Engelsch. Deel I. Uitspraak; Lees- en Vertaalboek* (1880II). Not only did the pronunciation sections of textbooks grow in size, from the 1830s onwards a whole range of pronunciation manuals started to appear. Although phonological problems had been dealt with in textbooks since the 16th century, the first Dutch writer to publish a monograph on the pronunciation of English was Gijsbrecht Ruys (Wilhelm 2001)⁴⁹⁷. The book was entitled *De uitspraak en klemtoon der Engelsche taal, in beknopte regelen voorgesteld* and came out in 1835⁴⁹⁸. It was followed by similar works by Schouwenberg (1840II), Ledebøer (1846II) and Knuivers (1852II). The publication of these handbooks illustrate the increasing knowledge of English phonology in the Netherlands. Besides pronunciation and spelling rules, these books have their own transcription systems. Sometimes the theoretical part on pronunciation is accompanied by spelling and reading exercises (Ledebøer 1846) or even translation exercises (Knuivers 1852).

⁴⁹⁶ The first edition of Van der Pijl's *Lees- en Vertaalboekje voor eerstbeginnenden* (1814II), for instance, numbered 32 pages, the eleventh edition (1856) had 41. Leendert Koning's *Korte en gemakkelijke regelen* (1814II) had 23 pages on pronunciation, but the 1832 edition numbered 32. And whereas Hakbijl's *Handleiding* (1830II) had seven pages of rules, the fourth edition (1855) had 82 pages.

⁴⁹⁷ However, there was a forerunner written in French by R.F. Eusden. This work, entitled *Tableau général de la prononciation Anglaise, tiré des meilleurs ortho-épistes*, had been published in Brussels in 1823 (see Saalmink 1993).

⁴⁹⁸ Later, Beckering Vinckers (1875II:XIV) would refer to this book as being "not without merit".

5.3.5 Vocabularies and books of idioms

Before 1800 vocabularies or word lists had often been part of the old 'grammars'. Afterwards, vocabularies and idiom books came to be published more and more as separate textbooks. They formed a category that provided (alphabetical) lists of words and idiomatic phrases. The aim of vocabularies/books of idioms was to expand the learner's lexicon and to provide lexical support to the learner, while he was studying texts or doing exercises with the help of his textbook. Very often they also contained dialogues to practise conversation with. Hence, it is sometimes difficult to decide whether a textbook should be classified as a vocabulary/book of idioms or as a practice book for speaking.

Vocabularies functioned either independently or as companion parts of textbooks. Examples of the former group are Kappelhoff's *English and Dutch vocabulary* (1814II), Van der Pijl's *English Phraseology, or Dictionary of English phrases and Proverbs* (1816II) and Jay's *Gemeenzame woorden, spreekwijzen en zamenspraken, om zich in de Engelsche taal te oefenen* (1830II). An example of the latter group is Kappelhoff's *Dictionary for the Easy phrases ...* (1814II), which was written to accompany the translation practice book *Easy phrases very necessary to be translated by beginners: divided in exercises ...* (1807II). Another one was an aid to a reader by L. Zeegers, entitled *Vocabulary containing a collection of the most difficult words to be found in the Selections from British authors* (1856II).

The study of idioms was a set subject at the teacher examinations⁴⁹⁹. This accounts for the presence of idiom books throughout the 19th century. An early instance of advanced idiom study is Bomhoff & Susan's *Homonymen der Engelsche taal* (1843II). At the end of the century there was M.G. van Neck's *Nederlandsch-Engelsche klank- en zinverwante woorden* (1889II), which was appreciated well enough to obtain a new edition after the Second World War (1946).

The distinction between vocabularies and dictionaries may not always be clear from the titles, as in *Dictionary for the Easy phrases* (Kappelhoff 1814II) and *English Phraseology, or Dictionary of English phrases and Proverbs* (Van der Pijl 1816II).

⁴⁹⁹ See the repeated references to idiom study in teacher journals like *Heedendaagsche en Hoogere Beoefening der Fransche, Engelsche en Hoogduitsche Talen* and others.

5.3.6 Dictionaries

Dictionaries will not be discussed in any detail here, since they are purely works of reference. However, it was felt that as a special category they must not be ignored and consequently they have been included in the bibliography of textbooks. As was noted above, dictionaries before 1800 often presented a wider learning content than they did in the 19th century and than they do today. Around 1800, Baldwin Janson's *New pocket dictionary of the Dutch and English languages* (1794) gained some popularity, as is shown by its repeated printings within a short space of time⁵⁰⁰. Presumably, pocket dictionaries answered a specific need for small and handy schoolbooks. The first general English dictionary to be published in the Netherlands in the 19th century was that by Dirk Bomhoff Hz. in 1822/1829⁵⁰¹. Many more were to follow. The next dictionaries did not appear until the 1840s, but this decade turned out to be a very productive one, witness the publication of ten new dictionaries. Five of these were pocket dictionaries and as such they were probably meant for use in schools. An authoritative dictionary, which after many editions by well-known anglicists is still in print, is Ten Bruggencate's *Engelsch Woordenboek* (1894/1896II). In the course of time the contents of the English dictionaries became more varied. Apart from the maritime dictionaries by Lantsheer (1811II), Twent (1813II), Schokker (1841II) and Ter Reehorst (1845II) we come across a dictionary of commercial, judicial and nautical terms by Ter Reehorst (1842II), technical dictionaries by Kramer (1866II) and Helder (1888II), dictionaries of Americanisms by Bartlett & Keijzer (1854II) and by Van der Voort (1894II) and a dictionary of spoken English by Barentz (c1896II).

⁵⁰⁰ Loonen (1991:310) does not mention this first edition published in London by T. Vernor & Hood and in Rotterdam by L. Bennet (see Niemeyer 1808I:124).

⁵⁰¹ According to the reviewer in the periodical *Vaderlandsche Letteroefeningen* (1833: 261-263) it held a place somewhere between Jan Holtrop's dictionaries (English-Dutch 1789 and Dutch-English 1801) on the one hand and B. Janson's pocket dictionary (1795) on the other.

5.3.7 Teacher's guides and keys to textbooks

As far as the practice of teaching was concerned, the diversity of material comes out in the form of teacher's guides and keys to textbooks. Teacher's guides or keys to textbooks are regarded as a separate category here, because they did not occur before 1800. They were specifically written as aids to every-day teaching and, in the case of teacher's guides, as an attempt to convince practising teachers of the usefulness of a particular teaching method. The first key to a textbook was Van de Laar's *The key to the exercises ...* (1829II). Other keys set out to correct wrong spelling, e.g. *Key to the English cacography [...] consisting in a method of correcting erroneous spelling* (Anon. 1838II), or to correct wrong grammar, e.g. *Verbeteringen der Foutieve opstellen ter toepassing van de regels der Engelsche taal* (Vink 1854II). The first genuine teacher's guide did not appear until the 1890s; it was Eijkman's *Handboek voor den onderwijzer, ten gebruike bij het eerste deeltje van de Handleiding voor de Beoefening der Engelsche Taal* (1894II).

5.3.8 Examination papers

Examination papers can be looked upon as a new category, because they, too, did not exist prior to the 19th century. They offered questions and answers that examinees might encounter at their examinations. The only one published before 1860 was a work by C.H. Gunn named *Examination Questions on the English delectus* (1855II). It is an auxiliary book to Gunn's reader *The English delectus, part one*, which appeared in the same year⁵⁰². Alternatively, they were collections of papers that had already been set at examinations for school leavers or student teachers of English, such as Ten Bruggencate's collection of written examinations *De examen-opgaven voor het Engelsch; Lager Onderwijs in 1887* (1888II). Around 1900 some twenty collections of examination questions and assignments came out, giving evidence of the spectacular rise of ELT in education. Many of these books are related to teacher examinations. One of them was a form of self-conducted university admission examination: *Engelsche opgaven voor het toelatingsexamen ter universiteit* (1896II).

⁵⁰² A delectus is "a school-reading book of selected passages" (Concise Oxford Dictionary 1958⁴).

Table 5.9 Gives a survey of the categories of ELT textbooks and their numbers between 1800 and 1920. The numbers at the top of the table correspond with the categories of textbooks as specified above.

TABLE 5.9 THE NUMBER OF ELT TEXTBOOKS PER CATEGORY AND PER DECADE, 1800-1919

decade	course books	practice books	grammars	Pronunciation manuals	vocabularies	dictionaries	keys/ teacher's guides	examination papers	total
1800-1809	5	16	4						25
1810-1819	11	19	1		7	3			42
1820-1829		11				1	1		13
1830-1839	10	10		1	3		1		25
1840-1849	9	16	3	3	4	10	2		47
1850-1859	15	29	8	2	11	2	1	1	69
1860-1869	14	25	6	2	7	5	2		61
1871-1879	16	30	5	2	5	4	1		63
1880-1889	16	10	5		4	1		1	37
1890-1899	29	38	5	4	5	7		6	94
1900-1909	29	64	12	6	15	2		8	136
1910-1919	29	62	10	4	20	5	4	8	142
Total	184	330	59	24	81	40	12	24	754

5.4 Categories of textbooks and their numbers

Table 5.9 clearly indicates that the diversification of textbooks was on the increase, as the 19th century went by. From about the middle of the century, each category is almost continuously represented by one or more textbooks. The two largest categories were practice books and coursebooks. There were 330 practice books and 184 coursebooks in a total of 754 textbooks published between 1800 and 1920. What remains were (much) smaller categories: 81 vocabularies, 59 grammars, 40 dictionaries, 24 examination papers, 24 phonology manuals and 12 keys to textbooks/teacher's guides.

By far the largest category was that of practice books. The 330 practice books amounted to almost 44% of the total number of textbooks published in 120 years. This means a huge increase compared with the preceding centuries, when at most twelve comparable textbooks in a total of 42 can be indicated, i.e. 28%⁵⁰³. The number of practice books published in the early 19th century is quite remarkable. It illustrates the differentiation in teaching materials, which had already started at the end of the 18th century. It also implies that the training of skills, particularly reading and writing English, received the highest priority of all language learning activities. Practice books can be further classified according to the kind of skill at which they aimed. Table 5.10 indicates this division. These skills were: 1. spelling, reading and translating from English into Dutch; 2. speaking; and 3. writing and/or translating from Dutch into English. From this division of practice material the following conclusions can be drawn. More than half of the practice books relate to reading and translating from English into Dutch (54%). Writing and/or translating into English is the business of over thirty percent of the practice books (32%). Only 14% of the material was explicitly designed to practise fluency. It follows that, judging by the titles of practice books, reading was the major skill to be trained, while writing and/or translating into English occupied the middle position. Oral skills played only a minor role. However, we have to be careful in our conclusions, for there were still the phrases and dialogues in vocabularies by means of which speaking could be practised.

⁵⁰³ They were: Anon. c1530, De Berlaimont 1576, Walraven/Whetstone 1586, Beyer 1661 and 1662, Hillenius 1664, Evans 1747, Holtrop 1783, Fenning 1793, Van Bemmelen 1794, Thomas 1798, Anon. c1804 (see Loonen 1991).

TABLE 5.10 THE NUMBER OF ELT PRACTICE BOOKS PER SUBCATEGORY, 1800-1919

Decade	spelling reading (translating E-D)	speaking	writing (translating D-E)	Total
1800-1809	12	4	0	16
1810-1819	14	2	3	19
1820-1829	8	1	2	11
1830-1839	5	2	3	10
1840-1849	7	4	5	16
1850-1859	17	2	10	29
1860-1869	8	8	9	25
1870-1879	14	5	11	30
1880-1889	7	2	1	10
1890-1899	21	6	11	38
1900-1909	38	4	22	64
1910-1919	28	5	29	62
Total	179	45	106	330

The second largest category was that of the **coursebooks**. Between 1800 and 1920, 184 new coursebooks were published, which is nearly 25% of the total textbook production. The second decade shows a relative increase of coursebooks, probably due to the renewed trade contacts with the United Kingdom. Also the 1850s show a remarkable peak in the production of coursebooks, possibly because of the recently acquired freedom to start independent schools. This high level is more or less maintained in the following decades and rises further towards the turn of the century. **Vocabularies/books of idioms** are the third largest group of textbooks; 81 of them were published, which is nearly 11% of the total output of materials. Before 1860 the number of the **grammar books** was quite small. It increased in the second half of the century, no doubt owing to a growing demand of student teachers who had to take English examinations and to a greater scholarly interest in the English language. Altogether 59 grammars were published; they are responsible for about 8%

of the textbook production. The category of **dictionaries** comes fifth in rank. Within 120 years, 40 dictionaries were published, which is more than 5% of the total output of textbooks. They were followed by 24 **pronunciation manuals**, together yielding about 3% of the total number of ELT textbooks, and 24 **examination papers**, another 3% of the total number. **Teacher's guides/keys to textbooks** form the smallest category. With 12 textbooks they constitute a mere 1.6 per cent of all the materials.

5.5 Summary

During the nineteenth century the number of ELT textbooks rose immensely compared to that in the three preceding centuries. After a few dozen textbooks had been published between 1500 and 1800, in the following 120 years 754 textbooks came out. This rise already started at the very end of the eighteenth century and continued throughout the nineteenth century. During the first half of the century, Dutch trading contacts with the English-speaking world and ELT were closely connected. It seems that whenever the economic growth halted and there were fewer business contacts, the production of English textbooks would go down. In the course of the nineteenth century, there were two periods of decline in the production of teaching materials, the 1820s and the 1880s. Both decades appear to have coincided with periods of economic recession. The increase of nineteenth century ELT textbooks was mainly caused by the demands from schools and teachers. Compared to FrLT and GLT textbooks, ELT textbooks came in second position. The number of ELT textbooks was smaller than the number of FrLT materials, but larger than the number of GLT textbooks. Contrary to the increase of FrLT and GLT textbooks during the 1860s and 1870s, i.e. the years when the Higher Burgher Schools came into being and the Latin schools were reorganised, the number of ELT textbooks did not rise substantially. Of all the ELT textbooks published in the period 1800-1920, 30% were published during the years 1800-1860, so that the period 1860-1920 was responsible for the remaining 70%. From the 1890s onwards, the production of ELT textbooks grew spectacularly and in all probability it continued to grow after 1920. Quantitative data concerning the production of ELT textbooks are presented in tables and graphs in the text.

Measured by the number of printings and the years during which a book was in print, a number of textbooks appear to have been more popular than others. Special league tables providing information on the numbers of printings and the time of circulation have been added. All the dominant textbooks are discussed in chronological order and in conjunction with their writers, so that we have an overview of the most successful textbooks and their writers. During the period 1800-1860 the most successful textbook writers in terms of ELT textbook production were R. van der Pijl, D. Bomhoff Hz., J. De Hollander, F.M. Cowan and A.B. Maatjes. During the period 1860-1920 the number of prominent writers grew considerably, due to the fact that also the number of dominant textbooks was greater. The most important authors in terms of textbook success were P. Roorda, J.C.G. Grasé, H. IJmker & W.Th. Velthuysen, C. Stoffel, J.N. Valkhoff and Servaas de Bruin.

The textbooks of English can be divided into several categories. As regards the period before 1800, Loonen (1991) distinguishes three major categories: 'textbooks' (often referred to as 'grammars'), dictionaries and spelling books. From the end of the 18th century the diversification of textbooks grew further. One cause of this process was the pedagogic needs of schools and teachers for new kinds of materials, which were structured and graded better to suit the needs of young learners. Up to that time, learning content of various kinds had been brought together in 'grammars', which in effect had the character of reference works. Another cause of the diversification of materials was the specific needs of certain groups of learners, such as (student) teachers of English, sailors, technicians and traders, who all needed special materials. On the basis of the textbook materials in the period 1800-1920 a division has been made into eight categories. They are: coursebooks, practice books, grammars, pronunciation manuals, vocabularies/books of idioms, dictionaries, teacher's guides/keys and examination papers. Practice books aimed at training one or more language skills. They constitute the largest category, i.e. 44% of the total number of textbooks. They have been subdivided into materials for reading (and translating from English into Dutch), speaking and writing (including translating from Dutch into English). Of these subcategories, books for practising reading and translating form the major subcategory and by far outnumber the practice books for speaking. The second sub-

category is that of practice books for writing and translating. Course-books form the second largest category of textbooks, i.e. about 25% of the total production of textbooks. Vocabularies and books of idioms constitute the third largest group with 11%. The fourth and fifth categories are grammar books and dictionaries, with respectively 8% and 5%. Then come the pronunciation manuals and examination papers, both with 3%. The smallest category is that of the teacher's guides/keys with approximately 1%; they did not appear until the very end of the 19th century.

6. CHAPTER SIX

COURSEBOOK DESCRIPTION

6.1 Introduction

Chapter Six is concerned with the description of a number of selected coursebooks. The first part, 6.1, consists of the following sections. Section 6.1.1 discusses the place of coursebooks in the history of FLT. Section 6.1.2 explains how the selection of a limited number of coursebooks for an in-depth description came about. The concept of ‘method’ and its relation with coursebooks is the subject of section 6.1.3. In 6.1.4 the way in which the selected coursebooks will be described, is presented. As exercises form an integral part of coursebooks, their role has to be described, too; this is done with the help of an exercise typology in 6.1.5. The second part of the chapter, 6.2, is concerned with the description of twelve courses.

6.1.1 Coursebooks and the history of FLT

If we wish to describe the history of ELT, there is every reason to research historical textbooks. In Chapter Five we have given a quantitative description of the production and circulation of English textbooks published in the researched period. We have also given a quantitative as well as qualitative description of various categories of textbooks in order to illustrate the diversity of teaching materials. Of the eight categories of textbooks that we have distinguished (see 5.3), we have chosen coursebooks as the most obvious category of textbooks to describe the methodological development of ELT. The arguments for this choice are given in 1.3.3. As we have seen, Loonen (1991:106) distinguishes three categories of teaching materials for the period 1500-1800, viz. ‘textbooks’, dictionaries and spelling-books. The ‘textbooks’ of that period could offer all kinds of subjects, but they invariably included grammar, idiomatic phrases, dialogues and letters. On the basis of their learning content it may be claimed that our ‘coursebook’ is the natural successor to Loonen’s ‘textbook’. According to

the definition in 5.3.1, coursebooks should at least offer the following three subjects: a. grammar (in the widest sense of the word: rules and/or examples of morphology and/or syntax); b. vocabulary; and c. exercises. No other category offers such a great variety of teaching content. Besides, coursebooks constitute the one but largest category of textbooks after the 'practice books' (see 5.4). As a consequence of the definition referred to above, a textbook like Van der Pijl's *Gemeenname Leerwijs* (1814), although highly successful⁵⁰⁴, has not been selected for description, as it does not offer explicit exercises.

An ELT course would sometimes consist of more than one volume, but the definition of a coursebook sometimes makes it impossible to describe every course volume. Thus, De Hollander's *Handleiding bij de Beoefening der Engelsche Taal* (three volumes: 1850, 1851, 1853) consists of a grammar book and two readers. On the basis of the coursebook definition, only the grammar volume qualifies for description. For the same reason, sometimes one and sometimes two volumes of a multi-volume course qualify for description.

6.1.2 *The selection of coursebooks*

In order to select the coursebooks for an in-depth analysis, as will be done in this chapter, certain criteria had to be laid down. For his selection of 'textbooks' Loonen (1991:186) uses the following criteria: 1. the number of reprints; 2. the number of editions; 3. the extent to which a course book was a source for borrowing; 4. the quality of the material; and 5. its uniqueness. The first two items are objective criteria; the last three may be called increasingly subjective. For our research we have combined Loonen's first two items under the denominator 'frequency'. Chapter Five contains a list of coursebooks showing which coursebooks had the greatest number of publications within the researched period. With a view to the objective of this investigation – clarifying the methodological development of ELT on the basis of textbooks, especially coursebooks – frequency of publication has been chosen as the first selection criterion. The assumption is that, by investigating which coursebooks had the most printings within a

⁵⁰⁴ There was still a 12th edition as late as 1866.

certain period, a good impression may be given of the methodological development of ELT. We took into consideration that a division into equal periods of time would warrant a more objective outcome, as long as coursebooks in different periods were compared on the basis of the relative frequency of their printings. If the researched period had not been divided into smaller periods, e.g. thirty or forty years, but had been regarded as one period of 120 years, only late 19th century coursebooks could have been selected for description, simply because in terms of absolute numbers these coursebooks had the most printings. The argument is that equal, smaller periods can show peaks in publication in an objective way and that these peaks will demonstrate a preference for a particular teaching method. With this purpose in mind, the total research period has been divided into three equal periods. These periods could not be too long, as there would be little to compare, but they could not be too short either, as in that case it would become impossible to find out if there were frequent printings. For that reason, the research period has been divided into three periods of forty years each, 1800-1839, 1840-1879 and 1880-1919. These three periods should be looked upon as separate units, as the criterion of frequency of printings differs per period. For instance, in the first period, 1800-1839, only the coursebooks with two or more printings have been selected. This was the case with nine coursebooks. Also in the second period, 1840-1879, the nine most frequently published coursebooks were selected, but in this period they had at least three printings. In the third period, 1880-1919, the nine most frequently published coursebooks had at least eleven printings.

If two or more coursebooks had the same number of printings within the research period, we brought to bear the criterion 'circulation time'. By 'circulation time' we mean the time span during which coursebooks were in print. The third criterion was 'availability', which meant that the textbook would have to be available in a Dutch library. Thus, the selection criteria are:

1. frequency of publication
2. circulation time
3. availability.

We are aware, for that matter, that any division into periods is more or less arbitrary. On the other hand, this division can be defended on educational and /or methodological principles, too. Thus, the first period, 1800-1839, witnessed the origin of textbooks specifically designed for young learners as well as a greater diversification of materials. Many new coursebooks had language rules and translation exercises and thus the grammar-translation method became firmly established. The publication of the FrLT coursebook *Verzameling van Opstellen* by Antoine Nicolas Agron must be considered the official start of this method in Dutch FLT (cf. 4.2.2). At the same time, this period saw the disappearance of coursebooks with a more “communicative” bias, such as A. Kappelhof’s *Nieuwe Engelsche en Hollandsche spraakkunst* (1812), modelled on Charles Cazelles’ *Nouvelle méthode familière* (1796⁶)⁵⁰⁵, or Kappelhof’s *Familiar method* (1815), following Pierre Marin’s example⁵⁰⁶.

The second period, 1840-1879, saw growing objections against the grammar-translation method in its purest form. Besides coursebooks of this kind, coursebooks appeared that preferred a more moderate method, which is apparent from a less deductive approach. This period also saw the disappearance of ‘communicatively’ oriented materials, such as the ‘phrase-books’ *Gemeen zame Leerwijz* by Van der Pijl (1814-1858¹¹) and the *Engelsch-Nederduitsche gesprekken* by T.S. Williams (1832-1886¹⁰). In this respect it must be pointed out that Klippel (1994), too, uses the year 1840 as a boundary for the division of her study of ELT in the German-speaking countries. The reason why Klippel takes the year 1840 as the end of a period (1780-1840) is based on the fact that after 1840 English became a compulsory subject in some German schools (Klippel 1994:287-288).

In the third period, 1880-1919, new teaching materials originated which had been inspired by the Reform movement in reaction to the strongly form-directed grammar-translation method. Viëtor’s well-known pamphlet *Der Sprachunterricht muss umkehren* (1882/1886) is generally considered to be the official start of this movement (Howatt 1984:340). Klippel (1994:285), too, uses the Reform movement to mark the end of the period (c1840-c1880). On the basis of the frequency criterion, a preliminary selection has been made of the nine most frequently published

⁵⁰⁵ See Riemens (1919) for a bibliography of FrLT textbooks published before 1800.

⁵⁰⁶ See Loonen (1997) for an overview of Marin’s publications.

coursebooks per period of forty years. This selection concerns the following works:

Period 1800-1839

Lehman *Engelsche Spraakkunst* (1805-1817²)

Number of printings in this period: two (1805-1817)

Kappelhoff *Handleiding voor Eerstbeginnenden* (1807-1833³)

Number of printings in this period: two or three (1808-18??-1833)

Van der Pijl *Engelsche Spraakkunst* (1811-1837³)

Number of printings in this period: three (1811-1819-1837)

Kappelhoff *Nieuwe Engelsche en Hollandsche Spraakkunst* (1812-1831^{3?})

Number of printings in this period: two or three (1812-1815^{2?}-1831^{3?})

Koning *Korte en Gemakkelijke Regelen* (1814-1832²)

Number of printings in this period: two (1814-1832²)

Kappelhoff/Kirchdorffer (Marin) *New English Grammar, or Familiar Method, &c.* (1815-1828²)

Number of printings in this period: two (1815-1828²)⁵⁰⁷.

Murray/Van der Pijl *Engelsche Spraakkunst* (1816-1871⁸)

Number of printings in this period: four (1816-1822-1829-1837)

Hakbijl *Gronden der Engelsche Spraakkunst* (1830-1859⁴)

Number of printings in this period: two (1830-?)⁵⁰⁸

⁵⁰⁷ It is unclear if Kappelhoff (1815) and Kirchdorffer (1828) must be regarded as two separate publications or two editions of the same coursebook.

⁵⁰⁸ In the preface to his 3rd edition of this textbook (1847) Hakbijl complains that the second edition was a pirated version. The exact year of publication of this edition is unknown.

Lloyd/Bomhoff *Nieuwe Engelsche Spraakkunst* (1835-1855⁵)
Number of printings in this period: two (1835-1839)

Period 1840-1879

De Hollander *Handleiding bij de Beoefening der Engelsche Taal. Eerste Afdeeling: Spraakkunst* (1850-1871⁷)
Number of printings in this period: seven (1850-1871⁷)

Cowan/Maatjes *Leercursus ter Beoefening der Engelsche Taal. Eerste Gedeelte. Praktische Inleiding* (1854-1916¹³)
Number of printings in this period: eight (1854-1877⁸)

Gerdes *Nieuwe Leerwijze der Engelsche Taal. Eerste Cursus* (1855-1883⁶)
Number of printings in this period: five (1855-1873⁵)

Cowan/Maatjes *Leercursus ter Beoefening der Engelsche Taal. Tweede Gedeelte. Theoretisch-praktische Spraakkunst* (1856-1897¹⁰)
Number of printings in this period: seven (1856-1877⁷)

Ludolph *Engelsch Leerboekje voor Eerstbeginnenden* (1859-1895⁹)
Number of printings in this period: six (1859-1879⁶)

Gunn *De Engelsche Taalmeester* ([1856]-1864⁴)
Number of printings in this period: four (1859-1864⁴)

Anon. *De vlugge Engelschman* (1863-1908¹⁴)
Number of printings in this period: four (1863-1879⁵)

Zimmermann/Dingemans *Engelsche Spraakkunst* (1864-1887⁶)
Number of printings in this period: three (1864-1875³)

Valkhoff *Volledige Leercursus der Engelsche Taal. Eerste Stukje* (1874-1914¹⁴).
Number of printings in this period: three (1874-1878³)

Period 1880-1919

Stoffel *Handleiding bij het Onderwijs in het Engelsch Deel II. Inleiding* (1881-c1930¹⁷)

Number of printings in this period: fifteen (1881-1917¹⁵)

Roorda *Engelsche Spraakkunst voor Schoolgebruik Deel 1* (1886-1962⁷⁵)

Number of printings in this period: about forty-eight (1886-c1919⁴⁸)

Roorda *Engelsche Spraakkunst voor Schoolgebruik Deel 1, supplement* (1895-1951³¹)

Number of printings in this period: twenty-one (1895-c1919²¹)

Roorda *Engelsche Spraakkunst voor Schoolgebruik Deel 2* (1887-1939¹⁵)

Number of printings in this period: about eleven (1887-c1918¹¹)

Günther *Leerboek der Engelsche Taal* (1890-c1920¹⁵)

Number of printings in this period: about fourteen (1890-c1919¹⁴)

Grasé *Oefeningen in de Engelsche Taal I. Leerstof for the first three months* (1895-1921¹⁴)

Number of printings in this period: about thirteen (1895-c1919¹³)

Grasé *Oefeningen in de Engelsche Taal II. Leerstof for the first year* (1896-1923²⁸)

Number of printings in this period: about twenty-five (1896-c1919²⁵)

Ijmker/Veldhuysen *English for Children. Geleidelijke Leergang voor het Onderwijs in de Engelse Taal. 1e deeltje* (1907-1969⁵⁸)

Number of printings in this period: about eighteen (1907-c1919¹⁸)

Ijmker/Veldhuysen *English for Children. Geleidelijke Leergang voor het Onderwijs in de Engelse Taal. 2e deeltje* (1907-1970³⁴)

Number of printings in this period: about thirteen (1907-c1919¹³)

After this preliminary selection, a final selection of coursebooks had to be made. Per period of forty years four courses, consisting of one or more coursebook volumes, will be described. All coursebooks are considered to be separate publications, even if they are part of a multi-volume course. However, if two volumes of one course have to be selected on the basis of the above criteria, they will be described together as parts of one course. Thus, in effect, twelve courses, that is fourteen coursebook volumes, qualify for description. Multi-volume courses of which two volumes will be described in this manner are Cowan & Maatjes (1854II and 1856II) and Roorda (1886II and 1895II). Multi-volume courses of which only one volume will be described are De Hollander (1850II), Gerdes (1855II), Stoffel (1881II) and Grasé (1896II). The remaining courses consist of one volume.

From the period 1800-1839 our first selection concerned the *Engelsche Spraakkunst* by Murray/Van der Pijl (1816II). This coursebook had the largest number of printings in this period and was in circulation for some 60 years. Secondly, we selected two coursebooks with three printings, Kappelhoff's *Handleiding voor eerstbeginnenden* (1807II) and the *Engelsche Spraakkunst* by Van der Pijl (1811II). Thirdly, the following courses with two printings were eligible for description: Lehman (1805II), Kappelhoff (1812II), Koning (1814II), Kappelhoff (1815II), Hakbijl (1830II) and Lloyd/Bomhoff (1835II). Kappelhoff (1812II) could not be selected, since the book was not available. Kappelhoff (1815II) was not selected either, as it was not clear how this work was related to Kirchdorffer (1828II); was the latter book the second edition of Kappelhoff (1815II) or were they two different courses? Besides, since Kappelhoff (1815II) was not available, the two courses could not be compared. Hakbijl (1830II) was not selected, as it is not known when the second printing came out. Consequently, the only two coursebooks remaining for selection were Koning (1814II) and Lloyd/Bomhoff (1835II). Lloyd/Bomhoff (1835II) had a second printing in 1839, but was published at the end of the period and could, therefore, hardly be called representative. Eventually, Koning (1814II) and Lehman (1805II) were left as the most realistic options. Of these, Lehman (1805II) was the most obvious choice, as it was the first English course to be structured after the grammar-translation method and may be called the first English "Meidinger".

Our first selection from the period 1840-1879 was the most successful course, the *Leercursus ter Beoefening der Engelsche Taal* by Cowan & Maatjes. This course consisted of four volumes, of which volume I (1854II) and volume II (1856II) were published eight and seven times respectively. Although, the two volumes are described as separate parts of one course, their interdependence cannot be ignored. De Hollander's *Handleiding bij de Beoefening der Engelsche Taal* was a popular course, too. Both volume I and volume II were published seven times. Of these books, only the first volume qualifies for description, since volume II is a reader. The third choice was Gerdes' *Nieuwe Leerwijze der Engelsche Taal, Eerste Cursus* (1855II) with five printings. Ludolph's *Engelsch Leerboekje voor Eerstbeginnenden* (1859II) was not chosen, as it is not a coursebook but a phrasebook. In the fourth place, a choice had to be made from the following works: Gunn *De Engelsche taalmeester*, Anon. *De vlugge Engelschman*, Zimmermann/Dingemans *Engelsche spraakkunst* and Valkhoff *Volledige Leercursus der Engelsche taal*. *De vlugge Engelschman* did not qualify, as it was not available. Hence, *De Engelsche taalmeester* was decided upon, as both Zimmermann/Dingemans' *Engelsche spraakkunst* and Valkhoff's *Volledige Leercursus der Engelsche taal* had a smaller number of printings.

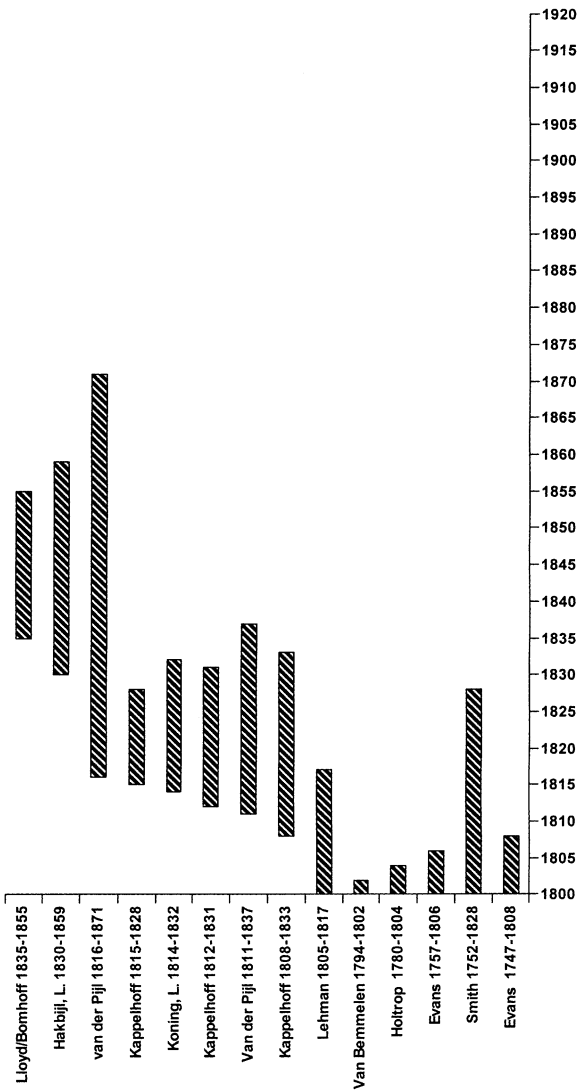
In the last period, 1880-1919, Roorda's *Engelsche Spraakkunst voor Schoolgebruik* (1886II) was the most successful coursebook with approximately 48 editions between 1886 and 1920. This coursebook had the largest number of printings in the history of ELT in the Netherlands before 1920 and probably also before 1960. The *Supplement* to Roorda's *Engelsche Spraakkunst Deel 1* was selected as well, because it had 21 printings before 1920. The two volumes are described here as separate parts of one course. The second choice was for Grasé with his *Oefeningen in de Engelsche Taal* (part II 1896), in which part I (1895) is included (25 and 13 printings respectively). The third choice concerned Stoffel's *Handleiding bij het Onderwijs in het Engelsch* (15 printings). Günther's *Leerboek der Engelsche Taal* (1890II) came in fourth position with about 14 printings before 1920. The following list shows the ultimate selection of coursebooks:

1. Lehman *Engelsche Spraakkunst* 1805 (1805-1817²)
2. Kappelhoff *Handleiding voor eerstbeginnenden* (1807-1833³)
3. Van der Pijl *Engelsche Spraakkunst* (1811-1837³)

4. Murray/Van der Pijl *Engelsche Spraakkunst* (1816-1871⁸)
5. De Hollander *Handleiding bij de beoefening der Engelsche taal. Eerste Afdeeling. Spraakkunst* (1850-1871⁷)
6. Cowan & Maatjes *Leercursus ter beoefening der Engelsche taal. Eerste Gedeelte. Praktische Inleiding* (1854-1916¹³); *Tweede Gedeelte. Theoretisch-praktische Spraakkunst* (1856-1897¹⁰)
7. Gerdes *Nieuwe Leerwijze der Engelsche taal. Eerste Cursus* (1855-1883⁶)
8. Gunn *De Engelsche Taalmeester* (c1856-1864⁴)
9. Stoffel *Handleiding bij het onderwijs in het Engelsch. Deel II. Inleiding. De voornaamste eigenaardigheden der Engelsche taal* (1881-1917¹⁵)
10. Roorda *Engelsche Spraakkunst voor schoolgebruik Deel 1* (1886-c1919⁴⁸); *Supplement bij Deel I* (1895-c1919²¹)
11. Günther *Leerboek der Engelsche taal voor eerstbeginnenden* (1890-c1919¹⁴)
12. Grasé *Oefeningen in de Engelsche taal, Deel II. Leerstof voor The First Year* (1896-c1919²⁵).

Graphs 6.1 up to and including 6.3 show graphic representation of the circulation time of the most frequently used coursebooks in the periods 1800-1839, 1840-1879 and 1880-1919. By 'time of circulation' we understand the minimal number of years during which a coursebook was in circulation, including the last year of publication. We do not know, however, how long a coursebook was kept in circulation after that year.

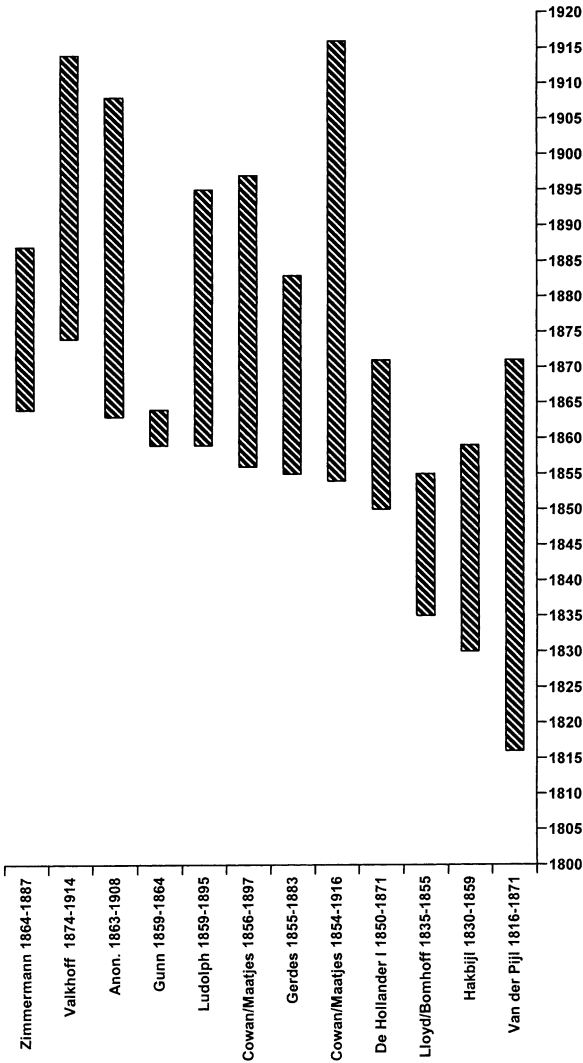
GRAPH 6.1 CIRCULATION TIME OF ELT COURSEBOOKS WITH THE LARGEST NUMBER OF PRINTINGS⁵⁰⁹ IN THE PERIOD 1800-1839 AND BEYOND⁵¹⁰.



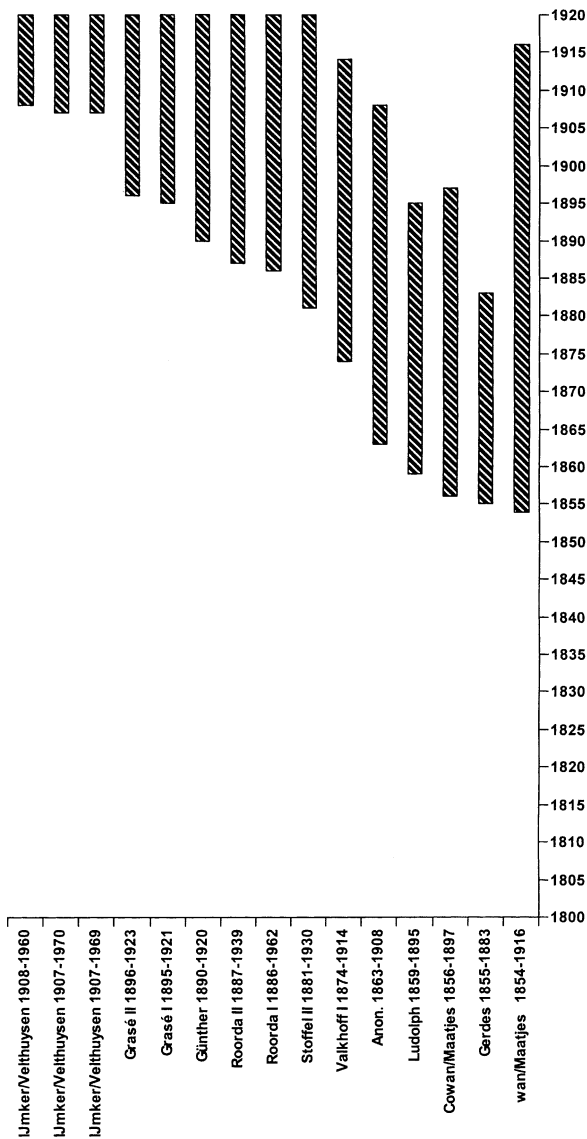
⁵⁰⁹ For the sake of continuity a ‘spillover’ is given of the textbooks that originated in the 18th century but were reprinted in the 19th century. Similarly, a ‘spillover’ of the previous periods is given in Graphs 6.2 and 6.3.

⁵¹⁰ The years after the writers’ names in Graphs 6.1, 6.2 and 6.3 indicate the first and last year of publication.

GRAPH 6.2 CIRCULATION TIME OF ELT COURSEBOOKS WITH THE LARGEST NUMBER OF PRINTINGS IN THE PERIOD 1840-1879 AND BEYOND.



GRAPH 6.3 CIRCULATION TIME OF ELT COURSEBOOKS WITH THE LARGEST NUMBER OF PRINTINGS IN THE PERIOD 1880-1920 AND BEYOND.



6.1.3 Coursebooks and the concept of 'method'

The concept of 'method' must be regarded as an 'umbrella term': it has a number of characteristics to which textbooks may adhere in varying degrees. Generally speaking, the 'grammar-translation' method and the 'direct' method are regarded as the most important methods of the 19th century. Both methods have been described fairly extensively by various authors: Mackey (1965:143-145), Kelly (1969:passim), Stern (1983:453-460), Van Els *et al.* (1984:147-150), Richards & Rodgers (1986:3-5) and Howatt & Widdowson (2004:151-165; 187-192). There is general consensus on the question what these methods stand for. This concerns both their underlying theories as well as their aims, learning content, types of learning and teaching activities and classroom procedures. Thus, on the basis of its theoretical background, the direct method selects aims, learning content, types of exercises and classroom procedures that are different from those of the grammar-translation method. On the basis of their widely diverging characteristics, the grammar-translation method and the direct method may be considered opposites.

The beginning of the 19th century witnessed the emergence of the 'grammar-translation' method. It followed the example of Meidinger (1783) (see 4.2.3) and may be seen as a reaction to an earlier, 'communicative' approach. The latter term must be interpreted as a very general term for what was primarily directed at natural language acquisition. The 'communicative' approach of the 17th and 18th centuries brought learners as much as possible into contact with L2 in an L2 environment. This means that learners were taught by L2 speakers, such as foreign language tutors, or were educated at French or English schools, where L2 was the language of communication. The most important characteristic of this method was that learners had to memorise learning content and reproduce it in conversations, which was referred to as 'rabbelen' or 'parlieren' (see 4.1.5). This tradition was continued throughout the 19th century in one way or another as a methodological undercurrent, which may be termed the 'direct method'. Towards the end of the century, this 'direct method' gained momentum and came to be referred to as the Reform movement. It must be seen as a precursor to the present-day communicative approach. It left clearly recognisable traces at the beginning of the 20th century in a more or less mixed approach, called the 'eclectic' method' (cf. Mackey 1965:147).

On the basis of the data in the coursebook description, we will try to establish the differences between the researched coursebooks and define to what extent they may be called representative of the grammar-translation method or the direct method. However, it should be emphasised that this study prefers to register tendencies rather than give a definitive classification. The assumption that it is possible to assign each coursebook a place on a scale between two polar opposites, appears impracticable, as coursebooks tend to make use of features from more than one method. In order to assign coursebooks to either the grammar-translation or the direct method, we will first have to map out the features of these two methods. These features will only be indicated at the levels of ‘approach’ and ‘design’ and not at the level of ‘procedure’, as the latter level describes the actual teaching and learning activities in the classroom (Richards & Rodgers 1986:26)⁵¹¹.

As far as the **grammar-translation method** is concerned, these features can be summarised as follows:

At the level of ‘approach’

The grammar-translation method has no explicit language theory. The implicit concept of what language is, however, is essentially structural. Language is seen as “a system of structurally related elements for the coding of meaning” (Richards & Rodgers 1986:17). As far as the theory of language learning is concerned, there is no explicit view either: “The target of language learning is seen to be the mastery of elements of this system, which are generally defined in terms of phonological units [...], grammatical units [...], grammatical operations [...] and lexical items” (Richards & Rodgers 1986:17). Apparently, there was the assumption that language skills automatically result from language knowledge.

⁵¹¹ Richards & Rodgers (1986:26) define ‘Procedure’ as follows: “This encompasses the actual moment-to-moment techniques, practices, and behaviors that operate in teaching a language according to a particular method. It is the level at which we describe how a method realizes its approach and design in classroom behavior”.

At the level of 'design'

Aims. The chief aim is the use of the living language. Another aim is intellectual education, which is supposed to be the result of study of the language system.

Selection and organisation of learning content. The written language is the first priority. The reading skill is the most important skill; much less attention is paid to oral skills. The organisation of learning content is based on the order of the traditional parts of speech grammar. Vocabulary is offered in bilingual word lists and often based on formal and literary texts. There is a linear gradation of learning content from "easy" to "difficult", in accordance with the supposed level of difficulty of the linguistic elements.

Types of teaching and learning activities. Teaching takes place on a contrastive basis, whereby L1 functions as means of instruction and frame of reference for L2 (cf. Stern 1983:455: "The first language is maintained as the reference system in the acquisition of the second language."). The teaching of grammar is explicit; the rules are offered in a deductive way and are subsequently 'applied' in (unconnected) sentences for translation. Thus, in many respects, foreign languages are learned in the same way as the classical languages Latin and Greek. The method is 'synthetic', in the sense that words are put into sentences like separate building blocks. The sentence, not the text, is the basis of the method. Vocabulary learning is almost exclusively based on annotated reading texts and bilingual word lists, which must be memorised. There is little variety in exercises, the most important type being translating L1-L2 and L2-L1. The exercises are mainly directed at reproduction and, as a consequence, focused on form rather than meaning.

As far as the **direct method** is concerned, the characteristics can be summarised as follows:

At the level of 'approach'

The 'direct method' is a collective term for a multitude of ideas and techniques. Especially in the 19th century it took shape as a reaction to the grammar-translation method. It was the Reform principles that provided the theoretical foundations for the Direct Method (Richards & Rodgers 1986:8). The Reformers adhered to the principle that language must be

seen primarily as a means of communication for use in everyday situations (cf. Van Els *et al.* 1984:150). Hence, the emphasis was on the spoken language, oral classroom methodology and the use of coherent texts (Howatt & Widdowson 2004:189). Supporters of the Reform method preferred to use the term “living language”. Using the “living language” was more important than acquiring knowledge about the system of language. This implies that foreign language skills would have to be practised in a situational context. Also linguistic knowledge, such as pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary, would have to be offered in meaningful contexts as much as possible (texts, dialogues, letters). Therefore, the use of authentic, true-to-life and relevant language material was considered important. The direct method was mainly concerned with the question how languages should be learned. This already appears from the term itself: the best way of learning foreign languages was one in which the mother tongue did not play a significant role. L2 learning was seen as a process which was analogous to L1 learning.

At the level of ‘design’

Aims. The chief aim is the use of the ‘living language’.

Selection and organisation of learning content. Of all the language skills, the oral skills have priority. Grammar rules only support language skills and should only be offered as far as necessary. Vocabulary selection is made on the basis of authentic texts. There is a lot of skills training as well as a variety of exercises. The gradation of the learning content is not necessarily linguistically directed but may also be based on ‘notions’ or topic-areas (cf. Van Ek 1976:25). Concentric gradation is preferred to linear gradation.

Types of teaching and learning activities. In principle teaching is unilingual, whereby L2 functions both as target language and as language of instruction. Grammar teaching is inductive: language rules are learned preferably through the material presented. Vocabulary is learned within L2 contexts. The exercises are both form-directed and meaning-directed. Translating from and into the foreign language in combination with the use of the mother tongue is avoided as much as possible. The above can be represented as follows:

Features of 'methods'	The 'grammar-translation method'	The 'direct method'
Approach	No theories about language and language learning. Implicit assumption: knowledge of language rules is indispensable for language command. Language skills are supposed to follow more or less automatically from linguistic knowledge.	Language is primarily seen as a means of communication. Learning the 'living language' is more important than linguistic knowledge. Situational language learning is preferred. Reform principles provide theoretical foundations for Direct Method: primacy of speech, oral classroom methodology, use of coherent texts.
Design	Aim: language command and language knowledge. Selection of content: L1 functions as means of instruction and frame of reference for L2. Reading is a more important skill than speaking. Provision of (many) explicit rules. Provision of formal and literary texts. Vocabulary offered in bilingual word lists. Organisation of content: linear in accordance with traditional linguistic principles. Types of teaching and learning activities: deductive grammar teaching. Mainly form-directed exercises, especially translation exercises. Emphasis on grammatical correctness.	Aim: use of the 'living language'. Selection of content: L2 is both language of instruction and target language. Initially, emphasis on oral skills. Provision of explicit rules as far as necessary. Provision of a variety of texts, mainly everyday texts. Vocabulary offered in L2 texts. Organisation of content: less often based on linguistic principles; preferably concentric. Types of teaching and learning activities: inductive grammar teaching. Variety of exercises, both form-directed and meaning-directed.

6.1.4 The description of coursebooks

The purpose of describing historical coursebooks is to obtain insight into the methodological development of the aims, selection, organisation and presentation of learning content. On the basis of the assumption that coursebooks have greatly determined the actual teaching process, we may assume that the content of the selected coursebooks reflects historical ELT in a realistic manner. Such a coursebook description has not often been

made. For FrLT in the Netherlands we have the study of Riemens (1919), which describes the period 1500-1800. Although this work contains a list of various kinds of textbooks, it does not present a description of their content. Vlaanderen's dissertation (1964) gives an overview of FrLT in the period 1800-1960, but does not offer any description of the material either. For GLT we must mention W. Kuiper's dissertation (1961), which analyses five 19th century coursebooks. Loonen's study (1991) of 16th to 18th century ELT coursebooks is the most relevant for the present investigation, as the author describes not only the route prior to our research, but also provides a description model for historical coursebooks. For his own research, Loonen (1991) uses a description model which is based on Stern (1983) and Van Els *et al.* (1984). Stern poses six questions that he finds relevant for a systematic analysis of historical, primary sources. Van Els *et al.* (1984) propose a number of criteria on the basis of which teaching material can be analysed. These questions and criteria are sufficiently important within the framework of this study to be mentioned here. Stern (1983:88) asks the following questions:

1. What is the subject and point of view of the document?
2. What are the historical circumstances within which the document was written? To whom is it addressed? Why was it written?
3. What view of *language* and *language learning* does the document reveal?
4. What view of *language teaching* is expressed in the document? In particular, what aims, principles, materials, methods, or institutions are proposed or assumed in it?
5. What was the importance of the document to its own age? How was it received? What was its effect?
6. How is the document to be assessed from the point of view of today?

In their discussion of the selection of textbooks, Van Els *et al.* (1984:298-311) make a distinction between textbook description and textbook evaluation as instruments for the selection of textbooks. Textbook reviews belong to the first category, next to descriptions of form and content of the material. Users' judgements and experimental research into the effect of textbooks belong to the second category. Loonen (1991) has collapsed Stern's questions and the criteria of Van Els *et al.* (1984) into seven items

which in his opinion are relevant to a descriptive analysis of historical coursebooks. The references to Stern or Van Els *et al.* (1984) are given the codes (S) or (E), respectively. Loonen uses the following items:

1. printing history (S2, E1)
2. sources (S2, S5, E1)
3. target group (S2)
4. table of contents (S1, E1)
5. subject matter (S3a, E1)
6. point of view on language learning and teaching (S3b, S4, E1)
7. evaluation (S6, E2).

Our study has adopted these items for the description of the selected coursebooks, albeit with some alterations. The alterations are: 1. that the order of the items has been changed slightly; and 2. that either extra items have been added or that the content description of the items has been adapted. Items 1, 8 and 9 are new. Item 1, *Author's background*, describes the biographical details of the author, his publications and his position in FLT. Item 8, *Organisation of course content*, describes the organisation and gradation of the material, while Item 9, *Presentation of course content*, describes the way in which the material is offered to the learner. As, contrary to Loonen's research, book reviews and historical accounts of coursebooks were occasionally available for the period 1800-1920, these could be made use of in this study. Consequently, item 10 concerns an evaluation from a historical point of view, not from a present-day point of view. Altogether, the list comprises the following items:

1. Author's background
2. Target group of learners
3. Explicit views on language teaching and learning
4. Origin and sources
5. Printing history
6. Table of contents
7. Outline of course content
8. Organisation of course content
9. Presentation of course content
10. Historical reception and evaluation.

Thus, the description of the coursebooks has been based on Stern (1983), Van Els *et al.* (1984) and Loonen (1991). For the specific description of the material we have also made use of checklists for the description of course materials⁵¹². The checkpoints of these lists have, of course, only been used in as far as they were relevant to historical coursebooks. The specific description of the material comprises the following aspects:

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. <i>Author's background</i> | biographical details;
writer's publications;
writer's position in FLT; |
| 2. <i>Target group</i> | learning level (beginners, intermediate, advanced);
age of learners (youngsters, adults);
type of education (school education, education by parents and/or private tutor, self-tuition);
gender (males, females);
special groups (emigrants, reading public and so on); |
| 3. <i>Explicit views on language teaching and learning</i> | explicit ideas expressed in coursebooks, especially in preface and footnotes;
references to 'authorities'; |
| 4. <i>Origin and sources</i> | reason for writing coursebook;
borrowing from other textbooks;
references to sources; |
| 5. <i>Printing history</i> | global survey of editions and reprints; |

⁵¹² This list is used in the brochures for educational tools (*NICL Overzichten*) of the "Stichting Leerplanontwikkeling" (SLO) [Foundation for curriculum development]. The list is based on similar, earlier lists (see Van Essen & Simons 1976; Van Essen & Van Ess 1977; Mondria & De Vries 1987; Edelenbos, Jong, Supheert 1994).

6. *Table of contents*

table of contents;

7. *Outline of course content*

a. texts

number, character and function;

b. spelling and

influence of 'authorities';

pronunciation

pronunciation rules;

rules in Dutch or English;

pronunciation rules based on spelling
(alphabet) or phonetic script;

selection of segmental aspects (vowels,

diphthongs, consonants) and supra-

segmental aspects (word stress, sentence
stress, intonation);

physiological description of sounds (artic-
ulatory approach);

exercises on segmental level (auditory dis-
crimination; minimal pairs);

exercises on supra-segmental level (word
stress, sentence stress, intonation);

c. grammar

influence of 'authorities';

selection of the grammar based on
tradition, intuition or own method;

organisation of grammar based on

classical division of orthoepy,

etymology, syntax, prosody;

distinction between morphology and
syntax;

number and order of word classes;

explicit rules learned as a metalinguistic
skill;

explicit grammar rules or grammar by
examples;

deductive or inductive presentation of
grammar;

rules in Dutch or English;

exercises on the basis of contrastive analysis;

<i>d. vocabulary and idioms</i>	unilingual presentation of vocabulary in sentences or texts; bilingual presentation in word lists or glossaries; specific notions or thematic presentation;
<i>e. phrases and dialogues</i>	communicative phrases; dialogues;
<i>f. exercises</i>	number and types of exercises;
<i>g. other items</i>	other items, such as letters, proverbs and sayings, maxims, riddles, games, songs, sums, prayers, illustrations;
<i>h. Organisation of course content</i>	division in multi-volume course; organisation on the basis of word classes, rules or lessons; linear or concentric gradation;
<i>i. Presentation of course content</i>	deductive or inductive presentation of grammar or a combination of both; function of texts (starting-point or illustration); unilingual or bilingual presentation; types of assignments and exercises;
<i>j. Historical reception and evaluation</i>	historical accounts; book reviews.

6.1.5 Typology of exercises

Qualitative and quantitative research and exercises

A merely qualitative description of the learning content of coursebooks would probably yield few comparable data. For the description of content of the selected coursebooks (item 7) we have, therefore, opted for a com-

bination of a qualitative and a quantitative description. However, a completely qualitative as well as quantitative description of texts, spelling and pronunciation, grammar, vocabulary, phrases and dialogues, exercises and remaining items would be too labour-intensive. Besides, such an operation is not necessary, as it is possible to draw adequate conclusions merely on the basis of an analysis of the exercises in historical coursebooks with regard to their underlying teaching methods. Language exercises form an eminent instrument for demonstrating a methodological development. In the first place, they constitute one of the essential elements of what we have defined as coursebooks (see 5.3.1). Secondly, exercises are found in each phase in the methodological cycle of teaching/learning activities, ranging from presentation via repetition to exploitation (cf. Van Els *et al.* 1984:264; Kwakernaak 1989:54). Thirdly, the types of exercises found in coursebooks reflect the underlying method. For instance, a communicative method, will stress the importance of oral proficiency, whereas a structural method, such as the ‘grammar-translation method’, will put more emphasis on practising grammatical correctness (cf. Bouwens & De Glas 1991:137-138).

What are ‘exercises’?

By ‘exercises’ we understand learning activities that are explicitly labelled as such by the coursebook and whereby instructions tell the learner what to do. However, some early 19th century textbooks did not have explicit learning activities or instructions, which, of course, does not imply that the textbook content could not be used in learning L2. In most cases, the content served as reference material or to be memorised. This was the case, for instance, with phrasebooks, such as Van der Pijl’s popular *Gemeenname Leerwijjs*⁵¹³ (1814), in which explicit instructions and exercises are lacking. However, because of the writer’s comment in the preface, we know that this book was intended to help learners to memorise phrases, dialogues and vocabulary and to use them in conversations. The book fits in the tradition of 17th and 18th century textbooks, in which instructions and explicit exercises are rare. Learning mainly used to take place through listening and repeating, memorising and reciting and

⁵¹³ It was an adaptation of Pierre Marins *Méthode Familiale* (first edition 1698).

through translating (cf. Loonen 1991:162; Klippel 1994:86-89). At the end of the 18th century translation exercises L1-L2 were gaining popularity. The publication of such successful textbooks as Agron's *Verzameling van Opstellen* (1794) and Van Bemmelen's *Lessen voor eerstbeginnenden in de Engelsche taal* (1794) was characteristic of the rise of this type of exercise. From the beginning of the 19th century more and more exercises are found in FLT textbooks.

Different methods require different exercises

As we saw above (6.1.3), there is broad consensus on the distinctive features of the grammar-translation method and the direct method. The main difference between the two methods is found in the 'how' of FLT. As far as the 'what' is concerned, there is more agreement. The chief aim of both methods is to acquire sufficient language competence. In addition, the grammar-translation method requires a certain measure of linguistic insight. Especially the question how language competence is to be achieved, leads to very different points of view. Seeing that the two methods are opposite poles, especially as far as the 'how' is concerned, we assume that particular types of exercise occur more often in the one method than in the other. When speaking about types of exercise, we find ourselves at the level of 'design' in the terminology of Richards & Rodgers (1986). Therefore, we will map out the types of exercises that may be considered representative of the grammar-translation and the direct method.

As a structural method, the grammar-translation method is characterised by emphasis on correctness of form. Hence, we assume that there will be more form-directed than meaning-directed exercises in coursebooks based on this method. In form-directed exercises the emphasis is on practising sound, word or sentence patterns. A second point is that there may well be more reproductive or partially productive exercises than purely productive exercises. By reproductive exercises we understand strongly guided activities in which the learner is forced to reproduce language tools (sounds, words, structures, functions) in the same context as the one in which they were offered. Productive exercises are activities in which learners are freer to use their own tools, because they use them in a different context. A third point could be that the grammar-translation method uses more exercises at word or sentence level than exercises at text level. Finally,

we assume that there are more written than oral exercises and that they are nearly always used for contrastive purposes.

The direct method, on the other hand, is characterised by the use of the ‘living language’ and for this reason it is likely to have many meaning-directed exercises next to form-directed exercises. In meaning-directed exercises the emphasis is on meaning, that is, on the use of particular language forms on account of a certain situational context. Furthermore, the direct method will probably have many productive exercises, besides reproductive or partially productive exercises, and many exercises at text level, besides exercises at word or sentence level. A third point could be the relatively large amount of oral exercises besides written exercises. Finally, in the direct method nearly all exercises are likely to be unilingual. The above can be represented as follows:

Types of exercises likely to occur in the grammar-translation method	Types of exercises likely to occur in the direct method
Many form-directed exercises aiming at mastering pronunciation, vocabulary, morphology, syntax. Few communicative activities.	Meaning-directed exercises besides form-directed exercises.
Many reproductive or partially productive exercises. Few productive exercises.	Productive exercises besides reproductive or partially productive exercises.
Many exercises at word and sentence level (unconnected sentences), few exercises at text level (coherent texts).	Exercises at text level besides exercises at word and sentence level
Emphasis on written skills; many exercises for reading and writing, few oral exercises	Emphasis on oral skills (certainly initially); many listening and speaking activities besides exercises for reading and writing
Nearly always contrastive exercises (L1 is language of instruction and reference)	Nearly exclusively unilingual exercises (L2 is language of instruction)

In order to find out in how far the learning activities in the selected coursebooks can be considered representative of the one method or the other, we will design a typology of exercises on the basis of the characteristics described above. This typology serves as a frame of reference for the learning activities in the coursebooks. By classifying these activities under particular types of exercises, we will have a basis to demonstrate to what degree a coursebook represents a particular method. However, there are several ways of describing exercises.

Linguistic and methodical description of exercises

We can distinguish exercises on the basis of several criteria. Bouwens & De Glas (1991:141-144) make a distinction between a 'linguistic' and a 'methodical' division. The linguistic division is based on categories of language material; the question is what skills and aspects are practised. Bouwens & De Glas (1991:141) comment: "Op basis van de vraag wat er wordt geoefend is op de eerste plaats een indeling mogelijk naar de te oefenen vaardigheden en subvaardigheden. Deze typologie kent een categorisering in oefeningen voor spreekvaardigheid, schrijfvaardigheid, leesvaardigheid en luistervaardigheid alsmede grammatica, woordenschat en uitspraak [...]. Bij deze typologie staat een onderliggende typologie niet voorop. Zij kent een pragmatisch karakter en is descriptief van aard. Deze typologie is gangbaar in leergangen en in de praktijk van het VTO". [On the basis of the question what is practised, it is possible to make a distinction based on (sub)skills. This typology categorises exercises according to speaking, writing, reading and listening activities as well as grammar, vocabulary and pronunciation [...]. This typology has no underlying typologies. It is pragmatic and descriptive by nature and is prevalent in FLT coursebooks and practices.]

In contrast with 'linguistic' divisions, 'methodical' divisions are based on views on the manner in which language practice ought to take place. The best-known example is the typology presented in Neuner *et al.* (1981) and in its English version Candlin (1981). Bouwens & De Glas (1991:142) comment: "De indeling van Neuner e.a. (1981) en Westhoff (bijv. 1989) wordt in sterke mate gedomineerd door een onderliggende theorie. Deze typologie kent met name een prescriptieve functie. Het oefenen, eigenlijk het leren, wordt beschouwd als een proces waarin een aantal fasen kan worden onderscheiden. Elke fase kent specifieke oefeningen. De oefeningentypologie van Neuner e.a. (1981)... is gericht op het verwerven van 'communicative competence'... Deze is gebaseerd op een onderscheid naar vier categorieën leeractiviteiten. Ze moeten achtereenvolgens leiden tot:

A begrip van de input (lees- en luistervaardigheid)

B reproductie van (taalmiddelen uit) de input

C (licht) gevarieerde (re)productie van die taalmiddelen

D vrij(er) gebruik van die taalmiddelen".

[The division of Neuner c.s. (1981) and Westhoff (for instance 1989) is strongly dominated by an underlying theory. This typology especially has a prescriptive function. Language practice, that is learning, is regarded as

a process in which a number of phases can be distinguished. Each phase has specific exercises. Neuner's typology [...] aims at acquiring 'communicative competence' [...]. It is based on a division into four categories of learning activities. These are expected to lead to:

A understanding the input (reading and listening skills)

B reproduction of (language tools from) the input

C (slightly) varied (re)production of the language tools

D free(r) use of the language tools.]

The exercise typology: a mixed form

Besides 'linguistic' and 'methodical' typologies, it is possible to use mixed forms of both versions, such as the typology of Bouwens & De Glas (1991), who base theirs on the models of Neuner *et al.* (1981) and Kwakernaak (1989). Our typology, too, is a mixed form. On the one hand it is based on the 'linguistic' division into (sub)skills, and on the other hand on the 'methodical' division by Neuner *et al.* (1981) and Kwakernaak (1989). Our objective is in the first place to describe what kind of learning activities are offered for practice, in other words to investigate which (sub)skills occur in the selected coursebooks. For this purpose we distinguish between receptive and productive exercises, between oral and written exercises and between exercises at the levels of sounds, words, sentences and texts. The latter division reflects the hierarchical structure of skills from the phonological level, through the lexical and syntactic levels up to the semantic level. (cf. Van Els *et al.* 1977:90; Koster & Matter 1983:130). Secondly, it is our purpose to find out how these learning activities are filled in, in other words, to see if different learning phases are used (presentation, repetition, exploitation). These phases will be identified with the help of A, B, C and D exercises, i.e. receptive, purely reproductive, partially reproductive and purely productive exercises on the basis of Neuner's typology. In this typology, A exercises are receptive exercises for reading and listening comprehension and are only used in the presentation phase. At this stage, the emphasis is on recognising and understanding the material that is offered. B, C and D exercises are productive exercises. Of these, B and C exercises belong in the repetition phase and D exercises in the transfer or exploitation phase.

B exercises are purely productive and are strongly guided. At this stage, the learner is forced to reproduce language tools (sounds, words,

structures, functions) in the same context as the one in which they are offered. Typical examples are reciting or copying texts, spelling exercises, declination and conjugation activities and the reproduction of meaning-directed exercises, such as selecting given words or sentences and using them for blank-filling on the basis of their meaning in the context.

C exercises are productive exercises that are less guided. At this stage, the learner is expected to (re)produce language tools in a different context than that in which they were offered. Typical activities are finishing sentences or texts, answering questions about a text and telling or writing what is shown in pictures. Although C exercises are still focused on form, they may be called more ‘communicative’, as situational meaning plays a bigger role.

D exercises are always focused on meaning and may therefore be called ‘communicative’. They are hardly guided or not guided at all. At this stage, learners are expected to produce language tools in a context to be made by themselves. Typical examples are role plays, interviews, writing letters or essays.

There is another possibility to determine the orientation of coursebooks, that is, by distinguishing activities with and without a situational context. For this reason we have divided the reproductive B exercises in our typology into exercises focusing either on form or on meaning. In C exercises the distinction between focus on form or meaning is often much more difficult to make, as the situational context tends to play a more prominent role. In the case of D exercises the emphasis is always on meaning, e.g. “hold an interview with your English-speaking neighbour”, “organise a debate with your classmates on ...”, “write a letter to...” and so on.

In form-directed exercises, meaning plays hardly any role. These are, for instance, exercises aimed at reproducing sounds, spelling-exercises, ‘substitution tables’ (in which the learner fills in blanks without paying much attention to the meaning of the newly-formed sentences) and exercises where the focus is on the structure of texts. Also the translating of unconnected sentences may be regarded as form-directed activities, as a situational context is missing. Some exercises, on the other hand, are more meaning-directed. Here not only language forms are practised, but they also have to be used in a meaningful, situational context. This is the case with (re)productive activities in which the learner has to select the correct

forms and use them in the proper context. Examples are such activities as: “Select appropriate words from those given and fill them in the blanks in the text”, “how do you express that...?” or “finish the story”.

Kwakernaak (1989:58-59), too, distinguishes between form-directed and meaning-directed exercises. He rightly points out that a learner may well use the correct form, but with a wrong meaning. In such a situation a different usage is required than is applied by the learner. Candlin (1981:82) also illustrates the importance of meaning-directed exercises by giving an example of a question with a form-correct but meaningless answer: “Are these old clothes?”... “No, they are big ones”. Other examples of wrong usage would be the use of ‘can’ in a request (‘can you tell me...?’), where ‘could’ would be more appropriate, the use of ‘couple’, where ‘pair’ is meant (‘could you arrange yourselves in couples?’) and ‘excuse me’, where ‘I am sorry’ is the meaning (e.g. when bumping into a person). In conclusion, it may be claimed that the number of form-focused and meaning-focused exercises in coursebooks tell us about the degree to which activities take place in a situational context.

On the basis of the type of exercises (A/D) as well as the distinction between focus on form or meaning, we will be able to make statements on the degree of form-orientation or ‘communicative’ orientation of the researched coursebooks. If there are many B and C exercises, few A and C/D exercises, the coursebook will be form-directed. If, on the other hand, there are many A and C/D exercises, we can conclude that the coursebook has a ‘communicative’ orientation. Similarly, many B exercises with a focus on form point to orientation on form, whereas many B exercises with a focus on meaning point to orientation on ‘communication’. For this reason a typology has been designed with fifteen different types of exercises. Table 6.1 represents this typology. Each exercise has its own number. We distinguish between:

- a. receptive and productive exercises
- b. exercises according to skill: listening, reading, speaking, writing
- c. exercises according to skill level: sounds, words, sentences, texts
- d. A, B, C and D exercises on the basis of Neuner *et al.* (1981)
- e. form-focused and meaning-focused B exercises
- f. other exercises or combinations of exercises.

After the typology had been made, a matrix was designed to classify all the learning activities under one or more of the exercise types. The matrix below (Figure 6.1) is a specimen of the matrix or matrices as they occur at the end of each coursebook description. These matrices provide overviews in absolute numbers of the receptive activities and exercise types (Figure 6.2) and/or productive activities and exercise types (Figure 6.3) that occur in the researched coursebooks.

FIGURE 6.1 TYPOLOGY OF EXERCISES

Skill levels	A/D types	Exercise types and examples of activities	Number in typology
Receptive skill: listening			1/7
Sound level	A	Phonological exercises aimed at recognizing sounds, e.g. auditory discrimination exercises (focus on form).	1
Word level	A	Lexical exercises aimed at recognizing and understanding spoken words and phrases.	2
Sentence level	A	Morpho-syntactic exercises aimed at recognizing and understanding grammatical forms and structures in spoken sentences.	3
Text level	A	Text exercises aimed at recognizing the structure and understanding the meaning of spoken texts, e.g. by answering questions on or by summary of listening texts.	4
Receptive skill: reading			
Word level	A	Lexical exercises aimed at recognizing the form and understanding the meaning of written words and phrases.	5
Sentence level	A	Morpho-syntactic exercises aimed at recognizing the form and understanding the meaning of grammatical structures in written sentences.	6
Text level	A	Text exercises aimed at recognizing the form and understanding the meaning of written texts, e.g. by answering questions on or by translation.	7

Productive skill: speaking			
Sound level	B	Phonological exercises aimed at the reproduction of correct sounds, e.g. by imitating, reading aloud, intonation exercises (focus on form).	8
Word level	B	Lexical exercises aimed at the reproduction of words, e.g. 'memorize and reproduce', declension exercises, word translation (focus on form).	9a
	B	Lexical exercises aimed at the reproduction and correct usage of words, e.g. 'select appropriate words and fill them in the blanks' (focus on meaning).	9b
	C	Lexical exercises aimed at the (guided) production of words, e.g. 'fill in appropriate words'.	9c
Sentence level	B	Morpho-syntactic exercises aimed at the reproduction/reconstruction of sentences, e.g. pattern drills, substitution tables, oral translation of Dutch sentences (focus on form).	10a
	B	Morpho-syntactic exercises aimed at the reproduction and correct usage of sentences, e.g. 'select appropriate sentences from those given and fill them in the blanks' (focus on meaning).	10b
	C	Morpho-syntactic exercises aimed at the (guided) production of sentences, e.g.: 'how do you express...?'	10c
Text level	B	Text exercises aimed at the reproduction of spoken texts, e.g. 'memorize and reproduce the text', 'translate the text' (focus on form).	11a
	B	Text exercises aimed at the reproduction of spoken texts, e.g. 'retell the text' (focus on meaning).	11b
	C	Text exercises aimed at the (re)construction of spoken texts, e.g. 'finish the story'.	11c
	D	Text exercises aimed at the (free) production of spoken texts, e.g. role play, interview, debate, discussion, conversation (focus on meaning).	11d

Productive skill: writing Word level	B	Lexical exercises aimed at the reproduction of written words, e.g. declension exercises (focus on form).	12a
	B	Lexical exercises aimed at the reproduction and correct usage of written words, e.g. 'select an appropriate word and fill in' (focus on meaning).	12b
	C	Lexical exercises aimed at the (guided) production of words, e.g. 'fill in appropriate words'.	12c
Sentence level Text level	B	Morpho-syntactic exercises aimed at the reproduction/reconstruction of written sentences, e.g. pattern drills, substitution tables, translation of Dutch sentences into English (focus on form).	13a
	B	Morpho-syntactic exercises aimed at the reproduction/reconstruction and correct usage of written sentences, e.g. 'select an appropriate sentence and fill in' (focus on meaning).	13b
	C	Morpho-syntactic exercises aimed at the (guided) production of written sentences, e.g. 'how do you express that....'	13c
	B	Text exercises aimed at the reproduction/reconstruction of written texts, e.g. 'copy the text', 'put in a different tense', 'translate the text' (focus on form).	14a
	B	Text exercises aimed at the (guided) production of written texts, e.g. 'summarize the story' (focus on meaning).	14b
	C	Text exercises aimed at the (re)construction of written texts, e.g. 'finish the story'.	14c
	D	Text exercises aimed at the (free) production of written texts, e.g. 'write a story or a letter' (focus on meaning).	14d
Rest category		Combinations of exercises; other exercises.	15

FIGURE 6.2 OVERVIEW, IN ABSOLUTE NUMBERS, OF RECEPTIVE LEARNING ACTIVITIES AND TYPES OF EXERCISES

Language skills exercises								
	receptive				reading			
	listening				word		text	
	sound		word	sentence	text		sentence	text
Types of exercises	A		A	A	A	A	A	A
Numbers in typology (1/7)	1		2	3	4	5	6	7
Learning activities ⁵¹⁴								
<i>Read and translate sentences from English into Dutch</i>								

⁵¹⁴ The learning activities listed here are merely examples.

FIGURE 6.3 OVERVIEW, IN ABSOLUTE NUMBERS, OF PRODUCTIVE LEARNING ACTIVITIES AND TYPES OF EXERCISES

Language skills exercises																								
Productive speaking																								
	writing																							
	sound	B	B	C	C	B	word	word	sentence	sentence	text	text	word	B	C	B	word	word	sentence	sentence	text	text	others	
Types of exercises		form	meaning	form/meaning	10a	10b	10c	11a	11b	11c	11d	12a	12b	12c	13a	13b	13c	14a	14b	14c	14d	15		
Focus on form or meaning																								
Numbers in typology (8/15)	8	9a	9b	9c																				
Learning activities ⁵¹⁵																								
Rewrite the story																								
Write your own story																								
Rephrase the sentences																								
Listen and guess the proverb																								
Translate sentences into English																								
Retell the story																								

⁵¹⁵ The learning activities listed here are merely examples.

6.2 Coursebook description

6.2.1 *Engelsche Spraakkunst* (1805)

By G.W. Lehman (dates of life unknown)

Author's background

Little is known about the life of G.W. Lehman. He presented himself as “onderwijzer in de Engelsche taal” [a teacher of the English language], witness the title page of his *Engelsche Spraakkunst* (1805II) and *Engelsche Chrestomathie* (1818II). We also know that by 1812 he was working as a “taalmeeester” [language master] in Zutphen (VLO 1813:141) and must have moved shortly afterwards, for one year later a review in VLO (1813:281) of his *Recueil Choisi* (1812) made mention of him as a language master in Gouda. In the preface to his *Engelsche Spraakkunst* (1805II:viii) the author himself mentioned in passing that he was English, which is somehow doubtful, when considering the source of his *Engelsche Spraakkunst* (see 6.1.4). Besides, his name is not included in Alston's list of English teaching materials for speakers of French, German, Dutch etc. (1967), nor in Görlach's list of 19th century grammars of English (1998). However this may be, he probably had so little knowledge of Dutch that his English grammar – originally written in French – had to be converted into a Dutch-English grammar by someone else. However, the reviewer of Lehman's *Handbuch der deutschen Sprache*⁵¹⁶, an anthology of German writers and poets, believed that Lehman was Dutch: “Dit boek, schoon Duitsch, is voor Hollanders, zoo het schijnt, door een' Hollander geschreven en onder ons in het licht gegeven”. [This book, although written in German, seems to have been written by a Dutchman and published here.] Lehman dedicated his *Engelsche Spraakkunst* to a certain “Mr A.S. Zelle”⁵¹⁷. He published his works in French, English and German and may therefore justly be called a foreign language teacher. His publications are the following⁵¹⁸:

⁵¹⁶ First published in Zutphen by H.C.A. Thieme in 1814.

⁵¹⁷ It is unknown who this person was. The title “Mr” is ambiguous; it may be the English form of address for a male person or the Dutch academic title for a lawyer.

⁵¹⁸ For references also see Breet & Ceton (1982), Knops (1982) and Saalmink (1993).

- *Engelsche Spraakkonst* (1805II, 1817²)
- *Engelsche Chrestomathie of Verzameling van Stukken getrokken uit de beste Engelsche Schrijvers* (1808II, 1818, 1833, 1841)
- *Receuil choisi de Traits Historiques, de Contes Moraux et d'Extraits de Voyages* (1812)
- *Handboek ter Beoefening der Fransche Taal of Verzameling van Belangrijke Uittreksels uit de beste Fransche Prosa-schrijvers* (1812, [1820²])
- *Handbuch der deutschen Sprache enthaltend: Auszüge aus den besten klassischen Schriftstellern und Dichtern der Deutschen* (1814, 1821², 1826³, 1831⁴, 1832⁵, 1843⁸, 1845).

The conclusion is that, apart from the *Engelsche Spraakkonst*, Lehman's sole publications were anthologies of French, German and English literary works, of which the German anthology was the most popular. The editors of Lehman's German anthology were all well-known writers of (German) textbooks: G.F.B.W. Frederiks (Frerichs), Hendrik Anthonie Hamelberg, Seligman Susan. The second edition of this anthology was edited in 1821 by somebody else, from which it may be concluded that Lehman was no longer alive.

Target group

In many respects, the *Engelsche Spraakkonst* is an old-fashioned 18th century coursebook, as it offers a little bit of everything. This suggests that the book could be used for several purposes by divers groups of learners. In his *Voorrede* [preface] Lehman gives an explanation of what he regards as the most suitable teaching method for beginners, which leads us to believe that he intended his textbook for young learners and for school education, too. This impression is reinforced, when on page viii of his preface he uses the word “leerling” [pupil] and writes at the end that his nearly finished chrestomathy – a reader to be simultaneously used with the *Engelsche Spraakkonst* – will be compiled “met in acht neeming van den overgang van het gemakkelijke tot het moeielijke” [taking the transition from an easy to a more difficult level into consideration]. However obligatory this statement may sound, it implies that Lehman was aware of the importance that around 1800 was attached to the principle of well-structured course materials. That Lehman did not exclusively aim at male

learners, appears from his statement that the book was also intended for the female sex. The background of this remark becomes clear when we learn about Lehman's ideas (and those of his contemporaries) about the way in which women learn: "Rules that are too long are boring, and, since I have also written this book for the female sex, which in this country, as I have noticed, are enamoured by the English language, I have left nothing untried to avoid dull boredom, which would soon make her lose her interest and might very well cause a feeling of revulsion against the whole work".

Explicit views on language teaching and learning

The *Engelsche Spraakkunst* has an extensive preface of 13 pages, in which the author presents his ideas. In the first place, he states that experience has taught him that beginners profit more from translating L1-L2 than from reading L2: "Eene langduurige ondervinding heeft mij bewezen, dat de eerstbeginnenden, om eene taal magtig te worden, zich meer moeten bezig houden met vertaalingen uit hunne moedertaal in die, welke zij willen leeren, dan met het leezen van boeken, die in een vreemde taal geschreven zijn. Zonder deeze vertaalingen zal het hun nooit gelukken zich de woordschikkingen en verdere bijzonderheden daarvan eigen te maaken". [A long experience has proved to me that, in order to master a language, beginners should occupy themselves more with translations from their mother tongue into the one they wish to learn, than with reading books that have been written in a foreign language. Without those translations they will never succeed in mastering the order of words and further particulars of the foreign language.] Here Lehman makes no clear distinction between the use of a productive skill, such as writing, and a receptive skill, such as reading. Furthermore, he regarded translating L1-L2 as speaking practice: "De geenen, die het Engelsch als eene levendige taal leeren, wenschen het te kunnen spreken, en om hun daarin bevorderlijk te zijn is er niets beters dan in die taal over te zetten en zich daadelijk in het spreken derzelve te oeffenen. Op deeze wijze krijgt men eene kennis van 't verschil dat er is tusschen de eigenschappen der Engelsche Taal en die zijner Moeder Taal, en tong en oor gewinnen zich allengs aan de uitspraak". [Those who are learning English as a living language, wish to be able to converse in it and will benefit most from translating into that language and from active speaking practice. Thus, one

acquires insight into the difference between the properties of the English language and the mother tongue, and both tongue and ear will gradually become used to the pronunciation.]

As far as the teaching of rules is concerned, it is not surprising that Lehman preferred a deductive approach, in which the learner had to prove that he understood the rule by translating correctly: “Het verklaren der regels door voorbeelden is van eene onbetwistbaare nuttigheid. In de meeste Engelsche en Nederduitsche Spraakkonsten, die ik gezien heb, worden voorbeelden opgegeven, die reeds eigenaardig Engelsch zijn, maar ik oordeel met verscheiden nieuwe Schrijvers van Spraakkonsten, dat de leerling, bij het vertaalen der opstellen, die voorbeelden zelf vormen en kiezen moet”. [The usefulness of explaining rules through examples cannot be disputed. In most English and Dutch grammars that came to my notice, examples are given that are correct English, but together with various new authors of grammar books I am of the opinion that learners should form and choose examples of their own, while translating exercises.] On the other hand, Lehman also attached great value to reading (and translating) English texts. Therefore, he announced a sequel to the *Engelsche Spraakkunst* in the form of an *Engelsche Chrestomathie*, i.e. anthology of texts, with the additional purpose of practising the pronunciation of English. This anthology, however, was not published until three years later, in 1808.

Origin and sources

The author is rather reticent about the origin and sources of his textbook, which was not uncommon in those days, in view of the fact that teaching materials were often borrowed. In his preface he observes that there were still precious few English textbooks that applied a L1-L2 translation method, thereby implying that this method induced him to write his coursebook. He also mentions that he originally wrote his work in French, but it appears that it was never published, since neither the early Dutch bibliographies (Cleef 1835, Saalmink 1993), nor Alston (1967) and Görlach (1998) record such a French-English publication. Subsequently, the French part of the grammar was translated into Dutch, so that in 1805 the Dutch-English grammar could be published. The translator was the journalist and French teacher Pierre Agron⁵¹⁹ (1767-?). The *Engelse Spraakkunst* has a crucial statement on the title page which reads

“gevolgd naar de leerwijze van Meidinger” [after Meidinger’s teaching method]. As a matter of fact, Lehman’s grammar was the first ‘English Meidinger’ to appear in Holland. However, it was not the first time that Meidinger’s name appeared on the title-page of a Dutch foreign language textbook. This had happened in 1802, when a Dutch-French grammar named *Fransche Spraakkunst* was published anonymously by Johannes Allart of Amsterdam. In retrospect, it does not seem too far-fetched to assume that the author of this anonymous *Fransche Spraakkunst* may have been the same Pierre Agron who had translated Lehman’s textbook, especially because both the French and the English grammar had Meidinger’s name on their title pages and because both grammars were published by the same Johannes Allart of Amsterdam.

We have sufficient evidence to prove that the actual source of Lehman’s *Engelsche Spraakkunst* (1805II), was a German-English grammar of entitled *Practische Englische Sprachlehre für Deutsche beyderley Geschlechts. Nach der in Meidingers französischen Grammatik befolgten Methode* (Erlangen 1793)⁵²⁰. The textbook was written by Johann Christian Fick, a lecturer in English at Erlangen university (Schröder 1985:323-324). Apparently Fick modelled his textbook on Meidinger’s teaching method, which introduced the systematic practice of translating L1-L2⁵²¹. The novelty of Meidinger’s method lay in the fact that the sentences for translation bore a direct relationship to a particular grammatical difficulty in the morphology or syntax. That is why the translation exercises immediately followed the grammatical item concerned. According to Macht (1986:25) Fick (1793) was the first English grammar for speakers of German to be based on Meidinger’s method.

There are numerous indications that Lehman translated Fick’s textbook to a large degree and that he simply copied a great number of English texts. The first indication for this borrowing concerns the title of

⁵¹⁹ Pierre Agron (1767-?) is mainly known as co-author of a French dictionary, the *Nouveau Dictionnaire Portatif* (1810), which he wrote together with G.N. Landré.

⁵²⁰ Fick’s grammar was a great success in terms of reprints and/or editions (see Alston 1965:94).

⁵²¹ Meidinger applied his grammar-translation method in his *Practische Französische Grammatik* 1783. Klippel (1994:142) has rightly pointed out that the word “Practisch” in the title does not mean something like ‘useful’, but refers to the actual practice of translating.

Fick's *Praktische Englische Sprachlehre für Deutsche beyderley Geschlechts* (1793), which declares the book fit for both sexes. In his preface Lehman followed this example by his express statement that his grammar was also intended for female learners (6.1.2). Also, the names of Sheridan and Walker on Fick's title page return on Lehman's title page (Macht 1986:26). Furthermore, the set-up and division of the two textbooks agree in great detail⁵²². In both books we find phonology, morphology and syntax sections followed by texts to be translated into and from English respectively. These sections have largely been translated literally from Fick's textbook. In both books the English texts for translation consisted of dialogues, maxims, "narratives and witticisms", letters and poems. Both books conclude with a section on titles and forms of address. The choice of texts is virtually identical too. Thus, we see the same letters derived from Lawrence Sterne (*Yorick to Eliza* and *Eliza to Yorick*) and, under the heading *Eenige Engelsche dichtstukken* [Some English poems], poems by the same authors. In short, Lehman must have had Fick's *Praktische Englische Sprachlehre* on his writing desk.

Yet, there are differences too. Lehman (1805II) contains a vocabulary (*Engelsch en Nederduitsch woordenboekje*), arranged thematically, which does not occur in Fick 1793, but which does occur in the 1802 *Fransche Spraakkunst*. But the main difference is the fact that the Dutch-English translation exercises consist of unconnected sentences, whereas the sentences in Fick's German-English textbook somehow show some more coherence (Macht 1986:37). This was also the case with Meidinger's German-French grammar (1783) on which Fick relied (W. Kuiper 1961:108). Therefore, it seems likely that Lehman had another source on which his teaching method was based. It must have been the anonymous *Fransche Spraakkunst* (1802), as both books were modelled on Meidinger, since Pierre Agron (the likely author of the *Fransche Spraakkunst*) translated Lehman's grammar and since both books were published by the same firm.

As Pierre was Antoine Nicolas Agron's brother⁵²³, it is reasonable to assume that the *Fransche Spraakkunst* (1802) was in its turn influenced by A.N. Agron's successful French textbook *Verzameling van Opstellen*

⁵²² Macht (1986:25-38) discusses Fick's textbook on a number of points.

⁵²³ See *NNBW* II, 14.

(1794). The *Verzameling van Opstellen* (1794) was the first foreign language textbook in the Netherlands to be clearly based on the grammar-translation method and it is hard to imagine that it failed to use Meidinger's immensely successful German-French grammar *Practische Französische Grammatik* (1783) as its teaching model (see 4.2.2). In short, we can conclude that Lehman used two sources for his *Engelsche Spraakkunst*: on the one hand Fick's *Praktische Englische Sprachlehre* and on the other the *Fransche Spraakkunst* (1802) and most probably, through this textbook, A.N. Agron's *Verzameling van Opstellen* (1794). Thus, everything falls into place: Fick (1793) relied on Meidinger (1783); Lehman (1805II) relied on Meidinger through Fick (1793) and the *Fransche Spraakkunst* (1802). Besides, we propose that the latter book was influenced by A.N. Agron (1794), which in its turn was modelled on Meidinger's teaching method.

Printing history

The *Engelsche Spraakkunst* was published by Johannes Allart in Amsterdam in 1805. From the “Berigt aan den lezer” [note to the reader] it appears that originally the work had been a French-English coursebook whose French text was translated into Dutch. In his preface Lehman refers to the translator as “een mijner vrienden, te Amsterdam woonachtig” [one of my friends, living in Amsterdam]. From the note it also appears that this translator was Pierre Agron, an Amsterdam textbook writer and journalist. The first edition of the book consisted of XX + 588 pages. It was published in large octavo format and offered at a price of three Dutch florins (Saakes 4 [August 1805]:159). The book was only reprinted once, without any changes worthy of mention, by Erven Johannes Allart of The Hague in 1817. One of the changes was a spelling adaptation in accordance with Siegenbeek (1804). The contents remained virtually unchanged, however. The second edition had XVI + 588 pages.

Table of contents (1805)

[1p]	Title page
[1p]	<i>To Mr A.S. Zelle</i> [Dedication]
VII-XIII	<i>Voorreden</i> [Preface]
XIV	<i>Berigt aan den lezer</i> [Notice to the reader]
XV-XX	<i>Inhoud</i> [Table of contents]

1-65	<i>Eerste Afdeeling</i> [First Part]
67-154	<i>Tweede Afdeeling. Over de woordgronding of vorming der woorden</i> [Second Part. On etymology or word formation]
155-366	<i>Derde Afdeeling. Over de Syntaxis</i> [Third Part. On Syntax]
367-588	<i>Engelsch en Nederduitsch Woordenboekje</i> [English and Dutch Vocabulary]

Outline of course content

a. texts

The *Engelsche Spraakkonst* contains a substantial number of English texts. Among them are 39 *maxims* [sayings], 18 *vertellingen en geestige invallen* [tales and witty anecdotes] and 12 *Engelsche dichtstukken* [English poems]. The poems are by Pope, Prior, Dryden, Dyer, Garth and Shakespeare. The tales and anecdotes remind us of Meidinger's anecdotes (1783)⁵²⁴ as well as of the fables that were included in Fick's book (1793) for translation into the foreign language. Not only were the texts intended to be read, but they had to be translated as well, as the book states explicitly. Consequently, the texts can be categorised as translation exercises.

b. spelling and pronunciation

On the title page it is stated that the theory of pronunciation is based on the "Beginzelen der waare uitspraak van Scheridan [sic!] en Walker" [Principles of true pronunciation by Scheridan [sic!] and Walker]. Lehman and his source J.C. Fick here presumably refer to the *Course of Lectures on Elocution* (1762) and the *General Dictionary of the English Language* (1780), which gave Thomas Sheridan his fame⁵²⁵ and the *Critical Pronouncing Dictionary and Expositor of the English language* (1791) by John Walker (1732-1807). In the preface Lehman further states that he has based himself on "Mr. Johnson" ⁵²⁶ as well, but adds that his contacts with his fellow countrymen⁵²⁷, the English, have been his main guideline

⁵²⁴ See W. Kuiper (1961:84-85) for a discussion of these anecdotes.

⁵²⁵ According to Collins (1988:24) the latter book was the first authoritative dictionary whose "essential aim was the indication of English pronunciation".

⁵²⁶ Lehman here refers to dr. Samuel Johnson's *Dictionary of the English Language*, of which the first edition appeared in 1755.

⁵²⁷ This explicit statement raises doubts about Lehman's nationality.

in determining the correct pronunciation: “As far as my subject allowed me, I have followed the pronunciation accepted by Mr. Sheridan and improved by Mr. Johnson; however, my contacts with the English (my compatriots) and my experience obtained herein have been my chief guides”. Next, Lehman gives vent to his disappointment that there is no such thing as a standard pronunciation of English:

De uitspraak eener menigte van woorden [is] thans in Engeland zoo onzeker, dat er nog verscheidene jaaren kunnen verloopen, eer de nieuwe leerwijze door de beschaafde klasse der Natie zal aangenomen zijn, te meer dewijl zelfs geleerden, die zich voornaamelijk op taalkunde toeleggen, onder anderen Sheridan en Walker, tot heden toe over de uitspraak blijven twisten.

[At present, the pronunciation of a host of words is so uncertain in England that several years may have passed before the new method will have been accepted by the civilised class of the Nation, the more so, as even such language scholars as Sheridan and Walker have been quarrelling about pronunciation to this very day.]

The “Eerste afdeeling” [First Section] provides a great number of pronunciation rules. Traditionally, the pronunciation is based on (combinations of) letters of the alphabet, instead of on phonemes. First the “vowel letters” are dealt with, including diphthongs, next the consonants. Finally, the word stress of multi-syllable words is discussed. All these rules are followed by sentences and texts, which are intended to be read aloud in order to practise the pronunciation of individual words and their stress. For this purpose, an apostrophe, serving as a stress mark, is put behind the stressed syllable (e.g. *an ab'stract, to abstract'*). Besides, some words show a grave accent (wè) or an acute accent (tó) to denote the pronunciation /wi:/ and /tu:/. Subsequently, sentences and texts are presented by means of what Abercrombie (1956[1963:33]) would call “imitated pronunciation”⁵²⁸.

⁵²⁸ “‘Imitated pronunciation’ gives approximate equivalents of the sounds of the language being learnt in the spelling conventions of the learner’s mother tongue”.

c. grammar

Traditionally, the 18th century grammar book consisted of four parts: orthography, etymology, syntax and prosody. Very often the prosody part was missing, however. Lowth's influential grammar of English, published in England (1762), only had the first three parts⁵²⁹. Most eighteenth century grammars of Dutch left out the prosody part, too (Noordgraaf 1996:111). In the nineteenth century, hardly any English grammar, written in the Netherlands, offered prosody. The grammatical part of the *Engelsche Spraakkunst* consisted of two parts: morphology and syntax. The morphology ("woordgronding of vorming der woorden") is based on the pattern of the 'classical' parts of speech grammar and consequently starts with the article. Next, nouns, adjectives, pronouns, verbs, adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions, interjections and numerals are discussed.

All in all, Lehman deals with ten word classes, whereby the participle, which often featured as a word class in eighteenth century grammars, is absent and whereby the numeral, which usually was not mentioned in eighteenth century grammars, is dealt with as a separate part of speech. As a matter of fact, the classification used by Lehman, corresponds with Weiland's *Nederduitsche Spraakkunst*, which was published in the same year 1805. However, for this reason it is highly improbable that Lehman used this work as his source⁵³⁰. The curious thing is that further on in his morphology (1805:147) Lehman suddenly speaks of "de negen soorten van woorden, waaruit de Engelsche taal is saamgesteld" [the nine word classes which together make up the English language]. Now the numeral has disappeared suddenly. As a justification Lehman refers to the classification in Lowth's grammar (1762), which indeed uses the very same nine word classes. Lehman also quotes an example from Lowth's grammar verbatim, in which the words are numbered according to their classification. Then follows an English text with the Dutch translation in between the English lines, so that the learner can practise recognising and comparing the different parts of speech. The rules of each word class are followed by a set of 32 exercises ("opstellen") containing Dutch sentences for translation into English.

⁵²⁹ See Robert Lowth *A short introduction to English grammar* (1762). *A facsimile reproduction with an introduction by Charlotte Downey*. New York (1979).

⁵³⁰ See the discussion in Noordgraaf (1985:210-211) on Weiland's Dutch grammar.

In the third section, *Over de Syntaxis* [On Syntax], all the word classes are listed again; this time, however, with a view to their usage in sentences. This was a standard procedure in those days, which was also used by Weiland (Noordegraaf 1996:113). Also in the syntax section, the rules are followed by Dutch-English translation exercises, 34 to be precise.

d. vocabulary and idioms

The vocabulary is presented by means of a bilingual word-list (English-Dutch) beneath each translation exercise. The syntax contains a list of verbs with their prepositions or adverbs (phrasal verbs) (pp 219-285), which, according to Lehman, had never before been dealt with so extensively in an English grammar in the Netherlands. In its turn, the list is followed by an alphabetical list of adverbs, prepositions and conjunctions, the so-called *onveranderlijke woordjens* (*particles*), together with examples illustrating their usage in sentences. Finally, we find an *Engelsch en Nederduitsch woordenboekje* [English-Dutch dictionary] with various themes ranging from *De Waereld in 't algemeen* [the world in general] to *Van de Zeevaart* [about seafaring]. These themes show considerable similarity with the 'specific notions' found in Van Ek (1976).

e. phrases and dialogues

The *Engelsche Spraakkunst* contains relatively few dialogues; just eight can be found at the back of the *Woordenboekje* (pp. 541-547). They belong very much to the communicative tradition of 18th century FLT and offer the usual subjects, such as *Morning salutations* and *Of Learning English*. As far as dialogues are concerned, Lehman is rather ambiguous. On the one hand, he does not believe in memorising and expects the dialogues to be translated; on the other hand, he announces that a greater number of dialogues may be included in the second edition (1805:x-xi). This did not happen, however.

f. exercises

The exercises in the *Engelsche Spraakkunst* consist of three different types: reading exercises to practise pronunciation (10 sentences and texts), English-Dutch translation exercises and Dutch-English translation exercises. The reading exercises cover three pages. The English-Dutch translation exercises comprise 8 *Samenspraaken* [dialogues], 39 *maximes* [maxims], 18

vertellingen en geestige invallen [tales and witty anecdotes], 4 letters and 12 *Engelsche dichtstukken* [English poems]. In actual fact, reading the English texts meant translating them. In other words, practising reading was identical with translating. The Dutch-English translation exercises comprise 20 *Fabelen en Verbaalen* [fables and tales] plus 66 “opstellen” [translation exercises] to go with the grammatical rules. Figures 6.4 and 6.5 give an overview of the learning activities and types of exercises in Lehman’s *Engelsche Spraakkunst*.

g. other items

Additional course material is the category *Over de Tijtels* [On Titles], which lists the ways in which people of a particular social rank or capacity should be addressed in speaking or writing.

Organisation of learning content

In his preface (1805:xiii) Lehman speaks of the “de overgang van het gemakkelijke tot het moeielijke” [the transition from elementary to advanced level] in connection with the *Chrestomathie* which he intended to publish. In other words, he was well aware of the importance attached to didactic structure in his time. However, any didactic structure is lacking in the *Engelsche Spraakkunst*. Although, according to the preface, the coursebook specifically aimed at beginners too, the book begins with an extensive treatment of the pronunciation of English, followed by morphology and syntax. Thus, in fact the system of the traditional grammar is adhered to, without taking into account the intellectual capacity and interest of young learners.

Presentation of learning content

The statement on the title page “gevolgd naar de leerwijze van Meidinger” [after Meidinger’s method] was probably sufficiently clear for contemporaries. Yet, in the *Voorreden* Lehman gives some indications for the presentation of the course content. In this sense, the preface can be looked upon as a teacher’s manual. The most important suggestion concerns translating from Dutch into English. Reading the foreign language is considered of less importance, at least for beginners, than translating into the foreign language. Lehman continues by saying that proverbs have been left out, as well as nearly all dialogues – elements which up to then were usually

included in foreign language coursebooks. On dialogues he remarks: “Zal de leerling alle die samenspraaken van buiten moeten leeren? Dit middel om hem te oeffenen komt mij geheel verkeerd voor, en ik verheug mij, dat men grootendeels te rug gekomen is van die barbaarsche leerwijze, welke nergens anders toe dienen kan, dan om het geheugen te vermoeijen en den eerstbeginnenden een’ tegenzin in de taalen te doen krijgen”. [Will a pupil have to memorise all those dialogues? I consider this practice completely wrong and I am pleased that people have turned their backs on this barbaric method, which cannot but exhaust the mind and fill beginners with disgust with the study of languages.] Here we recognise criticism of the contemporary practice of improvising and memorising a foreign language as well as a plea for a better-structured form of FLT on the basis of rules and translations.

Historical reception and evaluation

As far as we know there is no review of the *Engelsche Spraakkunst*. The book was reprinted and published again in The Hague in 1817. No references to it are known. However, we do have reviews of his *Handboek ter beoefening der Fransche Taal* 1812 (VLO 1813:141), of his *Recueil choisi* 1812 (VLO 1813:281) and of the *Handbuch der deutschen Sprache* (VLO 1815:728).

FIGURE 6.4 OVERVIEW, IN ABSOLUTE NUMBERS, OF RECEPTIVE LEARNING ACTIVITIES AND TYPES OF EXERCISES IN LEHMAN’S *ENGELSCH E SPRAAKKONST* (1805)

	language skills exercises							
	receptive							
	listening		reading					
	sound	word	sentence	text	word	sentence	text	
Types of exercises	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	
Numbers in typology (1/7)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Learning activities								
Read and translate English texts into Dutch							81	

FIGURE 6.5 OVERVIEW, IN ABSOLUTE NUMBERS, OF PRODUCTIVE LEARNING ACTIVITIES AND TYPES OF EXERCISES IN LEHMAN’S *ENGELSCHES SPRAAKKONST* (1805)

language skills exercises		productive									
	Types of exercises	speaking									
		writing					speaking				
		others				15					
		text	D	meaning		14d					
		text	C	meaning		14c					
		text	B	meaning		14b					
				form		14a				20	
		sentence	C	form/ meaning		13c					
		sentence	B	meaning		13b					
				form		13a		66			
		word	C	form/ meaning		12c					
		word	B	meaning		12b					
				form		12a					
		text	D	meaning		11d					
		text	C	meaning		11c					
		text	B	meaning		11b					
				form		11a					
		sentence	C	form/ meaning		10c					
		sentence	B	meaning		10b					
				form		10a					
		word	C	form/ meaning		9c					
		word	B	meaning		9b					
				form		9a					
		sound	B	form		8		10			
	Types of exercises										
	Focus on form or meaning										
	Numbers in typology (8/15)										
	Learning activities										
	Reproduce these sentences and texts by reading them aloud										
	Translate sentences into English										
	Translate texts into English										

6.2.2 Handleiding voor eerstbeginnenden (1807)

by A. Kappelhoff⁵³¹ (dates of life unknown)

Author's background

About Kappelhoff's life little is known. We know that at the beginning of the 19th century he was active in Amsterdam as "Fransch en Hollandsch schoolhouder [owner of a French and Dutch school]"⁵³². *NNBW* provides no information and the only references we have are found in some book reviews. However, the titles of his textbooks provide us indirectly with some insight into his activities and interests. Kappelhoff wrote twelve textbooks in English and five in French. Therefore, he can justly be called a foreign language teacher or, more specifically, a teacher of English. In addition, he wrote two school textbooks on arithmetic. All these books were published within a period of ten years, between 1807 and 1817, which meant a considerable production in a brief time span. The ELT textbooks comprise the following seven works:

- A spelling-book: *Spelling and Reading-book, for Young Beginners* (1807II)
- A practice book for speaking and translation: *Easy Phrases very necessary to be translated by Beginners* (1807II)⁵³³
- A coursebook with translation exercises: *Handleiding voor Eerstbeginnenden* (1807II)
- A coursebook, *Nieuwe Engelsche en Hollandsche Spraakkunst* (1812II), based on Charles Cazelles' *Nouvelle Méthode Familiale*⁵³⁴
- A vocabulary: *Dictionary for the Easy Phrases* (1814II)

⁵³¹ Saakes' bibliographical list (vol. 4, 1804-1808) uses this spelling. Other spellings are: Kappelhof, Kappelhoff, and Kapelhof.

⁵³² See the title of his *Handleiding voor eerstbeginnende leerlingen in de Fransche taal* (1812).

⁵³³ The book seems to be a translation of Pierre Marin's *Phrases faciles très nécessaires pour faire traduire aux commençants* (1804).

⁵³⁴ The 6th edition was published in 1796 (Riemens 1919:234). Charles Cazelles was precentor of the Walloon church in Haarlem at the end of the 18th century (Padmos 1996:406).

- A vocabulary containing dialogues: *English and Dutch Vocabulary and Dialogues* (1814II)⁵³⁵
- A coursebook based on Pierre Marin: *New English Grammar or Familiar Method* (1815II).

Besides⁵³⁶, Kappelhoff published five readers, of which at least the last three aimed at learning how to read English:

- A prayer book: *Prayers for Children* [1807]
- A history book published by the “Maatschappij tot Nut van ’t Algemeen [Society for the benefit of common welfare] and translated by Kappelhoff: *Biography of Celebrated Men and Women of our Country* [1808]
- A book of fables: *Aesop’s Fables* [1815]
- An anthology of old and modern literature: *Miscellany of Ancient and Modern Literature* [1816]
- An anthology of prose and poetry: *The Bee-hive or Chrestomatic English Reader* [1817].

The prayer book was meant both for Dutch learners of English and English pupils attending Dutch schools. Hence it seems likely that Kappelhoff had English pupils at his school.

Presumably, the biography of celebrated Dutch people served both as a history book and a reader. Apart from these works in English, Kappelhoff wrote five textbooks in French⁵³⁷. One of them, *Handleiding voor Eerstbeginnende Leerlingen in de Fransche Taal*, is the French version of the English *Handleiding voor Eerstbeginnenden* (1808).

⁵³⁵ The British Museum Library Catalogue (1961) has: Kappelhoff *English and Dutch vocabulary and dialogues*, London 1813.

⁵³⁶ See Saalmink (1993)

⁵³⁷ These were: *Méthode facile pour apprendre à conjuguer les verbes de la langue française* 1811, *Nouvel abécédaire et syllabaire pour de petits enfants* [1812], *Nouveau vocabulaire de la langue française et hollandaise* [1812], *Handleiding voor eerstebeginnende leerlingen in de Fransche taal* [1812], *Nouvel alphabet pour apprendre à épeler et à lire* [1814].

Target group

Like all works by Kappelhoff, the *Handleiding voor Eerstbeginnenden* was meant for use in schools. On the title page we read that the book was written “for English and Dutch schools”. Consequently, there were two target groups: native speakers of Dutch as well as native speakers of English. Furthermore, it appears from the learning content that the work was meant for beginners.

Explicit views on language teaching and learning.

The coursebook does not have any explicit views on teaching and learning foreign languages. However, there is the implicit view that translation exercises L1-L2 are, as a matter of course, the most suitable practice for learning a foreign language, as will become clear when the exercises are discussed.

Origin and sources

The preface states that the reason for writing this book was that there was no morphology with translation exercises for beginners at the time of publication (c1807). Furthermore, Kappelhoff writes that the work actually developed from daily practice. He used to give his own written translation exercises to his students, but the trouble of copying them again and again led him to have these “opstellen” printed. About his sources he does not disclose any information, except that he consulted “de beste schrijvers [the very best authors]. In this context he says that concerning the conjugation of verbs he used a method of his own, as, in his opinion, this subject was treated differently in every grammar. He does not elaborate on his own method, but confines himself to the rather unconvincing remark that it is “echter niet zonder grond [is]; doch hetwelk te betoogen te breedvoerig zoude zijn” [was not written without good arguments, but that elaboration would be too exhaustive]. From a review in the *Vaderlandsche Letteroefeningen* (1813:86) it appears that the authenticity of his *Handleiding* was queried by contemporaries. Many were convinced that Kappelhoff had largely based his work, if not copied it, from a Dutch-French textbook entitled *De Verbuiging der Zelfstandige en Bijvoegelijke Naamwoorden, voor de Nederduitsche en Fransche Talen, met eenige Opstellen ter Vertaling, tot Toepassing van dezelve*⁵³⁸ van J. van Wijk Rz⁵³⁹. A third printing of the latter book was published by J.R. Poster in Amster-

dam in 1806, the very same publisher of the English *Handleiding*. However this may be, the model of the *Handleiding* is identical with the model used in Van Wijk's book (1806) and through this work goes back to Agron's example (1794)⁵⁴⁰. However, in the French version of his *Handleiding* Kappelhoff categorically denies having borrowed from Van Wijk or having drawn on him, thus denying any accusation of plagiarism:

Even zoo min is mijne *Handleiding voor Eerstbeginnenden in de Engelsche Taal*, waarvan heden de tweede verbeterde Druk het Licht ziet, gevolgd naar het Werkje des Heeren J. van Wijk Roelandszoon, getiteld: *Verbuiging van Zelfstandige en Toevoegelijke Voornaamwoorden*, uitgegeven bij den Heer J.R. Poster, noch heeft mij hetzelfde gediend tot eenen Grondslag, zoo als de Heer van Wijk zich schijnt te verbeelden, en stellig zegt in het Voorberigt van dat zijn Werkje. Het is den Uitgever (J.R. Poster) mijner *Handleiding voor Eerstbeginnenden in de Engelsche Taal*, en vele mijner Vrienden bekend dat dezelve reeds lang, in Geschrift, bij mij op de School in gebruik was, vóór dat het Werkje van den Heer van Wijk het Licht zag. Ik heb ook geen ander Oogmerk gehad, om dezelve te laten drukken, dan mij van den moeilijken Last des Afschrijvens te ontslaan, en dit is ook de Reden, waarom ik DIT Werkje heb doen drukken. [*My Handleiding voor Eerstbeginnenden in de Engelsche Taal, of which the second improved edition was published today, has not drawn upon the booklet by Mr. J. van Wijk Roelandszoon, entitled Verbuiging van Zelfstandige en Toevoegelijke Voornaamwoorden, published by Mr J.R. Poster, nor has it been based upon the same, as Mr Van Wijk seems to imagine and asserts in the preface to his booklet. It is well known to my publisher as well as to many of my friends that my Handleiding voor Eerstbeginnenden in de Engelsche Taal had been used in my school long before Mr Van Wijk's booklet came out. In having my work printed, I had no other object in mind than to release myself from the heavy burden of copying, which is the very same reason why I had THIS booklet printed.*]

⁵³⁸ This was a very successful publication, as it went through 13 editions until 1836. The first year of publication is unknown.

⁵³⁹ Jacobus van Wijk Roelandszoon (1781-1847).

⁵⁴⁰ Presumably Van Wijk had also based his French textbooks on the model of Agron (1794).

At the beginning of the century, plagiarism was a topic of discussion, in view of the fact that during the first two decades various measures were issued to stop the widespread custom of plagiarism, which occurred especially in coursebooks⁵⁴¹.

Printing history

The first edition appeared under the title *Handleiding voor Eerstbeginnenden, tot Verbuiging der Zelfstandige, Toevoegelijke en Voornaamwoorden, benevens de Vervoeging der Werkwoorden: met eenige Opstellen, ter Vertaling, tot Toepassing op dezelve: ten dienste der Engelsche en Nederduitsche Scholen*. The book was published by J.R. Poster, “bezijden de Beurs” [next to the Stock Exchange] in Amsterdam, and had no date. Saalmink (1993:971) gives [1808] as year of publication, although Saakes’ bibliographical list (vol. 4 [1804-1808]:308) already recorded the publication in its issue of March 1807. The textbook was published in octavo format and was offered at a price of 1.4 Dutch florins. About the second edition nothing else is known than Kappelhoff’s own statement in the preface to his *Handleiding voor Eerstbeginnende Leerlingen in de Fransche Taal*, which indicates 1812 as year of publication. In 1833 a third edition (“nieuwe uitgave”) appeared with J.H. van Heteren in Amsterdam, having an almost identical title as the first edition: *Handleiding voor Eerstbeginnenden, tot de Verbuiging der Zelfstandige, Toevoegelijke en Voornaamwoorden, benevens de Vervoeging der Werkwoorden; met eenige Opstellen ter Vertaling, tot Toepassing op dezelve. Ten dienste der Engelsche en Nederduitsche Scholen*.

Table of contents (1807)

[1p]	Title page
I-VI	<i>Voorberigt</i> [Preface]
VII-XXIII	<i>Aanmerking</i> [Observation concerning the easiest rules of the English language, for first beginners, as an introduction to this little work]
[1p]	<i>De verkortingen...</i> [List of abbreviations]
1-200	Declensions, conjugations, translation exercises Dutch-English and word lists English-Dutch

⁵⁴¹ In 1803 the first Dutch Copyright Act appeared, which granted copyright to the printer. In 1817 the second Act granted copyright to the author or translator (Wink & Limperg 1975).

201-264	<i>Over verschillende onderwerpen</i> [on various subjects]: additional translation exercises
265-271	<i>Onregelmatige werkwoorden ter vervoeging</i> [Irregular verbs to be conjugated]

Outline of learning content

a. texts

The *Handleiding* contains no English texts.

b. spelling and pronunciation

There are no exercises for spelling or pronunciation.

c. grammar

The *Handleiding* is only a morphology and does not contain any syntax. The book starts with a grammatical introduction consisting of 17 pages with definitions and rules, called “aanmerking” [*observation concerning the ... rules ...*]. The rest of the book consists of paradigms and translation exercises. At the end of the “aanmerking”, the author states that he has limited himself to the basics and that, as a sequel to this book, there will be a need for “mondeling onderwijs en een goede spraakkunst” [oral practice and a good grammar]. In other words, he regards his book as an introduction to a more extensive grammar, including syntax.

In his morphology Kapelhoff distinguishes ten word classes, viz. articles, nouns, adjectives, pronouns, verbs, participles, adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions and interjections. In this respect he neither follows the classification of Lowth (1762 [1979])⁵⁴² or of Murray (1795)⁵⁴³, who both distinguish the same nine word classes and with whom the participle is lacking as a word class⁵⁴⁴. It rather seems that Kappelhoff based himself on the classification of the classical grammar, taking into account that he

⁵⁴² The reference is to a facsimile reproduction of Lowth (1762) edited by Downey (1979:6).

⁵⁴³ The reference is to a facsimile reproduction of Murray (1824) edited by Downey (1981:9-10)

⁵⁴⁴ Both Lowth 1762 and Murray 1795, who heavily relied on Lowth (cf. Downey 1981:xii-xiii), distinguish nine parts of speech, i.e. articles, substantives, pronouns, adjectives, verbs, adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions and interjections. See Lowth 1775 [1979] and Murray 1824 [1981].

listed the participle as a word class. Most Dutch 18th century grammars, too, had a classification in which the participle featured as a separate word class. In Weiland's *Nederduitsch Taalkundig Woordenboek* (1799)⁵⁴⁵ we find the very same distinction of ten word classes as in Kappelhoff's *Handleiding*, including the participle. However, the participle disappeared with the arrival of Weiland's *Nederduitsche Spraakkunst* (1805), in which this word class was replaced by the numeral and the adjective was added (Noordegraaf 1985: 209-211). Kappelhoff, then, did not base himself on Weiland's *Nederduitsche Spraakkunst*, which was prescribed for the teaching of Dutch, but possibly on Weiland (1799).

Besides, Kappelhoff distinguishes six pronoun classes (personal, reciprocal, possessive, demonstrative, relative and indefinite pronouns). In his list of abbreviations, however, he also mentions the interrogative pronouns. Regarding this distinction, Kappelhoff does not follow Lowth (the latter only distinguishes personal pronouns and pronominal adjectives), but rather Murray (Noordegraaf 1996:112). On the other hand, Weiland's (1805) classification of six classes is virtually identical with Kappelhoff's. As far as cases are concerned, Kappelhoff adheres to the classic distinction of six cases. Lowth had only two cases: the nominative and the possessive case. Originally Murray (1795) also had only two, but later he added the "objective case" (Noordegraaf 1996:112). Weiland (1805:72) distinguishes six cases "in navolging van de Latijnen" [after the example of the Latin writers]. Verbs are subdivided into three classes: "dadelijke" [active], "lijdelijke" [passive] and "onzijdige" [neuter]. This subdivision is found both in Lowth and Murray. Furthermore, four 'moods' are distinguished: the indicative, imperative, subjunctive and infinitive. Again, this is the case both in Lowth and Murray.

Taking everything into consideration, it is not clear on what English and Dutch sources Kappelhoff has drawn. Probably he consulted all kinds of sources: Lowth (1762), Murray (1795) and possibly Holtrop (1780) as well as Weiland's Dutch grammars (1799 and 1805).

⁵⁴⁵ This is the first volume of Weiland's *Nederduitsch Taalkundig Woordenboek*, which in fact was its introduction (Noordegraaf 1985:175).

d. vocabulary and idiom

There is no separate vocabulary, but the translation exercises are followed by an English-Dutch list of words which occur in the exercises. In the exercises the figures behind the Dutch words refer to those English words.

e. phrases and dialogues

There are no phrases and dialogues.

f. exercises

The *Handleiding* only contains Dutch-English translation exercises, 164 in all. They start with 53 exercises consisting of unconnected words and word groups, which are followed by 42 exercises consisting of unconnected sentences and they finish with 69 texts. The texts are anecdotes and tales “to be enjoyed by the student”, as it is said in the preface. Figure 6.6 gives an overview of the learning activities and types of exercises in Kappelhoff’s *Handleiding voor eerstbeginnenden*.

g. other items

Other items, such as letters, sayings and proverbs, prayers, riddles and so on do not occur.

Organisation of learning content

Kappelhoff’s *Handleiding* begins with an introductory section of grammar rules and continues with paradigms and translation exercises related to the various word classes. Thus, the order corresponds with the traditional part of speech grammar in accordance with the Latin model. It was assumed that this arrangement would make things easier for the learner. The translation exercises, at any rate, present levels of increasing difficulty, as they start with words, which are followed by sentences and finally by coherent texts.

Presentation of learning content

The teaching method was in line with the then novel “synthetic” system of translation, whereby the learner had to construct sentences with the help of rules and unconnected words. In this sense, the textbook is a typical example of the grammar-translation method.

Historical reception and evaluation

Probably there is no book review of Kappelhoff's *Handleiding*. However, a review of his *Handleiding voor Eerstbeginnende Leerlingen in de Fransche Taal* (1812) in de *Vaderlandsche Letteroefeningen* (1913:86) has a reference to it. There was a widespread belief that Kappelhoff had committed plagiarism by using a French textbook by J. van Wijk Roelandsz. as his model. Kappelhoff's reputation was a dubious one anyhow, for the review claimed that his French *Handleiding* (1812) contained a considerable number of sentences and sometimes complete translation exercises that had been copied from Agron's *Verzameling van Opstellen* (1794). This book was the most important example of the grammar-translation method of its time. That Kappelhoff did not object to borrowing from other textbooks, is borne out by the fact that he used existing titles for his own course books. Thus, the title of his *Easy Phrases very necessary to be translated by Beginners* is a copy of Pierre Marin's *Phrases faciles très nécessaires pour faire traduire aux commençants* (1804). Another example is the *New English Grammar or Familiar Method ... according to the enlarged and corrected French Grammar of P. Marin* (1815), which was based on Marin's well-known *Méthode Familiale*.

FIGURE 6.6 OVERVIEW, IN ABSOLUTE NUMBERS, OF PRODUCTIVE LEARNING ACTIVITIES AND TYPES OF EXERCISE IN KAPPELHOFF’S *HANDLEIDING VOOR EERSTBEGINNENDEN* (1807)

language skills exercises									
productive									
speaking									
writing									
Types of exercises	sound	B	B	form	8	9a	9b	9c	
	word	B	B	form					
Focus on form or meaning	word			meaning					
	word	C	C	form/meaning					
	sentence	B	B	form	10a				
	sentence			meaning	10b				
	text	B	B	form	11a				
	text			meaning	11b				
	text	C	C	meaning	11c				
	text			meaning	11d				
	word	B	B	form		53			
	word			meaning	12a				
	word	C	C	form/meaning	12c				
	word			form	13a		42		
	sentence	B	B	form	13b				
	sentence			meaning	13c				
	text	B	B	form	14a				69
	text			meaning	14b				
	text	C	C	meaning	14c				
	text			meaning	14d				
	others				15				

6.2.3 *Engelsche Spraakkunst* (1811)

by **Rudolph van der Pijl** (1790-1828)

Author's Background

We know a great deal about the life and work of Rudolph van der Pijl (1 February 1790 – 6 December 1828)⁵⁴⁶. In his day and age Van der Pijl was a well-known teacher of foreign languages and an extraordinarily prolific writer of textbooks. He started his teaching career in Culemborg, where he was appointed as a “secondant” [teacher’s assistant] at the French school of B. Batenburg. On October 14, 1807, he took the admission examination for the second grade. This examination with its four-grade system had been introduced only shortly before, by the 1806 Primary Education Act. When he took the exam, he was only 17 years of age and undoubtedly a diligent and able teaching assistant, as appears from a reference to him in the teaching journal *Nieuwe Bijdragen* of March 1809. By then, he had already left Culemborg, but the journal has a report on a public examination at the Batenburg school. The examination covered Dutch, French and history and in the report Van der Pijl is mentioned by name “as a young man who combines great ability with considerable aptitude for teaching the young.” This positive experience was undoubtedly a strong stimulus to realise his ambition to start a school of his own, for, on 12 November 1808, he requests the City Council of Dordrecht to be permitted to start a school within its walls. He requests permission to teach French, German, Dutch, arithmetic, geography, history and singing, but does not mention the English language. Apparently, he was not yet qualified to teach German, for in his request he says that he is willing to take an examination in that language, if necessary. The Dordrecht school board, which dealt with the request, stated that there was no immediate need for the appointment of a school owner; nevertheless it advised the Council to subject Van der Pijl to an examination. It took place at the end of 1807 and the committee pronounced a favourable judgment on his knowledge of the above subjects; it further remarked that:

⁵⁴⁶ For a history of Van der Pijl’s life and work see Wilhelm (2000). The information given here is based on this article. Also see *NNBW* IV, 1102.

... gemelde persoon niet slechts eene meer dan gewoone kunde en bedrevenheid in alle deze wetenschappen bezit, maar ook vrij wat geschiktheid heeft vertoond om dezelve op eene redenmatige wijze aan kinderen mede te deelen. Weshalve zij voornoemden Rudolf van der Pijl als onderwijzer in bovengemelde vakken gerustelijk durft aanbevelen.
 [... the said person not only possesses a more than usual knowledge and skill in all these fields of learning, but has also shown considerable aptitude to convey them to children in a systematic manner. In the light of the aforesaid, the committee dares safely recommend the said Rudolf van der Pijl as a teacher of the above- mentioned subjects.]

In 1810, we come across a reference in the *Nieuwe Bijdragen* (1810:168) to a public exam and a prize-giving ceremony at his new school. Now, for the first time, English is mentioned as a school subject that was taught at the school. The next reference relates to May 9, 1815, when in the *Nieuwe Bijdragen* (1815:382), another examination at the school is reported. The public exams and prize-giving ceremonies that took place in Latin and French schools were an annually recurring event and constituted a kind of quality test for a school⁵⁴⁷. We receive a good impression of FLT practices by examining the contents of the examination (also see 4.2.4). As far as we know, this is the first time that we have a fairly detailed account of foreign language examinations at a Dutch school. According to this report, the pupils were expected to be able to:

... het vaardig ontleden der taaldelen, het vlug verbeteren van foutieve opstellen, en het uitleggen der regelen van de Etymologie en Syntaxis, [...] het vloeiend overzetten van meer of min moeilijke stukken [give ... a skilful analysis of the various sentence elements/parts of speech, give a quick correction of incorrect exercises and an explanation of the rules of Etymology and Syntax. ... as well as give a fluent translation of more or less difficult texts.]

By paying attention to sentence analysis, parts of speech and translation, the knowledge of Dutch was enhanced as well. In this respect the exami-

⁵⁴⁷ See Spoelder (2000) for an extensive account of these examinations and prize-givings.

nation programme completely fitted into the curriculum of the national school, in which the Dutch language played a prominent role. It is not without reason that in his textbooks Van der Pijl continually refers to the Siegenbeek's "official" spelling (1804) and Weiland's grammar (1805). Consequently, it is not surprising that Van der Pijl had a favourable reputation with the education authorities. Within a brief space of time he set up a flourishing institute which was well-known both locally and nationally. In his history of the Dordrecht Grammar School (1857:190-194), G.D.J. Schotel observed that at Van der Pijl's school English was taught "in an excellent manner" and that its pupils knew more about classical history than those at the grammar school.

The final, indirect reference dates from the end of 1826. The Dordrecht school board advertised a vacancy for a second-grade schoolmaster at the French (boarding) school in Dordrecht, viz. Van der Pijl's school (*Nieuwe Bijdragen* 1826:1207-1208). The future teacher had to be able to teach French, German, English, history and geometry. Apparently Van der Pijl was too ill to carry out his function any more. We have no idea about the nature of his illness. Examining his career, one is inclined to think that he had worn himself out. Two years later, in 1828, Van der Pijl died at the age of 38 in the lunatic asylum at Geel (present-day Belgium)⁵⁴⁸. His death is mentioned in a book review in the *Nieuwe Bijdragen* of April 1830 (1830: 329-330), in which the reviewer regrets his early death and reminds the reader of the quality of his teaching and the considerable number of textbooks he had written.

The number of textbooks written by him is truly amazing. Between 1810 and 1826 31 different titles appeared, ranging from arithmetic, geography and history to modern language teaching, and when the multi-volume publications are added, the result totals 37 publications. All these books were written within a period of 17 years. Van der Pijl wrote 13 textbooks for French and 10 for English, which started to be published more or less simultaneously from 1811 onwards. Besides, he had two Dutch textbooks published, one for speakers of French, the *Grammaire hollandoise pratique* (1815), and one for speakers of English, *A practical grammar of the Dutch*

⁵⁴⁸ A.J. van der Aa *Biografisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden*, Haarlem (XV, 1872:509).

language (1819), so that the greater part of his production concerned FLT. Hence, it may be concluded that Van der Pijl was first and foremost a foreign language teacher. Perhaps, English had his greatest interest, even though he wrote more books for FrLT. At any rate, it is remarkable that he had a more than average lexicographical interest in English, as in 1816 he published *English Phraseology*, a book of idioms and phrases, and in 1819 an edition of Baldwin Janson's English-French *Pocket Dictionary*, originally published in 1794⁵⁴⁹. As regards FrLT, Van der Pijl never wrote anything similar. He probably had much less knowledge of German, as he never published in that language, and it is not certain whether he ever obtained the necessary certificate.

The French and English textbooks can be divided into four categories, viz. coursebooks, practice books, vocabularies and manuals for commercial correspondence. The coursebooks were structured according to the level of the learners, i.e. beginners and advanced learners. Van der Pijl's first coursebook was one for FrLT, entitled *Méthode familière pour ceux qui commencent à étudier la langue française*, dating from 1810 or 1811⁵⁵⁰. It was intended for elementary FrLT and was modelled on a well-known example by Pierre Marin, who had already published a very successful textbook with the same title at the end of the seventeenth century. A few years later, Van der Pijl published a similar work for English, entitled *Gemeenzame Leerwijs voor degenen die de Engelsche Taal beginnen te leeren* (1814II). More or less simultaneously, Van der Pijl's *Engelsche Spraakkunst* (1811II) appeared. It is remarkable that it should appear prior to the *Fransche Spraakkunst* of 1812, which can be compared to the *Engelsche Spraakkunst*. Furthermore, three other FrLT textbooks came out, *Fransch Leerboekje voor Eerstbeginnenden* (1813), *Leerboek der Fransche Taal* (1813) and a translation of the French grammar by C.F. Lhomond (1820). As regards English, an adaptation of Lindley Murray's well-known grammar (1795) appeared in 1816 (see 6.2.4) and in 1817 the *Handboek ter Beoefening der Engelsche Taal* was published.

⁵⁴⁹ The dictionary was published in Londen, by T. Vernor & Hood in 1794, as well as in Rotterdam by L. Bennett (*VLO* 1794:291); also see Niemeyer (1808I:124) and Loonen (1991:310), who only mentions the second edition (1795).

⁵⁵⁰ According to Schotel (1857:236) this work was published in 1810. Saalmink (1993) has 1811. Also see Pieter Loonen (1997).

The second category consists of practice books. Van der Pijl published reading and translation material both for French and English on a large scale. This material was structured on two levels, according to difficulty: beginners and advanced learners. This was an important innovation in FLT. Nobody before him had written such a large quantity of practice material, nor structured it so systematically. Altogether, his practice material comprises nine readers and/or translation books for French and English. His *Engelsche and Fransch Lees- en vertaalboekje* and *Opstellen ter Beoefening der Fransche Taal* were to be reprinted many times. Furthermore, there was a conversation practice book, whose model may have been borrowed from Jean Perrin⁵⁵¹, as well as a French reading book which also served as a history book of classical antiquity: *Abrégé de l'histoire des hommes illustres de l'ancienne Rome*⁵⁵². The latter example looks exceptionally up-to-date, as at present bilingual education is very much the fashion and many school subjects are taught in English. In Van der Pijl's days it was common practice at French schools for subjects such as history and geography to be taught in French. Thus, we find *Abrégé de l'histoire ancienne* (1819) for the teaching of history, which was an adaptation of Rollin and others, as well as two translations of works by Oliver Goldsmith, *History of Greece* (1823) and *History of Rome* (1826)⁵⁵³.

The third category consists of the above lexicographical works, *English Phraseology or Dictionary of English Phrases and Proverbs, with their Translation into Dutch, compiled from the Best Authorities* (1816II) and the edition of Baldwin Janson's *New Pocket Dictionary of the English and Dutch Languages* (1819), originally published in 1794⁵⁵⁴. They were intended to look up words while reading and to help while translating. Van der Pijl did not edit a dictionary for French, but at his school he used Pierre Marin's

⁵⁵¹ Schotel (1857:236) mentions *Elemens nouveaux de la conversation, en Holl et en franç.* (Dordrecht, without year).

⁵⁵² This work was written by Charles François Lhomond (1727-1794).

⁵⁵³ Goldsmith's *History of Rome* originally appeared in 1769, his *History of Greece* in 1774. Van der Pijl is likely to have used adapted school editions for his translation. These appeared respectively in 1772 and 1787 (cf. *British Library Catalogue of Printed Books*).

⁵⁵⁴ See Loonen (1991:310-311).

Dictionnaire Portatif, a dictionary that had been adapted successively by Ernst Zeydelaar, Jan Holtrop and Abraham Blussé (Schotel 1857:236).

The last category consists of only one book with an English and a French version. The English version was published first: *Oorspronkelijke Engelsche Koopmans-brieven, ten dienste van Jonge Lieden, die zich aan den Handel wijden; ook ingerigt tot een Vertaalboek op de Scholen* (1818). The French edition came one year afterwards. As was common practice at French schools, also Van der Pijl's school offered commercial training, witness his French and English textbooks of commercial correspondence. In this respect the "French" school fulfilled the role of school of commerce. There can be no doubt, therefore, that Van der Pijl used all his books at his own school.

Target group

Van der Pijl's first English coursebook, entitled *Engelsche Spraakkunst*, was his first major FLT coursebook and obviously intended for use in schools. In his preface Van der Pijl frequently uses the word "pupils" and he finishes by wishing "dat dit werk tot nut der leerende jeugd moge verstreken" [that this work may be profitable to young learners].

Explicit views on language teaching and learning

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, when Van der Pijl started his career, Dutch FLT was in a process of great change. The grammar-translation method was supplanting traditional "communicative" language teaching. Besides, the Dutch language played an increasingly significant role in FLT, in as far as L1 was contrasted with L2 to bring out similarities and differences. That Van der Pijl identified himself with this political vision on language teaching is evident from his repeated references to the State-approved spelling and grammar, respectively compiled by Siegenbeek (1804) and Weiland (1805). It is also apparent from his views in the prefaces to his textbooks and in general from the reception of his work. In the preface to his first ELT coursebook, the *Engelsche Spraakkunst* (1811), he writes:

De tegenwoordige manier om vreemde talen te onderwijzen, is, mijns bedunkens, zeer doelmatig; ik meen, om den leerling eerst de regels der taal goed in te prenten, en hen dan dezelve door opstellen, opzettelijk daartoe vervaardigd, in *praktijk* te laten brengen... Ik heb deze Spraakkunst

daarbij zoo ingerigt, dat men dezelve den leerling kan in handen geven, zoodra hij in het lezen der taal, enigszins gevorderd is; want dan kan hij reeds een begin maken, met het van buiten leeren der meest gebruikelijke woorden en spreekwijzen, en het zal hem dan des te gemakkelijker vallen, om de opstellen over de taaldeelen, die men in het tweede deel vindt, over te zetten en te begrijpen. Ook zijn de zamenspraken geschikt om over het een of ander onderwerp te leeren spreken. Het derde deel bevat de regelen der woordvoeging, waarbij ook toepasselijke opstellen gevoegd zijn. Het vierde deel zal den leerling in staat stellen, om de spreekwoorden en vele spreekwijzen van onze moedertaal, in goed Engelsch over te brengen.

[The present method of teaching foreign languages is, in my opinion, very adequate; I mean the first thing for a pupil is to imprint the rules of the language thoroughly; then the rules should be put into practice in exercises compiled for that purpose... I have therefore structured this grammar in such a manner that it can be handed to the pupil as soon as he has familiarised himself with reading the language; then he can start memorising the most frequent words and phrases and then it will be much easier for him to translate and understand the exercises on the parts of speech in the second part. The dialogues are a suitable method, too, for learning how to converse on a particular subject. The third part contains the rules on syntax with additional exercises. The fourth part will enable the pupil to translate into correct English the proverbs and the many phrases of our native tongue.]

The quotation shows that Van der Pijl opted for the novel method of memorising language rules and applying them in translation exercises L1-L2. Idiomatic phrases had to be translated into English as well. Furthermore, he favoured conversation practice through memorising words, idiomatic phrases and dialogues.

Origin and sources

As far as his sources were concerned, Van der Pijl was silent, which was a customary thing among many textbook writers. It is possible that he knew about the existence of Lehman's *Engelsche Spraakkunst* (1805II), as this was the first Dutch ELT coursebook based on the grammar-translation method, but there is no reference to any Dutch source. Although we have little certainty about Van der Pijl's source(s), we do know that he was famil-

iar with some English grammars, written in English by native speakers, as well as some pronunciation dictionaries, because he mentions the names of Lowth and Walker (1811:118). Probably he meant Robert Lowth's well-known *Short Introduction to English Grammar* (1762) and John Walker's equally well-known *Critical Pronouncing Dictionary* (1791). Van der Pijl also mentions Pope (1811:119) and further refers to "andere taalkundigen" [other linguists], whose identities are not disclosed. In any case, he makes no mention of Lindley Murray, whose *English Grammar* he was to translate and adapt some years later. The names of Lowth and Walker and "andere taalkundigen" are mentioned in connection with "eenige aanmerkingen op de onregelmatige werkwoorden" [some remarks on the irregular verbs] in which Van der Pijl comments on some spelling and pronunciation items. We also know that before 1814 he must have been familiar with Sheridan's pronunciation rules⁵⁵⁵, since he referred to him in his *Engelsch Lees- en vertaalboekje, eerste stukje* (1814)⁵⁵⁶ and that around the same time he must have known Murray's *English Grammar* (1795), considering the fact that in 1816 he published an adaptation of Murray's grammar. We will return to the question of sources in the grammar section below.

Printing history

The *Engelsche Spraakkunst* was published in 1811, under the full title *Engelsche Spraakkunst: bevattende eene duidelijke uitlegging van de regelen der woordgronding en woordvoeging der Engelsche taal, benevens een aantal opstellen, tot derzelver beoefening bevorderlijk*. The work was published by A. Blussé & Zoon of Dordrecht, a publishing firm with a local and national reputation⁵⁵⁷. The book appeared in duodecimo format and was offered at a price of 2.4 Dutch florins (Saakes 5 [April 1811]:222). In 1819 a completely new edition came out with the same publisher, entitled *Engelsche Spraakkunst, geschikt om de Engelsche taal op eene geregelde en*

⁵⁵⁵ Sheridan was well-known because of his *Course of Lectures on Elocution* (1762) *General Dictionary of the English Language* (1780).

⁵⁵⁶ In the first edition (1814) of his *Engelsch Lees- en vertaalboekje, eerste stukje* Van der Pijl stated that "everything he had said about pronunciation followed the famous Sheridan", while in the third edition (1822), he claimed that he had altered the section on spelling and pronunciation according to the last edition of Walker's "excellent treatise".

⁵⁵⁷ For the history of this publishing house see Baggerman (2000).

gemakkelijke wijze grondig te leeren. Voorzien van eene menigte toepasselijke opstellen, om de taalregels in praktijk te brengen, en van de noodige aanwijzingen voor de uitspraak. Tweede veel verbeterde, en geheel omgewerkte uitgave. In the preface Van der Pijl refers to the first edition, which “verscheen omtrent het ongelukkig tijdstip der vereeniging van ons land met Frankrijk, toen men naauwelijks het woord *Engelsch* durfde uitspreken” [appeared around the unfortunate moment of unification of this country with France, when people hardly dared pronounce the word *English*]. According to the author, this was the reason for the low sales of the book: “Dit was eene der oorzaken dat dezelve, zoo goed als geheel, bleef liggen, tot dat de gezegende omwenteling een beter uitzicht opende, en het herleven der betrekking met onze Britsche naburen, de kennis der Engelsche taal meer noodzakelijk maakte. Als toen nam de aftrek van dit werkje, van dag tot dag, toe, vooral door het menigvuldig gebruik op de scholen...” [This was one of the causes that the book remained virtually unsold, until the blessed revolution opened a better perspective and the renewal of our relations with our British neighbours necessitated knowledge of the English language further. Then the sales of this book increased almost daily, mainly by its frequent use in schools...]. A new element in the second edition were some pronunciation symbols. The third edition appeared in a “veel vermeerderde uitgave” [considerably augmented edition] in 1837 after Van der Pijl’s death. It had been adapted by H.L. Schuld JWZn., “privaat-onderwijzer te Dordrecht” [private tutor in Dordrecht]. The title and contents were identical with the second edition.

Table of contents (1811)

[1p]	Title page
V-VI	<i>Voorberigt</i> [Preface]
VII-X	<i>Inhoud</i> [Table of contents]
1-86	<i>Eerste deel. Verzameling der meest gebruikelijke woorden</i> [First Part. Collection of commonest words]
87-222	<i>Tweede Deel. Verklaring der rededeelen</i> [Second Part. Explanation of parts of speech]
225-374	<i>Derde Deel. Over de woordvoeging</i> [Third Part. On syntax].
375-488	<i>Vierde Deel. Verzameling van spreekwoorden en spreekwijzen</i> [Fourth Part. Collection of proverbs and phrases]

Outline of learning content

a. texts

The *Engelsche Spraakkunst* has no texts.

b. spelling and pronunciation

The first edition (1811) has no pronunciation marks, but in the second edition (1819) six are used. Their number has increased in the third edition (1837). The editor, H. Schuld, justifies this extension by pointing out that these marks may help learners to realise a correct pronunciation. At the same time he states that he does not wish to deny that “mondelinge onderwijs” [oral training] is necessary. Apparently, there were contrasting views on the most effective way of teaching pronunciation, either through rules and symbols or through prompting and repeating. It seems that Van der Pijl himself was not particularly convinced of the effectiveness of giving (many) pronunciation rules, as he does not insert any in his *Engelsche Spraakkunst*. However, his *Engelsch Lees- en vertaalboekje, eerste stukje* does contain rules and they were expanded in subsequent editions.

c. grammar

The grammar of the *Engelsche Spraakkunst* (henceforth: *ES* 1811) has been divided into morphology, “verklaring der rededeelen” [explanation of the parts of speech], and “woordvoeging” [syntax]. There are no orthography and prosody sections. In the first edition of *ES* (1811) we find the morphology in the second part of the book; the first part comprises a vocabulary, “gemeenzame spreekwijzen” [familiar phrases] and “zamenspraken” [dialogues]. The third part deals with syntax; the fourth part is formed by a collection of “spreekwijzen” [idiomatic expressions] and proverbs. In 1811 the number of pages devoted to grammar was 287. In the second edition (1819) the order of the various parts has been changed significantly. Now, the first two parts successively deal with morphology and syntax, whereas the “communicative” first part, i.e. the vocabulary with dialogues and phrases, has been left out. The number of pages dealing with grammar in 1819 remained practically unaltered: 282. Also, the third part has been changed into a collection of translation exercises. In the third edition the size of the grammar section has increased. Editor H. Schuld found it difficult not to extend the number of rules too much, as he observes in the preface to his 1837 edition.

The structure and terminology of *ES* 1811 remind us of Weiland's *Nederduitsche Spraakkunst*. At this point it is useful to refer to Noordegraaf (1996:107-114), who compared Murray's *English Grammar* (1795) with Van der Pijl's translation/adaptation of it, the *Engelsche Spraakkunst* (1816II) (henceforth: *ES* 1816) (see also 6.2.4). It may be sensible to use the same points of analysis as Noordegraaf did (word classes, pronouns, cases, syntax). He has shown that the etymological part of *ES* 1816 is mainly based on Murray 1795, although one may find characteristics of Weiland's *Nederduitsche Spraakkunst* (Noordegraaf 1996:112-113) in it. Noordegraaf assumes that Van der Pijl had other grammars at hand while translating/adapting Murray's *English Grammar* (1795). We may safely assume that one of them was his own *ES* 1811. The question remains whether and to what extent the grammatical part of the latter coursebook was derived from Murray (1795) and/or Weiland (1805). As regards the number and selection of word classes, *ES* 1811 seems to correspond more with Weiland's grammar than with *ES* 1816, as we find the same ten word classes in *ES* 1811 as in Weiland (1805) and in practically the same sequence (articles, nouns, adjectives, pronouns, verbs, adverbs, numerals, prepositions, conjunctions and interjections). Lowth (1762) as well as Murray (1795) have nine classes. The word class that was not included in these two grammars was the numeral, which both Weiland (1805) and Van der Pijl (1811) treat separately.

Furthermore, Van der Pijl distinguishes six pronouns, the very same as mentioned by Murray (1795), viz. personal, possessive, demonstrative, interrogative, relative and indefinite pronouns (cf. Noordegraaf 1996:112). Lowth (1762 [1979:20-26]) also distinguished six pronouns, but uses a different classification. This also holds good for Weiland (1805:101). As for cases, Van der Pijl uses only two cases: the first and the second. Lowth (1762) and Murray (1795) use two cases, too (the nominative and the possessive or genitive). Weiland (1805) has four cases for Dutch (1805:74). Having discussed the morphology, the syntax in *ES* 1811 deals once again with the parts of speech, but this time with a view to their "gebruik" [use] and "orde of schikking" [sequence or order] in the sentence. In this respect, this syntax does not resemble Lowth (1762) or Murray (1795) very much, but rather conforms to the grammars of Dutch (cf. Noordegraaf 1996:113-114).

To what extent has the grammatical part of *ES* 1811 been derived from Murray (1795) and Weiland (1805) and/or from other sources? Van der Pijl (1811[1819:118-120]) himself states that he consulted both

Lowth and Walker. He may also have been familiar with Murray (1795), judging by the terminology *nominative* and *genitive*, and *personal*, *possessive*, *demonstrative*, *interrogative*, *relative* and *indefinite pronouns*. It seems reasonable to conclude that Van der Pijl made use of various sources: Lowth (1762), Walker (1791), Murray (1795). However, it also seems that the grammar part in *ES* 1811 is mainly based on Weiland's classification (1805). This can be shown by the number and selection of the word classes (10 instead of 9) and the structure of the syntax.

d. vocabulary and idiom

Part One of *ES* 1811 offers a “een verzameling der meest gebruikelijke woorden” [collection of commonest words]. In the later editions, however, this vocabulary has disappeared. The vocabulary is subdivided into 37 themes, varying from “klederen en andere dingen tot de vrouwen behoorende” [clothes and other items for females] to “boomen die geene vruchten dragen” [trees bearing no fruit]. Furthermore, there are sections on adjectives and verbs. A large number of themes also occur in Lehman (1805). It is, however, hard to prove that Van der Pijl copied themes and/or vocabulary, as themes of this kind had been included in various textbooks for a long time. The words were meant to be memorised and recited, but could also be used in the numerous translation exercises. In this respect, the function of this part of the book is identical with that of the *Gemeenzame Leerwijz voor degenen die de Engelsche Taal beginnen te leeren* (1814), which was meant to be learnt by heart and to serve as ‘input’ for speaking and writing. Below the Dutch translation exercises of *ES* 1811 we also find Dutch-English word-lists.

e. phrases & dialogues

Besides the vocabulary, Part one of *ES* 1811 also offers fifteen pages of dialogues. Traditionally, dialogues were a part of FLT textbooks. “Dialogue X, Tiende Zamenspraak” [Dialogue X, Tenth Conversation], for instance, is about the best way of learning English. Here we read: *Do you translate out of the English into Dutch? Without doubt, I translate every day a page of the history of Greece by Goldsmith*. From this dialogue it may be concluded that Van der Pijl believed that the learner should read and translate English texts, apart from doing grammar and translation. In addition, there is a dialogue on the invasion of Walcheren by English troops in 1809. In the

later editions these dialogues have disappeared, however. In the same part, we find five pages of “gemeenzame spreekwijzen” [familiar phrases].

f. exercises

ES 1811 contains a great number of Dutch-English translation exercises; they form the only kind of language exercises of the book. Part Two, the morphology, has 106 “opstellen”, Part Three, the syntax, 36. These exercises consist of unconnected sentences. Also, there is a group of 76 additional “opstellen”, consisting of coherent texts and dealing with various geographical and historical subjects. The total number of exercises is 218. The 1819 and 1837 editions have considerably more exercises, i.e. 322. Thus, the importance attached to translating appears to have increased. The translation exercises 211 to 310 form a continuing story about Roman history, so that *ES* 1819 and *ES* 1837 could very well be used by pupils of the Latin schools. Figure 6.7 gives an overview of the learning activities and types of exercises in Van der Pijl’s *Engelsche Spraakkunst*.

g. other items

Part Four offers a large number of “phrases and proverbs”. This part was kept in later editions.

Organisation of learning content

In its organisation *ES* 1811 has many characteristics of the 18th century coursebooks. It starts with a part presenting vocabulary, idiomatic phrases and dialogues. The book then follows the traditional order of the Latin parts of speech grammar, first presenting morphology and next syntax. The morphology section starts with the articles and ends with the interjections. The syntax is more or less a repetition of the morphology section, whereby the focus is on the position of the parts of speech in word groups and in sentences. The grammar rules are alternated with 142 Dutch-English translation exercises. The fourth part consists of an English-Dutch collection of phrases and proverbs.

In the second and third editions the first “communicative” part has disappeared and the grammar takes up more space. Now Part One has become morphology and Part Two is syntax. Part Three consists of 76 additional translation exercises on various subjects. Part Four “A collection of idioms, proverbs and phrases”, is roughly similar to the same part in the first edition.

Presentation of learning content

Van der Pijl believed in explicit teaching of language rules and in “application” of those rules in translation exercises. He even expanded his adaptation of Marin’s *Méthode familière* – which, after all, was a genuine 18th century communicative course book – with “opstellen die op de rededeelen toepasselijk zijn” [exercises which can be applied to the parts of speech]⁵⁵⁸. The model for these translation exercises L1-L2 had existed ever since Agron published his *Verzameling van Opstellen* in 1794. Then there was Lehman’s *Engelsche Spraakkunst* (1805), which was based on the same pattern. Both Lehman and Van der Pijl show great similarities in their teaching. Van der Pijl’s approach is indicated in the title of *ES* 1811. Lehman simply remarks that his course book had been written “naar de leerwijze van Meidinger” [after Meidinger’s method]. As he states in the preface, Van der Pijl’s motivation for writing his *Engelsche Spraakkunst* was prompted by the consideration that there were few coursebooks based on the grammar-translation method. Perhaps this was not only a sales argument, for the only existing English coursebooks at the time using the grammar-translation method were indeed Lehman’s *Engelsche Spraakkunst* (1805) and Kappelhoff’s parts of speech grammar *Handleiding voor Eerstbeginnenden* (1808).

There are no other exercises than translation exercises. Of course, this does not mean that the learners who used *ES* 1811 only trained themselves in translating and that there were no other ways of language practice. Undoubtedly, the vocabulary in the first Part had to be memorised and speaking was practised through memorising and reproduction of the phrases and dialogues in Parts One and Four. Besides, it is likely that the learners also had some reading material at their disposal. There are no communicative writing exercises in the form of letters and so on in *ES* 1811. Taking everything into consideration, *ES* 1811 had a fairly communicative content, especially when we compare it with *ES* 1816 (6.2.4).

Historical reception and evaluation

In its time, *ES* 1811 was reasonably but not overwhelmingly successful. Three editions are known, of which the last was published in 1837. This implies a circulation period of at least 26 years. As far as we know there is no review of *ES* 1811 or later editions.

⁵⁵⁸ See the title in Saalmink (1993:1222).

[illegible]

6.2.4 *Engelsche Spraakkunst* (1816)

by Lindley Murray (1745-1826); translated and adapted by Rudolph Van der Pijl (1790-1828).

Author's background

The life and work of Rudolph Van der Pijl have been described in 6.2.3. The *Engelsche Spraakkunst* (1811II) (henceforth: *ES* 1811) was not very successful in terms of printings. One may, therefore, wonder what urged Van der Pijl to write a similar work again. The *Engelsche Spraakkunst* (1816II) (henceforth: *ES* 1816) was published by François Bohn in Haarlem. It was published anonymously, but recent research by Noordegraaf (1996:109) has shown that the publication had been translated and adapted by Van der Pijl. In the preface to the first edition the author explains why he had chosen Murray's *English Grammar* (1795) for adaptation: "Het gunstig onthaal, hetwelk de *Spraakkunst* van den heer Murray in Engeland geniet, en het algemeen gebruik, dat men er dáár van maakt, zijn bewijzen van derzelver nuttigheid". [The favourable reception of Mr. Murray's grammar in England and the general use they make of it over there, are evidence of its usefulness.] That Murray's star was rising fast in the English-speaking countries⁵⁵⁹, appears from the fact that Van der Pijl had made use of the 26th English edition since its first publication in 1795. With his own edition Van der Pijl may have hoped to publish a standard grammar similar to Agron's *Verzameling van Opstellen* (1794). The only comparable standard work for English grammar at the time was Holtrop's *Uitvoerige Engelsche Spraakkunst*, but the first edition of that book had come out in 1780 and, besides, it did not have translation exercises. However, perhaps the publication of *ES* 1816 may simply have been a commercial undertaking on the part of the publishing company, as an attempt to profit from Murray's growing reputation and the success of the grammar-translation method.

Target group

Van der Pijl intended his coursebook in the first place for school education, for the title states: "ten dienste der scholen" [for the benefit of schools]. In the

⁵⁵⁹ See Jones (1996) for the reception of Murray's grammar.

preface to the first edition he says that he “besloot ... dit werkje voor de Hollandsche Jeugd te bearbeiten”. [decided ... to adapt this little work for young Dutch learners.] Considering the degree of difficulty, it seems that it was specially fit to be used by learners who had already finished a preparatory textbook, like the *Gemeenname Leerwijz* (1814), or who were being educated at a higher level, such as the Latin school, where the teaching of grammar and translation corresponded quite well with the teaching method of *ES* 1816. The second target group is specified as those persons who wished to learn the English language “op eene spoedige wijze, grondig willen leeren” [learn English thoroughly within a short period of time] through self-study. Apparently, Van der Pijl felt that, because of its systematic approach, the book was very well suited to study English grammar through self-tuition.

Views on language teaching and learning

ES 1816 contains no explicit ideas about the nature and methods of learning and teaching foreign languages. Explicit views on language education did occur, though, in the work on which *ES* 1816 was based, Murray's *English Grammar* (1795). However, this book was meant to teach native speakers how to write and speak correctly. In his preface to the first edition Murray writes that he had intended his coursebook as a pedagogical grammar, geared to the comprehension of young learners. Therefore, he did not want to be either too elaborate or too concise. Furthermore, he wished to present a clear structure, to offer not too much new subject matter simultaneously and to present the grammar points “according to their natural order and connexion”. From a linguistic point of view, Murray's grammar followed the example of Lowth and was highly prescriptive (Lowth 1762 [1979:vii-viii]). All these facts must have appealed to Van der Pijl, as they represented the methodological and linguistic ideas of his age. Although *ES* 1816 does not present any theories about foreign language teaching and learning, the statement on the title page “bewerkt volgens de leerwijze van Agron” [adapted according to Agron's teaching method] was sufficiently clear to contemporary language teachers. The model for the deductive and comparative teaching method had been introduced with the publication of Agron's *Verzameling van Opstellen* in 1794. *ES* 1816 has the same structure of rules and translation exercises. In this context it is relevant to note that Van der Pijl felt the need to add translation exercises, when he was adapting Murray's grammar:

In de eerste plaats moesten er opstellen bij gemaakt worden, om de taalregels in praktijk te brengen, dewijl de tegenwoordige manier om vreemde talen te onderwijzen dit vereischt.”

[First, translation exercises had to be added so as to put the language rules into practice, as this is required by the present method of teaching foreign languages.]

Origin and sources

ES 1816 is partly a translation, partly an adaptation of the *English Grammar* by Lindley Murray. This book saw its first publication in 1795 and literally had countless printings all over the world⁵⁶⁰. According to the title, Van der Pijl based his adaptation on the 26th English edition of the *English Grammar*, which came out in York in 1815 (Alston 1965:94)⁵⁶¹. According to Barr (1996:218), the 24th (regular) edition appeared in 1814 and the 27th in 1815. From this it appears that Van der Pijl used a very recent edition for his book. The next source mentioned by Van der Pijl in his title is “de leerwijze van Agron” (also see 4.2.2). The third reference concerns the *Verhandeling over de Nederduitsche Spelling* van Siegenbeek (1804) and the *Nederduitsche Spraakkunst* by Weiland (1805). Both works resulted from a request from the education authorities to create a normative spelling and grammar for Dutch, which consequently became compulsory standards for official documents and schools (see 4.2.4). Van der Pijl excelled by consistently referring to the names of Siegenbeek and Weiland in his French and English textbooks. This could be considered as an act of patriotism and it seemed to grant a more official status to his publications.

Printing history

ES 1816 was published in eight editions in 1816, 1822, 1829, 1837, 1846, 1852, 1860 and 1871 and thus remained in circulation over a period of at least 55 years. The first edition was entitled *Engelsche Spraakkunst: naar de zes en twintigste Engelsche uitgave, bewerkt volgens de leerwijze van Agron: ten dienste der scholen, en der genen, die de Engelsche taal, op*

⁵⁶⁰ See Tiekens-Boon van Ostade (1996).

⁵⁶¹ According to Alston (1965:94) the public library at York owns a copy of the 26th edition of the *English Grammar*.

*een spoedige wijze, grondig willen leeren*⁵⁶² [English Grammar: after the twenty-sixth English edition; adapted according to Agron's teaching method: for the benefit of schools, and those who wish to learn the English language thoroughly and quickly]. It came out without mentioning the name of the editor⁵⁶³, but Noordegraaf (1996:109) has shown that Van der Pijl received 200 guilders for his editing work from the Haarlem publisher Bohn. The book appeared in octavo format and was offered at a price of 1.5 Dutch florins (Saakes 6 [1816]:215). Of the first edition 625 copies were printed. It was not until six years later before it was openly stated that Van der Pijl was responsible for the translation/adaptation of Murray's grammar. The publisher of the second edition (1822), G.J.A. Beijerinck, who had bought part of the stock from his deceased father-in-law François Bohn, observes in the preface that it was Van der Pijl who had revised this edition. This edition as well as the subsequent editions were practically identical in numbers of pages and translation exercises. According to the preface, the fifth edition (1846) was edited by a certain G.W.B in A. (Amsterdam?). This edition had been slightly shortened in length, but had not been essentially altered. Here, the remark "bewerkt volgens de leerwijze van Agron" [adapted according to Agron's method] had disappeared from the title page and been replaced with "met toepasselijke opstellen ter vertaling" [with suitable exercises for translation.] Possibly, Agron's reputation had been dwindling or may even have started to cause counter-productive effects. However it be, the rules and translation exercises had remained. The sixth edition (1852) was edited by Frederick Martin Cowan (1822-1862), "lector" [lecturer] at the Amsterdam grammar school⁵⁶⁴. This edition was published by Joh. Noman of Zaltbommel. The last two editions, also published by Noman, were edited by A.B. Maatjes, a teacher, together with whom Cowan published his own *Leercursus ter Beoefening der Engelsche Taal* in 1854. Some minor

⁵⁶² For practical reasons the description of *ES* 1816 is based on the 4th edition of 1837. The first and second editions are not available in Dutch libraries, but their prefaces were reproduced in the later editions.

⁵⁶³ See Noordegraaf (1996:110-111) for a detailed discussion of the various editions. A great deal of the information given here has been taken from this source.

⁵⁶⁴ Noordegraaf (1996:111) points out that a copy of Cowan's edition, like some of Van der Pijl's textbooks, was even available in Japan. The book served those who had mastered the Dutch language and were prepared to learn English as well.

alterations can be found, but Van der Pijl's organisation remained largely intact.

Table of contents (1829)⁵⁶⁵

[1p]	Title page
III-IV	<i>Voorberigt voor den eersten druk</i> [Preface to the first edition]
V-VI	<i>Voorberigt voor den tweeden druk</i> [Preface to the second edition]
1-193	<i>Engelsche Spraakkunst. Eerste Afdeeling. Over de etymologie. Eerste hoofddeel. Algemeen overzicht der rededeelen</i> [English grammar. Part One. On etymology. First Chapter. General overview of the parts of speech]
194-273	<i>Tweede Afdeeling. Over de syntaxis</i> [Part Two. On Syntax]
275-316	<i>Opstellen over al de taalregelen en rededeelen in het algemeen tot verdere oefening in het overzetten</i> [Exercises on all the language rules and parts of speech in general for additional translation practice]

Outline of learning content

a. texts

ES 1816 has no texts. The learner was supposed to practise his reading skill with other material, for example with one of the volumes of the Engelsche Lees- en vertaalboekje (1814II and 1815II). These volumes contain English texts, besides Dutch-English translation exercises and a number of pronunciation and grammar rules. It was from this kind of material and possibly also from authentic or adapted English reading material, such as the History of Greece by Goldsmith⁵⁶⁶ (1823) and his History of Rome (1826), both adapted by Van der Pijl, that learners would get their "input".

b. spelling and pronunciation

There is no separate section on pronunciation. For this aspect the learner was supposed to look elsewhere, e.g. in the first volume of the *Engelsche*

⁵⁶⁵ This study will make use of the third edition (1829), which is the earliest edition available in a Dutch library.

⁵⁶⁶ The original publication of Goldsmith's *History of Greece* came out in 1769; his *History of Rome* in 1774 (cf. Wilhelm 2000:7 and 13).

Lees- en vertaalboekje (1814II), which contained a number of pages with pronunciation rules. This fact reinforces the impression that, before they started with *ES* 1816, or perhaps simultaneously with it, learners used a reader, such as the *Engelsche Lees- en vertaalboekje*, to practise their pronunciation. The pronunciation section in the *Engelsche Lees- en vertaalboekje* comprises 32 pages and had originally been based on Sheridan⁵⁶⁷. As has been observed in 6.2.3, Van der Pijl probably did not believe in elaborate pronunciation rules. This is borne out by the fact that Murray (1795) has a section on orthography, whereas *ES* 1816 does not. Noordegraaf (1996:111) believes that Van der Pijl left out the orthography part, as the learner was already familiar with it: "... as the Dutch reader was supposed to be familiar with the letters and the principles of orthography, the *Engelsche Spraakkunst* ... could aptly be reduced to two 'Afdeelingen' (sections): part one on etymology, and part two on syntax". Noordegraaf's explanation, however, is not very convincing. Of course, Dutch learners who started to learn English were able to read and write, but they still had to familiarise themselves with English spelling and pronunciation, both of which were usually considered to be so difficult that many textbook writers preferred to refrain from offering (many) rules altogether. These writers preferred a system of prompting and repeating, so-called "oral teaching". It would seem that Van der Pijl held this opinion as well, since he does not elaborate on the pronunciation of English anywhere, except in his *Engelsch Lees- en vertaalboekje voor Eerstbeginnenden, eerste stukje* (1814II).

c. grammar

Van der Pijl changed the organisation of Murray's grammar considerably. Whereas the English version retained the classic division into four parts: orthography, etymology, syntax and prosody, *ES* 1816 consisted of two parts only, the morphology ("woordgronding" or "etymologie") and syntax ("woordvoeging"). Van der Pijl left out the sections on spelling and pronunciation, as well as the prosody and an appendix in which Murray paid attention to "perspicuity and accuracy in writing". In leaving out the

⁵⁶⁷ This was changed in the third edition (1822) when Van der Pijl decided to base himself on Walker. Then the number of pages with pronunciation rules rose from 32 to 36.

prosody part Van der Pijl was no exception. Noordegraaf (1996:111) has pointed out that 18th century grammars of Dutch usually had no prosody sections⁵⁶⁸. This also holds for 19th century grammars of English. As part of the publication on the two hundredth anniversary of Murray's *English Grammar* (1795), Noordegraaf (1996:111-114) has made a comparative analysis of the original English grammar and Van der Pijl's Dutch translation/adaptation. In this analysis Noordegraaf focuses on word classes, pronouns, cases and syntax. We will discuss these items here and compare them to *ES* 1811.

The first part of *ES* 1816, the etymology, deals with nine word classes, the same that Murray distinguished (articles, substantives, pronouns, adjectives, verbs, adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions, interjections). In this respect, *ES* 1816 differs from *ES* 1811, in which ten word classes were distinguished, the same as in Weiland (1805). Furthermore, *ES* 1816 has the same six pronouns as Murray (1795). In his later editions Murray would reduce this number to three. However, Van der Pijl maintains the classification of six word classes. In this respect there is no difference with *ES* 1811. Whereas initially Murray (1795) distinguished two cases (the nominative and the possessive/genitive) and in later editions another one, the "objective case", Van der Pijl (1816 [1837]:12), "gemakshalve" [for the sake of convenience], adheres to the traditional classification of six cases. This is different from *ES* 1811, which only had the nominative and the possessive/genitive cases. Noordegraaf (1996), therefore, rightly concludes that the etymology part of *ES* 1816 can be regarded as a translation with some adaptations of Murray's etymology. This did not hold for the syntax, however. In his preface to the first edition, Van der Pijl had already pointed out that he would alter Murray's syntax: "Ook heb ik de volgorde, die Murray in de Syntaxis heeft, naar de gewone manier, waarvan zij afwijkt, veranderd". [Also, I have altered the order of Murray's syntax into the traditional order, from which it differs.] By the "traditional order" Van der Pijl meant a discussion of the parts of speech, but now from the point of view of their position in word groups, as was

⁵⁶⁸ Noordegraaf (1996:113-114) compares the treatment of syntax in contemporary Dutch grammars with that in Murray (1795) and observes that the Dutch grammars had a rather traditional structure. They preferred to discuss word combinations rather than word positions in sentences, as was the case in Murray (1795).

usual in Dutch grammars (Noordegraaf 1996:113). Murray, on the other hand, discusses the word classes in twenty-two basic rules primarily in relation to their positions in sentences. The difference in syntax between Murray (1795) on the one hand and *ES* 1811 and *ES* 1816 on the other was essentially that Van der Pijl only discusses the “use” of word classes in word groups, but paid little attention to the position of words in sentences.

d. vocabulary and idiom

There is no separate vocabulary in *ES* 1816, as was the case in *ES* 1811. However, the grammatical rules are illustrated with words and sentences in English. Besides, Dutch words in italics followed by figures in the translation exercises refer to new English vocabulary below the exercises. Moreover, the learner was supposed to master new vocabulary through separate reading materials, such as the English texts in the *Engelsche Lees- en vertaalboekje* or through authentic or annotated English reading materials.

e. phrases and dialogues

Unlike *ES* 1811, there is no section containing thematically arranged idiom, “familiar phrases” and proverbs. This means that the communicative content of *ES* 1816 has greatly decreased. Contrary to *ES* 1811, there are no dialogues in *ES* 1816. As a result, there is less opportunity for fluency practice.

f. exercises

ES 1816 contains 221 Dutch-English translation exercises, 134 in the Etymology and 87 in the Syntax. The first six translation exercises only offer word groups, the remaining ones only have sentences. The translation exercises are the only kind of exercises in this coursebook. This is also the case in the fourth edition of 1837 and the next editions; neither does the number of exercises differ significantly. Exercises follow each grammatical rule on a certain word class in the Etymology and the Syntax. Figure 6.8 gives an overview of the learning activities and types of exercises in Murray/Van der Pijl’s *Engelsche Spraakkunst*.

g. other items

Other items, such as letters or proverbs, do not occur.

Organisation of learning content

The organisation of *ES* 1816 is clearly based on the linguistic structure of the Latin grammar. The didactic structure is based on this linguistic structure. In the Etymology and the Syntax parts the definitions, rules and examples are given which have to be given shape in the translation exercises. The traditional division into word classes was probably considered to be an appropriate gradation from ‘easy’ to ‘difficult’.

Presentation of learning content

To a certain extent, *ES* 1816 was the complement to other materials, such as the textbooks for beginners, which Van der Pijl had written some years before. These were the *Gemeenzame Leerwijs voor degenen die de Engelsche Taal beginnen te leeren* (1814II) and the *Engelsch Lees- en vertaalboekje* (1814II and 1815II). The *Gemeenzame Leerwijs* functioned as an elementary phrasebook for those who did not wish to study English into any more depth. Alternatively, it served as preparation for *ES* 1816. It contained words, idiomatic phrases and dialogues and was part of a long tradition of communicative language teaching. Van der Pijl states in the preface to the *Gemeenzame Leerwijs* (1814II:3) that the booklet was intended to be memorised. The *Engelsch Lees- en vertaalboekje* contained both English texts and Dutch translation exercises, plus a number of pronunciation and grammar rules.

Van der Pijl made an effort to structure *ES* 1816 by means of a clear organisation and a great number of exercises. All 221 exercises are of the same type, i.e. Dutch-English translation exercises. As such, they are language-directed, (re)productive writing exercises. There are no other kinds of exercises, not even cacographies, which in those days was a popular type of exercise. Cacographies are also presented by Murray in his *English Exercises*⁵⁶⁹, published as a companion part to his *English Grammar*. Besides, it was a kind of exercise, in which Van der Pijl’s pupils were trained for their annual public examination (see 4.2.4). This lack of vari-

⁵⁶⁹ The *English Exercises adapted to Murray’s English Grammar* were first published in 1797. They contain various kinds of exercises. The subtitle to the 1822 edition reads: *Exercises in parsing, instances of false orthography, violations of the rules of syntax, defects in punctuation and violations of the rules respecting perspicuous and accurate writing.*

ety in exercises in *ES* 1816, however, does not imply that its users only used translation exercises or that there were no other forms of practice. Undoubtedly, the bilingual word lists below the translation exercises had to be memorised. There were, however, no separate fluency exercises. Oral proficiency was practised through memorising and reproducing phrases and dialogues in other textbooks, such as the above *Gemeenzame Leerwĳs*. It is very likely that the learners who used *ES* 1816 also had reading material at their disposal, such as the *Engelsch Lees- en vertaalboekje* (1814II and 1815II). There are no communicative writing exercises in the form of letters and so on in *ES* 1816. A comparison with *ES* 1811 shows that *ES* 1816 is considerably less communicative in content. In the latter grammar there is no thematic vocabulary; nor are there dialogues and idiomatic phrases. The emphasis is wholly on grammatical rules and on translating from Dutch into English. This was the purpose of the book: a thorough understanding of grammar and an attempt at achieving correctness in writing and speaking. If, linguistically speaking, *ES* 1816 did not differ much from *ES* 1811, from a methodological point of view *ES* 1816 followed the grammar-translation method more closely than its predecessor.

Historical reception and evaluation

There is a contemporary evaluation of *ES* 1816 in the form of a book review in the *Vaderlandsche Letteroefeningen* (1817:165-166). This review is entirely positive and praises the conciseness, completeness and accuracy of the coursebook – qualities which favourably distinguish the work from similar works. According to the reviewer, those works were either too exhaustive or too concise. However, the review does not present a detailed evaluation of the contents. Encouraged by this review and with a reference to it, the publisher, G.J.A. Beijerinck, ventured to publish a second edition in 1822. Considering the number of editions (eight) and its circulation time (at least 55 years) we must conclude that in its time and age *ES* 1816 had a good reception and that for a lengthy period of time it functioned as a major grammar for ELT in the Netherlands.

VAN DER PIJL'S *ENGELSCH*E SPRAAKKUNST (1816)

language skills exercises												
productive speaking												
writing												
Types of exercises	sound	B	B						others			
	word	B	B	form	8a	9a	9b	9c				
				meaning								
	word	C	C	form/meaning								
	sentence	B	B	form	10a	10b						
				meaning								
	sentence	C	C	form/meaning	11a	11c						
	text	B	C	form								
	text	C	D	meaning								
	text	D		meaning								
	Focus on form or meaning	word	B	B	form	12a	12b	12c				
					meaning							
word		C	C	form/meaning	13a	13b	13c					
sentence		B	B	form								
				meaning								
sentence		C	C	form/meaning	14a	14b	14c					
text		B	B	form								
text		C	C	meaning								
text		D		meaning								
Numbers in typology (8/15)		Learning activities	B	B	form	215						
					meaning							
					form/meaning							
	form											
Translate these words into English	Learning activities	B	B	form								
				meaning								
				form/meaning								
				form								
Translate these sentences into English	Learning activities	B	B	form								
				meaning								
				form/meaning								
				form								

6.2.5 Handleiding bij de beoefening der Engelsche taal. *Eerste Afdeeling: Spraakkunst (1850)*

by J.J. de Hollander (1817-1886)

Author's background⁵⁷⁰

Joannes Jacobus de Hollander was born in Aartswoude (Province of Noord-Holland) on August 28, 1817. He studied theology, languages and literature at Leiden University where he took his doctoral degree at the Faculty of Arts and Philosophy. On January 13, 1843, he was appointed teacher of Oriental languages and English at the Royal Military Academy in Breda, an institute that had been founded in 1828 (Aalders 1997:94-95). The RMA sought to appoint highly qualified teachers who were sometimes known for their publications and some of whom were native speakers of English. Thus, De Hollander became the successor of P.J. Veth, lecturer in oriental languages, who had been employed from 1838 till 1841⁵⁷¹. De Hollander had two native speakers as colleagues for English, S. Farncombe Sanders⁵⁷², who also wrote an ELT textbook, and M.P. Lindo⁵⁷³, a man of letters, who published textbooks for English as well. In 1852 De Hollander was promoted to the rank of “lector” in Dutch language and literature and in 1861 he was appointed professor. From 1877 he not only taught the above-mentioned languages, but also

⁵⁷⁰ The biographical details are based on *NNBW* (I, 1139) and Aalders (1997).

⁵⁷¹ Aalders (1997:100-101). During his years at the military academy Pieter Johannes Veth (1814-1895) wrote an anthology of English literature, *Specimens from the English Classics* (Dordrecht 1840), which is likely to have been used there as a textbook. In 1841 he became professor of oriental languages, first at Franeker, the next year at Amsterdam and finally, in 1864, at the university of Leiden.

⁵⁷² See Aalders (1997:103). In 1848 Farncombe Sanders published a textbook which he had specifically written for the academy: *The Rudiments of English Grammar and a Sketch of English Literature, with Extracts from approved Authors, for the use of the cadets of all the branches of the service*.

⁵⁷³ Mark Prager Lindo (1819-1877) taught at the RMA from 1853 to 1865, where he rose from the rank of ‘teacher’ to ‘professor’ of English (Aalders 1997:397). In those years he published his *Grondbeginselen der Engelsche Spraakleer* (1855) and edited the 5th edition (1855) of the *Nieuwe Engelsche Spraakkunst* by Lloyd/Bomhoff. Lindo is mainly known for his literary activities, including translations of Shakespeare plays.

history, geography and ethnography of the Dutch East-Indies. He retired on October 1, 1885. De Hollander spent the major part of his active life at the RMA in Breda.

De Hollander is not so much known for his activities concerning the English language, but rather because of his linguistic and ethnographic work relating to Malay and Javanese culture. For instance, he wrote a *Handleiding bij de Beoefening der Maleische Taal- en letterkunde* (1845), een *Handleiding bij de Beoefening der Javaanse Taal- en letterkunde* (1848) as well as a *Handboek voor de Beoefening der Land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Oost-Indië* (1861-1864). His *Handleiding bij de Beoefening der Engelsche Taal* was published between 1850 and 1853. It consisted of three volumes, i.e. a *Spraakkunst* [grammar] (1850II), a *Leesboek in Proza* (1851II) [Prose Reader] and a *Leesboek in Poëzij* [Poetry Reader] (1853II). Initially, De Hollander did not intend to compile a third volume, the poetry reader, but he did so after all, at the request of those who used the first two volumes⁵⁷⁴. He did not write any other works for English, although he worked on some translations, such as a travel account by A.S. Bickmore⁵⁷⁵.

Target group

The *Handleiding bij de Beoefening der Engelsche Taal* was explicitly intended for pupils of secondary schools, as is shown by the subtitle: *especially for the benefit of those who want to prepare themselves for the lessons at the RMA for naval and land forces*. The reason for writing it was probably the fact that the teachers at the RMA considered the level of knowledge and skills of the cadets below the mark (Aalders: 1997:117). Compiling an ELT course for the military academy had two advantages: on the one hand it provided a kind of standard school-leaving level for secondary schools and on the other hand it raised the level of knowledge of the cadets. Also, the course contributed to the motivation of future students who wished to be admitted to the RMA and take an entrance examination.

⁵⁷⁴ See preface to *Leesboek in Poëzij* 1853.

⁵⁷⁵ It was translated into Dutch under the title *Reizen in den Oost-Indischen Archipel* (1873).

Explicit views on language teaching and learning

De Hollander does not express any explicit views on the teaching and learning of foreign languages. However, the preface to the *Spraakkunst* implied that deductive grammar teaching and translation practice were the most obvious ways of foreign language learning. In this respect, De Hollander is fully in line with such leading coursebooks as Van der Pijl's *Engelsche Spraakkunst* (1811II and 1816II) and the *Nieuwe Engelsche Spraakkunst* by Lloyd/Bomhoff (1835II).

Origin and sources

Above we have already pointed to a likely motive for writing the *Handleiding*. In his preface De Hollander explicitly states that one reason for writing it was that he objected to the use of foreign language coursebooks at Dutch schools which originally had not been written for speakers of Dutch. Another reason was that he felt that the teaching methods in the coursebooks which had appeared until then, were too mechanical. He, on the other hand, wanted to challenge the pupils intellectually, not by giving them exercises that invariably followed an immediately preceding rule, but by confronting them with exercises that related to various different rules. As a result, the pupils would be forced "to think for themselves". As regards linguistic sources, there is a reference to Walker concerning the pronunciation of the "th" (1850[1871:20]) and to (Samuel) Johnson concerning the degrees of comparison of adjectives (1850[1871:62]). There are no references to methodological sources.

Printing history

The *Handleiding bij de Beoefening der Engelsche Taal* consists of three volumes, viz.

1. *Spraakkunst* (1850)
2. *Leesboek in Proza* (1851)
3. *Leesboek in Poëzij* (1853).

Part one, *Spraakkunst*, was quite successful. It is very well possible that naming the target group in the subtitle (*vooral ook ten dienste van hen, die zich tot de lessen aan de Koninklijke Militaire Akademie voor de zee- en landmagt wenschen voor te bereiden* [especially for the benefit of those who

want to prepare for the lessons at the RMA for naval and land forces] contributed to its success. In this way, a standard was set which may have appealed to many schools. Within a period of twenty years, seven printings came out (7th edition 1871). The first two editions were published by Broese & Co in Breda. The third and subsequent editions were published by Blussé & Van Braam in Dordrecht. The sixth edition (1867) was considerably augmented with practice material with a view to the entrance examination of the RMA, which in the meantime had become stiffer. If, until then, only “kennis der grammatikale gronden” [knowledge of basic grammar] had been required, now the requirements for English were the same as those for French, namely that a candidate had to be able to translate L2-L1 “met gemak” [with ease] and L1-L2 “zonder grove fouten” [without gross errors].

The second part of the course, *Leesboek in Proza*, became even more popular than the *Spraakkunst*; all in all nine editions were published. The first editions appeared at Broese & Co in Breda; the sixth and seventh at Blussé & Van Braam in Dordrecht; the eighth and ninth at S.E. van Nooten & Zoon in Schoonhoven. One of De Hollander’s colleagues at the RMA, A.S. Kok⁵⁷⁶, edited the ninth edition (1888). *Leesboek in Poëzij* was only reprinted once, in 1863.

Table of Contents

The *Handleiding bij de Beoefening der Engelsche Taal* consists of a grammar book and two readers as companion parts, which was the first time that a course of English was published in this way. It is true, coursebook writers had published reading material before, but this happened independently of the coursebooks. For example, Van der Pijl had compiled his *Lees- en vertaalboekjes* (1814II and 1815II), presumably as additional material to his *Engelsche Spraakkunst* (1811II and 1816II). Similarly, Bomhoff had compiled an *Engelsch Leesboek in Proza en Poëzy* in 1837, in two separate volumes, probably to go with his *Nieuwe Engelsche Spraakkunst* (1835II). De Hollander’s *Spraakkunst* consists of only two chapters: “over uitspraak en spelling” [on pronunciation and spelling] and “over de woordgronding” [on etymology]. There is no separate chapter on syntax. The second

⁵⁷⁶ Like M.P. Lindo, A.S. Kok acquired a reputation as a translator of Shakespeare plays (see Leek 1988:passim).

part of the *Handleiding, Leesboek in Proza* (1851[1854²]), has 46 fragments of English prose texts. The third part, *Leesboek in Poëzij* (1853[1863]), offers 48 English poems. The table of contents of the *Spraakkunst* (6th ed. 1867/7th ed. 1871) is as follows:

[1 p.]	Title page
[2 pp.]	<i>Voorberigt</i> (1850)/ <i>Voorberigt voor de zesde uitgave</i> (1867) [Prefaces]
[2 pp.]	<i>Inhoud</i> (1871) [Table of contents]
1-34	<i>Eerste hoofdstuk. Over uitspraak en spelling</i> (1871) [First chapter. On pronunciation and spelling]
35-232	<i>Tweede hoofdstuk. Over de woordgronding</i> (1871) [Second chapter. On etymology].

Outline of course content

a. texts

The *Spraakkunst* does not contain any English texts. Reading English could be practised through the texts in the *Tweede Afdeeling, Leesboek in Proza*, and in the *Derde Afdeeling, Leesboek in Poëzij*, or through other texts.

b. spelling and pronunciation

The first of the two chapters deals with spelling and pronunciation. Unlike a textbook writer such as Van der Pijl, but similar to Lloyd/Bomhoff (1835II) – authors who operated within the grammar-translation tradition – De Hollander believed in the use of pronunciation rules. These are based on the spelling of English and consequently the *Spraakkunst* begins with the pronunciation of the letters of the alphabet. The rules are in Dutch and follow the usual classification. First, the division of the letters into vowels and consonants is discussed; then comes the pronunciation of the vowels, diphthongs, triphthongs and consonants. Next, follows a discussion of syllable structure and vowel length. The suprasegmental aspect is limited to word stress. Next follow some remarks on spelling, including the use of capital letters. The chapter ends with reading exercises which relate to the pronunciation of isolated words.

c. grammar

The *Spraakkunst* was meant to be a pedagogical grammar, not an exhaustive description of language facts. The grammar proper only comprises one chapter, which deals with nothing else but morphology. The reason is that De Hollander does not want to make his grammar too difficult for secondary school pupils. His *Handleiding* contains “alleen de beginselen, den ruwen omtrek der Engelsche spraakkunst” [only the principles, the rough outline of English Grammar], he states in his preface of 1850. However, the chapter is made up of almost 200 pages, divided into 15 sections (in the 1867 edition) and does not exclusively deal with morphology. For example, there is a separate section “over eenige bijzonderheden in het gebruik der werkwoorden” [on some peculiarities concerning the use of verbs] and there are some incidental remarks on word combinations. The author distinguishes ten word classes, in accordance with Weiland’s classification (1805). They are presented in the traditional order: first the articles and nouns and finally the conjunctions and interjections. De Hollander discusses every word class to the full before starting on the next. The *Spraakkunst* distinguishes four cases: the nominative, genitive, dative and accusative or objective, again similar to Weiland (1805:74). In a footnote the author says that some grammarians distinguish only three cases. This was the case with the later editions of Murray’s grammar, for example⁵⁷⁷.

The pronouns are divided into two main classes: personal and adjective pronouns, the latter of which are subdivided into five classes: possessive, demonstrative, relative, interrogative and indefinite pronouns. The division into two main classes reminds us again of the later Murray editions, which only have three classes (personal, relative and adjective pronouns)⁵⁷⁸. On the other hand, the classification is practically identical with that of Murray/Van der Pijl (1816) and Williams/Bomhoff (1843).

d. vocabulary and idiom

The vocabulary consists of a collection of English words and phrases which are found below each Dutch translation exercise. Figures after the

⁵⁷⁷ See, for instance, the 1824 edition (Downey 1981), in which a distinction was made between the nominative, possessive and objective case.

⁵⁷⁸ Cf. Noordegraaf (1997:112).

Dutch words in these exercises refer to their English equivalents below. The exercises have hardly any context.

e. phrases and dialogues

There are no sections containing idiomatic phrases or dialogues.

f. exercises

De Hollander's *Spraakkunst* has two types of exercises: reading exercises in the first chapter and Dutch-English translation exercises in the second. The first group comprises 14 pronunciation exercises of isolated words to practise the English vowel letters (a, e, i, o, u, y), digraphs (au, ea, ou, ow, ue, ui), silent consonants as well as the ch and th. The other group comprises 36 exercises consisting of unconnected Dutch sentences. The sixth edition (1867) and the seventh edition (1871) offer ten Dutch texts for translation into English. Figure 6.9 gives an overview of the learning activities and types of exercises in De Hollander's *Spraakkunst*.

g. other items

At the end of the book there is a section with grammatical abbreviations, which strongly remind us of Lloyd/Bomhoff (1835), as well as a section with “verkortingen van eigennamen, titels en kunsttermen” [abbreviations of proper names, titles and technical terms].

Organisation of course content

Dividing a course into a grammar and subsequent parts with reading material was a novelty in the history of ELT textbooks. On the other hand, the link between the constituent parts is absent, as there is no direct relation between the grammatical items and the texts. Also, the readers were published later than the first volume, so that the learners could not practise any reading from the beginning of the course. From a modern point of view, therefore, the *Handleiding* cannot be considered a coherent language course. The narratives in volume two are arranged according to length, the poems in volume three according to difficulty.

De Hollander has split up his grammar into two chapters to discuss the orthography/orthoepey and etymology, respectively. As has been observed above, the syntax is only incidentally dealt with⁵⁷⁹. The structure of the grammar is not determined by methodological, but by linguis-

tic categories, i.e. word classes. The gradation of the learning content is arranged in a linear order.

Presentation of course content

De Hollander follows a purely deductive teaching method. This means that there are no English texts that serve as starting points, but the pupils are expected to form English sentences by translating English words in a synthetic way, as if they were boxes of building bricks. Figures after the words in the Dutch sentences refer to their English translation in the word list below each exercise. Not until all the rules of a particular word class have been given, are the translation exercises presented. The writer states in his preface that he has opted for this order on purpose to prevent learners from carrying out more or less mechanically what the rules have told them. In this way learners have to work out for themselves which rules have to be applied in each sentence.

Historical reception and evaluation

The positive reception of the course is evident from the relatively large number of printings that appeared within a short period of time (7 printings in 21 years). The fact that the course was intended as preparation for the entrance examination of the Royal Military Academy warranted a clear objective. However, it is clear that the popularity of the course declined swiftly after the foundation of the Higher Burgher Schools (1863), which had a wider goal than preparing pupils for a military career only.

We know of two reviews of the *Handleiding*. The first appeared in *Nieuwe Bijdragen* (1852:925-931) and refers to the *Spraakkunst* only. The second came out in *Nederlandsch Tijdschrift voor de Practische Beoefening van de Fransche, de Engelsche en de Hoogduitsche Taal* (1858:17-19) and reviews the complete course. The 1852 review comments on the structure of the book and agrees broadly with De Hollander's teaching method. However, it is definitely critical of the grammatical content, particularly of the treatment of the gender and case of nouns and the classification of verbs. The 1858 review is considerably more positive, especially as regards the fact that the course offers pronunciation rules. In the opinion of the reviewer the pupils can make good use of these rules after what has been discussed in the lessons.

⁵⁷⁹ Also see book review in *Nieuwe Bijdragen* (1852:927).

language skills exercises					
productive speaking					
	writing				
	sound	word	text	word	sentence
Types of exercises	B	C	D	B	C
	B	C	D	B	C
	B	C	D	B	C
	B	C	D	B	C
Focus on form or meaning					
Numbers in typology (8/15)	8	9a	9b	9c	10a
Pronounce these words	14				
Translate these sentences into English					
Translate these texts into English ¹¹					(10)

407

6.2.6 *Leercursus ter beoefening der Engelsche taal*

Eerste gedeelte. Praktische inleiding tot de beoefening der Engelsche taal
(1854)

Tweede gedeelte. Theoretisch-praktische spraakkunst der Engelsche taal
(1856)

By F.M. Cowan & A.B. Maatjes

Authors' backgrounds

The *Leercursus ter beoefening der Engelsche taal* was the first ELT course written by two authors. Both writers were teachers in Amsterdam and both had already written various schoolbooks when they embarked on this course. A review in *HBB* (1857:26-28) testifies that the two writers were not unknown in contemporary FLT. The *NNBW*, too, pays attention to the two writers. Maatjes is said to be a teacher of merit and is mentioned as a textbook writer. The Englishman Frederick Martin Cowan is mentioned primarily because of his language knowledge. Other qualifications lending him authority were that he had taught at Noorthey, a prestigious private school at Voorschoten, and had been a “lector” at the Amsterdam grammar school. It is likely that, as a native speaker, Cowan had taken first responsibility for the linguistic aspects of the course and Maatjes for the teaching method. The latter had also written textbooks for FrLT and GLT, whereas Cowan had limited himself to ELT. We do not know anything about the motivation of the two teachers to write this multi-volume course.

Adrianus Bruinvisch Maatjes (1820-1873), son of a doctor, was born at Zierikzee on 12 May 1820 and spent his entire professional life in education. In 1847 he became head of the schools of the Walloon Congregation at the Rokin and Bloemgracht in Amsterdam. In 1872 he celebrated his silver jubilee as headmaster, but was unable to deliver a speech due to a throat disease⁵⁸¹. He died in the following year (*NNBW* III, 807-808).

⁵⁸¹ Gemeente Archief Amsterdam; archives of Walloon Congregation.

Apart from the *Leercursus ter Beoefening der Engelsche Taal* and a few French and German literary anthologies Maatjes wrote the following textbooks⁵⁸²:

- *De Franse Taal in Regels en Voorbeelden* 1842-1844²
- *Toepassing van het geleerde in de Regelen der Fransche Taal* 1846
- *A Selection of English Words and Dialogues for the use of schools and persons desiring to become acquainted with the words and expressions, most generally used in conversation* 1850-1883⁹.
- *Mots et Dialogues Français-Hollandais à l'usage des écoles et de ceux qui veulent se familiariser avec les termes et les tours de phrases les plus usités dans la conversation.* (1853-1871⁷) (French version of English vocabulary/phrasebook above?)
- *Wörter und Gespräche; ein Verzeichnis der gebräuchlichsten Deutschen Wörter, nebst einer Auswahl von Deutschen Gesprächen aus dem Alltagsleben. Zum Gebrauch für Schulen und zum Selbstunterricht* (1857-1876⁴) (German version of English phrasebook above?)
- *Engelsche Vertaal oefeningen, ten vervolge op de Theoretisch-Praktische Spraakkunst der Engelsche taal door F.M. Cowan en A.B. Maatjes* 1862
- *Key to the English Translation-exercises (Engelsche Vertaal oefeningen)* 1862
- *Fransche Woorden en Korte Samenspraken voor Eerstbeginnenden* 1869-1880².

Frederick Martin Cowan (1822-1862) was born at Ventnor (Isle of Wight) in 1822 and educated in London and at Leiden University. From about 1840 to 1845 he was employed as a modern language teacher at Noorthey School (Voorschoten) and from 1845 to 1860 at the Amsterdam grammar school, situated at the Singel. From 1860 to 1862 he worked as 'first interpreter' for the British consulate at Hakodadi in Japan. In 1862 he was transferred to Tokio but on the way there his ship, the *Camilla*, was wrecked in a hurricane and it is said that all who sailed in her perished. Cowan was renowned for his knowledge of languages (NNBW III, 261-262).

⁵⁸² For references see Brinkman (1882-1889), Breet & Ceton (1982), Knops (1982).

Apart from the *Leercursus ter beoefening der Engelsche taal* Cowan wrote the following textbooks:

- *English reading book for beginners; consisting of several amusing and instructive stories, to which is appended a vocabulary* 1847
- *A chronological critical table of English literature* 1849-1856²
- an annotated edition of *The vicar of Wakefield* by Oliver Goldsmith, 1851-1876³
- the 6th edition of Murray/Van der Pijl's *Engelsche Spraakkunst* 1856
- *The English student's companion: A dictionary of verbs, substantives and adjectives with the prepositions they govern, according to the authority of the best English classics principally followed from Melford's phraseology dictionary* 1856-1858/1861²
- Together with J. van der Beek: *Handleiding ter beoefening der Engelsche taal, ten gebruike der scholen en zelfoefenaars ingerigt* 1850
- Together with Calisch and others: *Nieuw brievenboek in vier talen* 1864 and *De handelcorrespondent in vier talen* (1871²).

Target group

Both writers were teachers in secondary education in Amsterdam and primarily wrote for school children. When the first edition of the *Theoretisch-praktische Spraakkunst* (1856) appeared, they wrote in the preface: “Wat de verdeeling der Spraakkunst in twee gedeelten aangaat, ons denkbeeld was, den leerling, zoodra mogelijk, bekend te maken met de regelen betreffende de voornaamste deelen der rede...” [As regards the division of the grammar in two parts, it was our intention to teach pupils the rules of the main parts of speech as soon as possible] and also: “Door ’t geheele werkje hebben we getracht kort te zijn: ’t is minder moeielijk de jeugd veel voor te schrijven dan ze er toe te krijgen het te lezen” [Throughout this booklet we have tried to be brief: it is less difficult to present pupils with a lot of material than to persuade them to read it.] Likewise, in the “Voorbericht” to volume three, *Lees- en vertaalboek voor Eerstbeginnenden* (1857), we read: “De keuze (van de teksten) is met die zorg geschied, welke wij bij het onderwijs der jeugd een eerste vereischte achten...” [The selection (of the texts) has been carefully made, which we consider the first requirement in teaching youngsters...]

Explicit views on language teaching and learning

Cowan & Maatjes reveal little about their ideas on teaching and learning foreign languages. In the preface to the *Praktische Inleiding* (1854) they inform the reader that the book does not contain any explicit rules and that they consider it a “praktische handleiding ter aanleering van het mechanisch gedeelte der taal” [a practical manual for learning the mechanical part of the language]. Furthermore, they state that the *Praktische Inleiding* also aims at practical use, as a number of short conversations have been inserted after the English assignments. In the *Theoretisch-praktische Spraakkunst* there are no explicit opinions on teaching and learning foreign languages. Not until the preface to the fourth volume, *Lees- en vertaalboek voor meer gevorderden* [reader and translation practice book for advanced students], do the writers account for the course in some more detail. They claim to focus on the differences between English and Dutch rather than present an extensive description of the grammar of English. They also prefer a method which is as natural as possible, with as few rules as possible: “There is certainly no language so purely practical and so little theoretical as the English. The first volume of our course therefore contains no rules, but endeavours to teach the pupil to use correct language by following the way of nature and giving him examples of correct language to learn and imitate. After some time passed in this employment, he must be made acquainted with those points in which the language he is to learn differs from the mother-tongue. This is done in the second volume, or Grammar, where it will be at once seen that our object was not to multiply rules, but merely to bring those together which more especially distinguish the peculiar genius of the two languages. In the same way, in the collection of the pieces forming the reading-book, practical utility, united to an interesting form, was the first point aimed at...”. However, the authors choose not only to teach language skills, but also intellectual and moral education, witness the preface to the *Lees- en vertaalboekje voor eerstbeginnenden* (1857)⁵⁸³: “Aangename en onderhoudende vorm toch, moet naar onze meening het middel zijn, om het doel, de kennis der taal, vereenigd met verstandelijke en zedelijke vorming, des te beter te bereiken” [A pleasant and entertaining form should, in our view,

⁵⁸³ *Engelsch lees- en vertaalboek voor eerstbeginnenden; een verzameling van stukken in proza en poëzij*, Amsterdam 1857.

be the means to achieve the aim, the knowledge of the language, in combination with intellectual and moral education].

Origin and sources

No sources are mentioned in the prefaces, nor in the course itself. However, in the preface to the *Praktische Inleiding* there is a vague suggestion of an example: “Schoon de gang, dien we in ons werkje volgden, niet geheel nieuw is ...” [Although the way we followed in our work is not entirely new ...]. The structure, however, reminds us strongly of the work of the German coursebook writers Seidenstücker en Ahn. The innovative aspect in the work of those authors was that they (partly) worked in an inductive manner. Thus, in the first part of his German-French *Elementarbuch zur Erlernung der französischen Sprache* (1811), Seidenstücker did not offer any grammar rules, but instead presented French sentences and texts which served as models for German sentences⁵⁸⁴. Through reading, translating and perhaps memorising the French model sentences, learners could acquire sufficient input material to be able to translate the German sentences back into French. The second part of the *Elementarbuch*, however, was of a deductive kind, as it had been structured around rules, sentences for translation and reading texts. Unlike the *Praktische Inleiding*, Cowan & Maatjes’ second volume, *Theoretisch-praktische Spraakkunst*, is wholly deductive in nature and thus completely in line with Seidenstücker’s second part of the *Elementarbuch*. Ahn’s German-French coursebook appeared in 1834, entitled *Praktische Lehrgang zur schnellen und leichten Erlernung der französischen Sprache*, and became immensely popular. Characteristics of Ahn’s method were the “natural” learning process, in which imitation and memorising played a major role, rejecting the teaching of explicit grammatical rules and rejecting translations (Macht 1986:113-114).

It seems very likely that Cowan & Maatjes adopted the methodological concept of Seidenstücker and Ahn in the *Praktische Inleiding*, the first volume of their course. This volume did not contain grammar rules, but consisted of exercises, alternately offering English and Dutch sentences. The sentences in the English exercises, which had odd numbers, were

⁵⁸⁴ See Macht (1986:105-112) for a detailed discussion of Seidenstücker’s and Ahn’s methods.

supposed to illustrate a grammatical item. These sentences had to be read and translated into Dutch. The sentences in the Dutch exercises, which had even numbers, had to be translated into English, with the English sentences as examples and without the intervention of any grammar rules. We also find this procedure in Seidenstücker's first volume and in Ahn's German-French courses⁵⁸⁵. It would imply that Cowan & Maatjes had based their English course on a French coursebook. Perhaps it was Maatjes who was responsible for this influence, seeing that he had written French and German textbooks and that he was head of a French school.

It is quite likely that Cowan and Maatjes came into touch with Seidenstücker and Ahn through the work of E. Gerdes. All three of them were residents of Amsterdam and had the same occupation. Gerdes had already published his *Nieuwe Leerwijze* for FrLT and GLT in 1850 and 1853 respectively, and, as he noted in his preface to his French course, had based himself on Seidenstücker and Ahn⁵⁸⁶. His coursebooks for French, German and English all followed the same pattern. What is striking is that the *Praktische Inleiding* (1854) and Gerdes' *Eerste Cursus* of his *Nieuwe leerwijze der Engelsche taal* (1855) were identical in structure. The conclusion, therefore, is that Cowan and Maatjes must have based themselves on the example of Gerdes' *Nieuwe Leerwijze*.

Printing history

The *Leercursus ter Beoefening der Engelsche Taal* consisted of four subsequent volumes. A similar course had not been written before. It was only De Hollander, who, some years before, had had a three-volume course published. The *Leercursus ter Beoefening der Engelsche Taal* consisted of four volumes, viz.

1. *Praktische Inleiding* (1854)
2. *Theoretisch-praktische Spraakkunst* (1856)
3. *Lees- en vertaalboek voor Eerstbeginnenden* (1857)
4. *Lees- en vertaalboek voor Meergevorderden* (1859).

⁵⁸⁵ Also compare Howatt & Widdowson's description of Ahn's teaching method (2004:159-160).

⁵⁸⁶ Cf. Preface to *Nieuwe leerwijze der Fransche taal* (1850).

The dates of publication of the four volumes are quite widely apart. It may, at first, not have been the intention of the authors to write a complete course, or perhaps they meant to write only two volumes. At any rate, the preface to the first edition mentions only two volumes.

The first edition of the *Praktische Inleiding* came out in 1854. More editions followed soon after; the last and thirteenth edition appeared in 1916. Both the second and the third editions have minor changes; in the fourth (1866II), Siegenbeek's spelling has been replaced by that of De Vries & Te Winkel, the compilers of the *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal*. After Maatjes' death, the seventh, eighth and ninth editions were taken care of Maatjes' brother-in-law, J.H. Kramers, a teacher at Noorthey, where Cowan himself had also been teaching around 1840. In his preface to the eighth edition, Kramers states that he had been assisted by his colleague Rix, who had used the book at Noorthey for quite some time. The twelfth edition (1898II) was revised by A. Caland. There is hardly any difference in contents or size between the various editions. For example, both the second edition (1858II) of the *Praktische Inleiding* and the eighth edition (1877II) have the same number of pages, i.e. 84, and the same number of translation exercises, i.e. 120.

The printing history of the *Theoretisch-praktische Spraakkunst* (1856II) is almost the same as that of the *Praktische Inleiding* (1854II). The first edition came out in 1856. Many printings followed; the last and tenth edition appeared in 1897. According to the preface, the second edition differs slightly from the first. In the third edition (1864II), Siegenbeek's spelling has been replaced by that of De Vries & Te Winkel. The fifth edition (1871II) typically represents the scholarly interest of the age, as a newly added "Introduction" explains the origin of the English language and its relationship with other (Indo-European) languages. The text says: "Al deze wisselingen en veranderingen zijn echter niet het werk van het toeval: de vergelijkende taalstudie bewijst dat er wet en orde is in den groei der taal ..." [However, all these shifts and changes do not occur accidentally: comparative language study proves that there is law and order in language growth ...] The text also tells about the lexicon of English and the influence of other languages on it. In this context it mentions the names of such lexicographers and language scholars as Robertson, Webster, Thommerel, Marsh and Max Müller. The sixth edition is a reprint.

The seventh and eighth editions were edited by J.H. Kramers, who mentions that for the eighth edition he had been assisted by B. Koster, a teacher of English at Schiedam and J. Rix, a teacher of English at Noorthey. The tenth edition was edited by A. Caland. As the book was published more often, the grammar contents increased in size. The table of contents of the eighth and last edition shows that more than twenty pages were added (187) compared with first edition (167).

Table of contents *Praktische Inleiding* (2nd ed. 1858)

[2pp]	Title pages
[2pp]	Prefaces to first and second editions
1-72	<i>Praktische Inleiding</i> [Practical Introduction]
73-84	Alphabetical wordlist (with numbers referring to the exercises)

Table of contents *Theoretisch-praktische Spraakkunst* (1856)

[2pp]	Title pages
[2pp]	<i>Voorberigt</i> [Preface]
[2pp]	<i>Inhoud</i> [Table of contents]
1-70	<i>Eerste Afdeeling</i> [First Part]
71-167	<i>Tweede Afdeeling</i> [Second Part]

Outline of learning content

a. texts

The striking thing about the *Leercursus* is the fact that so much space has been allotted to the reading material. Some years before, De Hollander had published his three-volume course (1850, 1851, 1853) of which the second and third volumes were readers. Now, Cowan & Maatjes published a similar course, consisting of two grammar books and two readers. Like the *Praktische Inleiding*, the *Theoretisch-praktische Spraakkunst* offer no texts. These are presented in volume three, *Lees- en vertaalboek voor Eerstbeginnenden*, aiming at absolute beginners, and volume four, *Lees- en vertaalboek voor Meergevorderden*, aiming at intermediate learners. Both volumes contain mainly prose texts, although there is the odd poem, like the *Blind Boy's Hymn* (1862:40). The texts are all in English with an English-Dutch list words below them. There is a graded order of difficulty, as the first two texts merely contain monosyllable words. As one

goes on reading, one will find more multi-syllable words with accented syllables to indicate word stress, e.g. *óver*, *séventh* and so on.

The greater part of the texts in volume three have a severely moral tone and/or are religious texts. Thus, we find moral tales (“We must not be idle”) and fragments taken from the Old Testament (“Destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah”). The second half presents texts that are more informative in character, such as texts on the physical world (“Of the two natural divisions of the world – land and water”) and animals (“Zoology or the knowledge of animals”). Contrary to volume three, volume four has no stress marks. Like its counterpart, most of its texts are in prose, but this time they rather focus on giving factual information. They include such widely varying subjects as the manufacture of salt, the hippopotamus, Captain Cook’s life and the city of Rome, while the last few texts are entirely concerned with what was a topical subject: steam power. In these texts the reader is informed about the origin of steam energy (“Origin and progress of the steam-engine”) and the technical operation of steam engines (“The several parts of the steam-engine, showing how they act on each other”), on “Steam-navigation” and on “The first steam-boat”.

b. spelling and pronunciation

In the *Praktische Inleiding* Cowan & Maatjes do not pay explicit attention to the spelling and pronunciation of English, except the pronunciation of the English letters of the alphabet as well as some observations on how to break off words. They believe that the best way of learning pronunciation is by prompting and imitation in the classroom. In exercise 19 we find a little dialogue, in which a learner asks for simple pronunciation rules, but he is advised to wait until he has made more progress in his study of English. Of course, the dilemma is that such simple rules do not exist:

*But would it not be easier for us,
if you were to give us some rules
for pronunciation?*

*The number is rather large, we
could not remember them all.*

*It’s impossible to give any fixed
rules for it. Walker has given
above five hundred Principles.*

*You may study them, when you are
somewhat more advanced.*

In the “Eerste Afdeeling” van de *Theoretisch-praktische Spraakkunst* (1856II) the writers acknowledge the need for a generally accepted pronunciation,

but reject the possibility of teaching it by means of the ordinary spelling or some form of transcription: “Deze [d.i. de uitspraak] echter onder regels te brengen en zichtbaar voor te stellen, is, zoo niet bij de studie van elke vreemde taal, bij die van het Engelsch althans ondoenlijk, daar zij klanken bevat, die in geene andere taal voorkomen. Mondeling onderwijs is ’t eenige middel”.

[Giving rules for or visualising pronunciation is quite impossible, if not for each foreign language, but definitely for English, as it has sounds which do not occur in any other language. Oral teaching is the only possible way.]

c. grammar

In the *Praktische Inleiding* a basic morphology is offered without any rules. In the preface to the first edition (1854) we read: “Het werkje [...] is bestemd om tot Inleiding te dienen bij de studie der Engelsche Taal [...]. Vandaar dat we meenden er alleen de hoofdtrekken der Engelsche Spraakleer in te moeten aangeven, zonder die in regels te formuleeren, en ’t slechts beschouwd wenschen te hebben als practische Handleiding ter aanleering van ’t mechanisch gedeelte der taal.” [This work is meant as an introduction to the study of the English language [...] Therefore we thought best to give an outline of English Grammar, without formulating any rules, and we wish to view it solely as a practical manual for learning the mechanical part of the language]. Thus, in the first five (English) exercises a number of elementary nouns are offered for practice (*father, mother, brother, sister, house, book, boy, girl, uncle, aunt, nephew, niece, cousin, man, woman*), the articles (*the, a, an*), a number of adjectives (*big, little, good, bad, small, old*), some frequently occurring prepositions (*of, to, from, with*), the verb forms *is* and *are* and the most important possessive pronouns (*my, your, his, her, our, their*). These words are presented both separately above the exercises and in the exercises themselves. As the Dutch exercises contain the same forms that are to be translated into English, a number of grammatical basic forms and structures will have to be reproduced. For example, this is the case with the forms of the verbs *have* and *be*, a number of auxiliaries (*shall, will, should, would*), some irregular plurals of nouns (*wives*), the present and past tenses of verbs, verbs in negative and interrogative sentences, ‘question tags’ (... *doesn’t he?*), reflexive verbs (*to dress oneself*), irregular verb forms (*to beat, beat, beaten*) and phrasal verbs (*wait for*).

The *Theoretisch-praktische Spraakkunst* (1856II) is a traditional parts of speech grammar. It comprises two sections, a morphology with syntactic observations and a more extensive syntax. In the morphology section, six word classes are discussed (articles, nouns, adjectives, numerals, pronouns, verbs), in the syntax section we find ten (the above word classes plus adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions and interjections). All the word classes are dealt with by means of rules and sample sentences.

d. vocabulary and idiom

The *Praktische Inleiding* offers vocabulary above every exercise. The choice of the words is dictated by their immediate usefulness for understanding and (re)producing sentences. Thus, as a matter of course, the most useful, i.e. the most frequent words, are offered above the first few exercises: *this, that, my, your; of, with; one, two; father, mother; big, small; is, are, have, go; today, often*. Gradually, less frequent words are used. At the end there is an alphabetical list of words (pp 74/84) with numbers referring to the exercises in which they occur. The first part consists of English words (pp 73/78), the second of Dutch words (pp 79/84). In the *Theoretisch-praktische Spraakkunst* vocabulary and idiom are presented in English-Dutch columns above the Dutch-English translation exercises.

e. phrases and dialogues

The exercises in the *Praktische Inleiding* are followed by short conversations, which, however, do not bear any relation to the exercises. The motive for this is described by the authors as follows: “Steeds vroegen we ons af, hoe drukt zich de beschaafde inboorling uit? en trachtten we datgene te geven, wat in het dagelijksch leven behoefte kan zijn te weten. Van daar de korte gesprekken, die we na elke Engelsche opgave plaatsten”. [We kept asking ourselves: how does the civilised native speaker express himself? And we have tried to offer what may be useful to know in daily life. Hence, the short conversations following each English exercise.] In other words, it was the authors’ intention to provide the learner with a number of ready-made sentences besides the basic grammar and the basic vocabulary, which should enable him to get by in daily life. In this context it is significant to see that as early as 1858 (2nd edition) (number 49, p.28) a dialogue had a train journey as its subject:

You need not hurry; the train only starts at half past ten.

Well, I'll go with you and see you off.

The guard seems to know you.

In how much time does this train perform the distance?

Are there not eight stations between A and B?

No, by the new time-bill it now starts half an hour earlier.

Suppose you go with me;

I intend returning by the express.

Yes, I often pass along this line.

In six hours from terminus to terminus.

Yes, but this train does not stop at them all.

In the *Theoretisch-praktische Spraakkunst* there are no phrases or dialogues, such as in the *Praktische Inleiding*.

f. exercises

The *Praktische Inleiding* has 120 exercises consisting of unconnected sentences. There are 54 exercises in English and 64 in Dutch, roughly in alternating order, i.e. the first five are in English and the last nine in Dutch, while the ones in between alternate. The English exercises are preceded by vocabulary and by grammatical sample sentences. The *Theoretisch-praktische Spraakkunst* contains 91 translation exercises consisting of unconnected Dutch sentences and 9 Dutch texts for translation into English. Figures 6.10 and 6.11 give an overview of the learning activities and types of exercises in the *Praktische Inleiding*. Figure 6.12 does the same for the *Theoretisch-praktische Spraakkunst*.

g. other items

Neither in the *Praktische Inleiding*, nor in the *Theoretisch-praktische Spraakkunst* are there any other items, such as letters, phrases, riddles, sums and so on.

Organisation of learning content

Like De Hollander (1850-1853II), Cowan & Maatjes published their course in different volumes, of which the third and fourth volumes were readers. From a modern point of view, however, the *Leercursus* cannot be considered a coherent language course. For one thing, the readers of the *Leercursus* were published later than the first two volumes, so that before 1857/1859 (the first publication of the two readers) learners could not

practise reading with the help of these volumes. What is more important is that there is no direct relationship between the grammatical items and the reading texts.

As far as the grammar part is concerned, the learning content has a more or less concentric structure. In the *Praktische Inleiding* the word classes are dealt with in a preliminary and concise manner, while a more extensive discussion follows in the *Theoretisch-praktische Spraakkunst*. The *Spraakkunst* has been split up into two “afdeelingen” [parts], whereby the “tweede afdeeling” is an extension of the first, offering scope for syntactic observations. Apparently, the authors were of the opinion that repetition and extension of what had been learned was more important for the learning process than an exhaustive discussion of each word class, as was the case in the purely deductive-contrastive method.

Presentation of learning content

The *Leercursus ter Beoefening der Engelsche Taal* signified a new teaching method in ELT, as it was the first successful course which, to a certain extent, offered an alternative to the one-sided deductive method which had dominated FLT practices for more than fifty years. This time there was no need to memorise grammar rules, but sample sentences containing grammar points. In the preface to the *Theoretisch-praktische Spraakkunst* it is stated that the course was intentionally split into two parts, so as to prevent pupils from having to translate all sorts of forms: “Wat de verdeeling der *Spraakkunst* in twee gedeelten aangaat, ons denkbeeld was, den leerling, zoodra mogelijk, bekend te maken met de regelen betreffende de voornaamste deelen der rede, ten einde hem in staat te stellen het buiten de vertaling te doen van ieder klein verschil van buiging van werk- of voornaamwoord, zelfs nog voordat hij *al* de regelen dienaangaande geleerd had”. [As regards the division of the grammar in two parts, it was our intention to teach a pupil the rules of the main parts of speech as soon as possible, so as to enable him to dispense with the translation of every small difference in inflection of verb or pronoun, even before he had learnt *all* the rules concerning inflection.] Consequently, the first part was intended as *mechanische oefening* [mechanical practice.] An important fact is also that almost from the beginning (the third exercise), complete sentences were presented. This was in stark contrast with Meidinger’s method, in which the learner began with unconnected words and word groups.

The *Praktische Inleiding* does not have any grammar rules, but consists of exercises alternating English and Dutch sentences. The English exercises are preceded by a number of words or sentences and an occasional paradigm, which together intend to illustrate a grammatical item. The English exercises are followed by a dialogue focusing on practical language use. The words and sentences above the English exercises as well as the dialogues below them are obviously meant to be memorised. The sentences in the English exercises are meant to be read, translated into Dutch and perhaps memorised. Finally, the Dutch exercises have to be translated into English, using the English sentences as examples, without the intervention of any grammar rules.

Contrary to the *Praktische Inleiding*, the *Theoretisch-Praktische Spraak-kunst* has the typical grammar-translation method structure with its rules, Dutch-English vocabulary and translation exercises consisting of unconnected sentences. The title of the second volume is supposed to point out that the grammar part does not solely contain rules, but is also meant for translation practice.

Historical reception and evaluation

The *Leercursus ter Beoefening der Engelsche Taal* was received very well. Not only did many editions appear within a short period of time, but also the course was in circulation for quite some time. Obviously, there was a need for a course that to some extent offered an alternative to the old routine of learning rules and translating L1-L2. An additional reason may have been the fact that Cowan was a native speaker with a good linguistic reputation and a teacher at the Amsterdam grammar school. Besides, he had been teaching at Noorthey, which recruited its pupils from the ranks of the nobility and aristocracy (De Clerck & Troch 1979). In his history of the institute, *Noorthey in 1878*, J.H. Kramers gives a description of the institute, which had been founded by P. de Raadt and had since acquired a reputation for modern education methods. It appears that at the time the *Leercursus ter beoefening der Engelsche Taal* was in use there (1878:27-30). It also appears that in 1879 the course was on the booklist of the *Gymnasium Erasmianum* [Erasmus grammar school] in Rotterdam. (Dodde 1991:226).

The first review that is known, appeared in *HHB* (1857:26-28); it was written by a certain “B”. The review is no evaluation, however, but

amounts to little else than an overview of the contents of the first three volumes. The next review dates from 1882 (*De Wekker*, vol. 39, 1882). It claims that the first course volume "... een geduchte mededinger [werd] voor en weldra een waardige plaatsvervanger van de werkjes van Van der Pijl, Bomhoff en wat er destijds meer als eerste leerboekjes voor 't Engelsch bestond". [... became a serious competitor and soon a worthy replacement of the works by Van der Pijl, Bomhoff and any other contemporary textbooks for English.] It "onderscheidde [...] zich gunstig door het gevolgde plan van bewerking, de tot zekere hoogte geleidelijke opklimming en den inhoud, die den leerling bekend maakte met de gemeenzame omgangstaal". [distinguished itself through its set-up and gradual gradation as well as the contents, which taught the learner the informal language of communication.] However, as there were no adaptations in the subsequent editions, the reviewer wonders if the course has kept pace with "den algemeenen vooruitgang" [the general progress] of the previous 28 years.

FIGURE 6.10 OVERVIEW, IN ABSOLUTE NUMBERS, OF RECEPTIVE LEARNING ACTIVITIES AND TYPES OF EXERCISES IN COWAN & MAATJES’ *PRAKTISCHE INLEIDING* (1854)

	language skills exercises							
	receptive				reading			
	listening		text		word		sentence	
	sound	word	sentence	text	word	sentence	text	
Types of exercises	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Numbers in typology (1/7)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Learning activities								
<i>Read and translate these sentences from English into Dutch</i>						54		

FIGURE 6.11 OVERVIEW, IN ABSOLUTE NUMBERS, OF PRODUCTIVE LEARNING ACTIVITIES AND TYPES OF EXERCISES IN COWAN & MAATJES' *PRAKTISCHE INLEIDING* (1854)

language skills exercises					
productive					
	speaking		writing		
Types of exercises	sound	B		form	8
	word	B		form	9a
				meaning	9b
	word	C		form/meaning	9c
	sentence	B		form	10a
				meaning	10b
	sentence	C		form/meaning	10c
	text	B		form	11a
				meaning	11b
	text	C		meaning	11c
Focus on form or meaning	text	D		meaning	11d
	word	B		form	12a
				meaning	12b
	word	C		form/meaning	12c
	sentence	B		form	13a
				meaning	13b
	sentence	C		form/meaning	13c
	text	B		form	14a
				meaning	14b
	text	C		meaning	14c
Numbers in typology (8/15)	text	D		meaning	14d
	others				15
Learning activities					
Translate these sentences into English					
					66

FIGURE 6.12 OVERVIEW, IN ABSOLUTE NUMBERS, OF PRODUCTIVE LEARNING ACTIVITIES AND TYPES OF EXERCISES IN COWAN & MAATJES’ *THEORETISCH-PRAKTISCHE SPRAAKKUNST* (1856)

language skills exercises									
	productive speaking					writing			
	sound	word	word	sentence	text	word	word	sentence	text
Types of exercises	B	B	B	C	D	B	C	C	
Focus on form or meaning	form	form	meaning	form/meaning	meaning	form	form/meaning	form/meaning	meaning
Numbers in typology (8/15)	8	9a	9b	9c	10a	10b	10c	11a	11b
Translate these sentences into English						91	13b	13c	
Translate these texts into English									
			</						

6.2.7 *Nieuwe leerwijze der Engelsche taal. Eerste cursus (1855)*

By Eduard Gerdes (1821-1898)

Author's background

Eduard Gerdes⁵⁸⁷ was born at Kleve (Germany, near the Dutch border). In his early youth he moved to The Hague and later received his education in Amsterdam, where he trained to be a teacher. His tutor there was P.J. Andriessen, who in 1850 published a writing manual named *Gids tot het leeren schrijven van zuiver Engelsch*. Around 1850 Gerdes referred to himself quite appropriately as “onderwijzer der nieuwe talen” [modern language teacher], for he published three FLT courses parallel to one another, one for French (1850), one for German (1853) and one for English (1855II)⁵⁸⁸. Besides, Gerdes compiled French, German and English readers for use in schools as well as some teaching materials for other subjects. It is not clear what induced him to write his FLT textbooks. As Gerdes was a zealous Christian, they were probably written for the protestant type of school(s) in which he was teaching. In 1858 he abandoned his teaching career and left Amsterdam to become a missionary. Eduard Gerdes is more likely to be remembered as a writer of fiction with a strongly religious and moral bias, than as a writer of textbooks for schools.

Gerdes wrote the following textbooks:

- *Nieuwe Leerwijze der Fransche Taal. Eerste cursus* 1850-1880¹⁰
- *Nieuwe Leerwijze der Fransche Taal. Tweede cursus* 1851-1884⁵
- *Handleiding tot het spoedig leeren der Engelsche Taal* 1851-1866²
- *Fransch Leesboek voor Christelijke Scholen. Eerste Deel* 1853
- *Nieuwe Leerwijze der Hoogduitsche Taal. Eerste Cursus* 1853-1889⁸
- *Fransch Leesboek voor Christelijke Scholen. Tweede Deel* 1854
- *Nieuwe Leerwijze der Hoogduitsche Taal. Tweede Cursus* 1854-1890⁵
- *Nieuwe Leerwijze der Hoogduitsche Taal. Derde Cursus* 1855-1866²
- *Fransch Leesboek voor Christelijke Scholen. Derde Deel* 1855

⁵⁸⁷ See NNBWIV: 643-644 and BWNZL:272 for biographical details.

⁵⁸⁸ For the references to the French titles see Breet & Ceton (1982); for those to the German titles see Knops (1982).

- *Nieuwe Leerwijze der Engelsche Taal. Eerste Cursus* 1855-1883⁶
- *Nieuwe Leerwijze der Engelsche taal. Tweede Cursus* 1856-1862²
- *Engelsch Leesboek voor de Scholen. Eerste Stuk* 1856
- *Engelsche Leesboek voor de Scholen. Tweede Stuk* 1858

Target group

Gerdes wrote textbooks which were primarily intended for school education, particularly protestant schools. In the preface to his *Nieuwe leerwijze der Fransche* and his *Nieuwe leerwijze der Engelsche Taal*⁵⁸⁹ the author speaks of “onderwijzer en leerling(en)” [teacher and pupil(s).] Also from the title “Engelsch leesboek voor de scholen” [English reader for schools] (part one 1856, part two 1858) the target group speaks for itself.

Explicit views on language teaching and learning

The German coursebook writers Seidenstücker and Ahn did not see any point in giving their teaching methods a theoretical basis with the argument that the teacher first had to get used to the course and that instructions would limit the teacher’s creativity too much. As far as methodology was concerned, teachers were supposed to develop themselves by gradually becoming familiar with their material (Macht 1986:113). This point of view is also found in Gerdes’ prefaces to his French and German courses, in which he appears to be reluctant to give instructions for teaching. In the preface to his French course he quotes Ahn as follows: “Es versuchen, dem Lehrer hierzu eine besondere Anweisung zu geben, hiesse den Geist an den todten Buchstaben fesseln und die Individualität aller Lehrer und Schüler in eine einzige auflösen wollen”⁵⁹⁰. [Attempting to give a special instruction to the teacher for this purpose, would mean chaining the spirit to dead letters and dissolving the individualities of all teachers and pupils into one single individuality.] However, at the request of his publisher, he offers a number of practical suggestions all the same.

The Nieuwe Leerwijze der Engelsche Taal does not have any theory. In the preface to the *Eerste Cursus* Gerdes refers the reader to the preface to

⁵⁸⁹ In this description we will refer to the first editions of Course One (1855) and Course Two (1856).

⁵⁹⁰ Macht (1986:113) quotes the same statement, which was taken from the preface to the 3rd edition of Ahn’s French coursebook (1835).

his French course (1850) for his ideas underlying the FLT textbooks. The basic principle is that explicit knowledge of rules is avoided and that memory plays a major role in language learning: “Het geheele werk berust inzonderheid op het geheugen; de volzinnen zijn gemakkelijk te begrijpen, en, wat noodzakelijk is, in ieder opstel treft men eene herhaling aan”. [The entire work is particularly based on memory; the sentences are easy to understand, and, what is necessary, in each exercise one finds repetition.] Gerdes claims that one of his considerations for writing his coursebooks was not to exhaust pupils any longer with endless declension and conjugation practice (as was the case with the deductive method), but to teach foreign language forms in a simple way, by confronting learners with sample sentences and making them learn sentences by heart and/or translate them. These sentences were meant to illustrate a particular grammatical item and they were followed by sentences in Dutch with the same grammatical item. Grammatical problems, such as the conjugation of verbs, were not approached in a cognitive way, but solved by continual repetition, just as long as it took pupils to master a particular paradigm.

Origin and sources

According to Gerdes, the origin of the *Nieuwe Leerwijze der Engelsche Taal* came about after a request of his friends to write an English course. Both the German and English course were modelled on his *Nieuwe Leerwijze der Fransche Taal* (1850). In the preface to this work Gerdes acknowledges that he has “den Duitschen rector Seidenstücker en den Duitschen kostschoolhouder Dr. Ahn gevolgd, en slechts datgene gewijzigd, wat noodzakelijk was”. [followed the work of the German headmaster Seidenstücker and the German boarding school owner dr. Ahn, and that he has only changed what was necessary.] Gerdes here refers to Seidenstücker’s *Elementarbuch zur Erlernung der französischen Sprache* (1811) and Ahn’s *Praktischer Lehrgang zur schnellen und leichten Erlernung der französischen Sprache* (1834), two works which were very similar from a methodological point of view⁵⁹¹. Especially the latter work had proved to be exceptionally successful. In his preface to the first edition of the *Nieuwe Leerwijze ... Eerste Cursus* (1855) Gerdes adds: “Ik heb het geheel

⁵⁹¹ Macht (1986:105-150) devotes a whole chapter to the Seidenstücker-Ahn method.

en al naar de methode van de gunstig bekenden Dr. Ahn ingerigt, en tevens met vrucht gebruik gemaakt van een werkje, door den Heer G. van den Berg, te Hamburg, uitgegeven”. [I have organised my book completely after the method of the well-known Dr. Ahn, and have simultaneously made profitable use of a book, published by Mr. G. Van den Berg of Hamburg.] By this work Gerdes meant the *Praktischer Lehrgang zur schnellen und leichten Erlernung der englischen Sprache* (Hamburg 1847). Gerhard Van den Berg (1791-?) was one of the followers of Ahn’s method (Macht 1986:146; 1994). Even the title of his (English) coursebook was identical to Ahn’s (French) coursebook of 1834. From the contents of the English coursebook, more specifically from the French and Dutch exercises, it appears that Gerdes translated a lot of original French material practically literally for his English course. This was supposed to give extra confidence to teachers who used his English and German courses next to the French course. Klippel (1994:337) puts Van den Berg in the same category as Gottfried Gurcke⁵⁹², because of the fact that the latter does not give any grammatical rules but sample sentences instead. It is undoubtedly true that Seidenstücker and Ahn and their followers Van den Berg and Gurcke had taken a different road by turning away from Meidinger’s grammar-translation method. In any case, Seidenstücker, Ahn and their followers provided learners with more input by offering a larger quantity of text material than did the grammar-translation method. Besides, there was a greater variety of practice material.

Printing history

The first edition of the *Nieuwe Leerwijze der Engelsche Taal. Eerste Cursus* appeared in 1855. The sixth edition came out in 1883. This means that within a relatively short period of time, i.e. 28 years, six editions had come out. Undoubtedly, this success was reinforced by the successful publication of the French and German counterparts. The first volume of the *Nieuwe Leerwijze der Fransche Taal* saw 10 editions in 30 years; the second volume 5 editions in 33 years (Breet & Ceton 1982). The first volume of the *Nieuwe Leerwijze der Hoogduitsche Taal* had eight editions in 36 years; the second volume five editions in 36 years (Knops 1982). Of the first

⁵⁹² In volume two of his *Volledige Leercursus der Engelsche taal* (1875) Valkhoff refers to Gurcke as one of his ‘authorities’.

volume of the English course, probably all printings remained unchanged. At any rate, the first five printings are identical. The second volume of the *Nieuwe Leerwijze der Engelsche Taal* had only two printings, in 1856 and 1862. The second printing probably remained unchanged as well. The reason why the printings remained unchanged, may have been the fact that Gerdes gave up his teaching job in 1858, two years after the publication of his *Tweede Cursus*, and left Amsterdam to become a missionary (NNBW 4: 644).

Table of contents (1855)

[1p]	Title page
[2pp]	<i>Voorrede</i> [Preface]
1-81	<i>Eerste Afdeeling</i> [First Part]
82-91	<i>Tweede Afdeeling</i> [Second Part]
92-129	English and Dutch translation exercises
130-144	<i>Derde Afdeeling. Gesprekken en vertellingen</i> [Third Part. Conversations and narratives]
145-150	<i>Woordenlijst der Tweede Afdeeling</i> [List of words and idioms relating to Second Part]
151-154	<i>Woordenlijst der Derde Afdeeling</i> [List of words and idioms relating to Third Part]

Outline of learning content

The learning content of the *Nieuwe Leerwijze der Engelsche Taal* (1855) runs completely parallel to the *Nieuwe Leerwijze der Fransche Taal* (1850).

a. texts

The *Nieuwe Leerwijze der Engelsche Taal* (especially the *Second Course*) contains much more teaching material than was customary in contemporary courses. Thus, the “Derde afdeeling” of the *Eerste Cursus* contains eleven English texts, named “gesprekken en vertellingen” [conversations and narratives]. The first two texts are dialogues; the third tells about the inhabitants of Persia. The following texts all have titles. They successively deal with: 4. The Laplanders, 5. Herculaneum, 6. Charles XII, King of Sweden, 7. Van Diemens Land, 8. The shells, 9. The cow, 10. The cat and 11. The purple jar. The last narrative is also the longest. The texts were probably meant to be read, translated and retold, for the *Second Course*

also contains sections with narratives, which, according to its preface, had to be read, translated and retold. Thus, the “Derde Afdeeling” [Part Three] of the *Tweede Cursus* contains nine texts with questions on them and the “Vierde Afdeeling” [Part Four] has twelve texts to be read, translated and retold.

b. spelling and pronunciation

The *Nieuwe Leerwijze der Engelsche Taal* has no pronunciation rules. Apparently, they had to be learned through prompting and imitation. However, another textbook written by Gerdes, *Handleiding tot het spoedig leeren der Engelsche Taal*, which appeared in 1851, did contain pronunciation rules.

c. grammar

There are no explicit grammar rules in the *Nieuwe Leerwijze*. Grammatical items were ‘hidden’ in the sample sentences. The “Eerste afdeeling” consisted of a great number of English and Dutch exercises. The sentences of the English exercises had to be read and translated into Dutch, although translating was against Ahn’s principles (Macht 1986:114). The Dutch sentences had to be translated into English with the sample sentences as models. The “Tweede Afdeeling” [Second Part] of the *Eerste Cursus* pays explicit attention to the verb through paradigms. First the conjugations of *have*, *be*, and *do* are discussed as well as a number of auxiliaries. Next, the conjugations of the active voice of the verb *to paint*, the passive voice of the verb *to love* and the reflexive verb *to dress oneself* are dealt with. These grammar points are followed by a great number of English and Dutch translation exercises. In the *Tweede Cursus* we do not find any explicit grammatical items.

d. vocabulary and idiom

The vocabulary is offered bilingually and precedes the sample sentences of the English exercises. According to the preface of the *Nieuwe Leerwijze der Fransche Taal* (1850) “de leerling wordt gedurig met nieuwe woorden bekend gemaakt, welke in het dagelijksche leven voorkomen, zonder gepijnigd te worden met die vervelende verbuigingen, waardoor zo menig kind den lust tot leeren verliest”. [the learner is continually confronted with new words that are used in daily life, without being tormented with

those boring inflections, as a result of which so many a child loses its love for learning.] At the end of the book there is a vocabulary English-Dutch and Dutch-English, relating to the “Tweede Afdeeling” (English and Dutch translation exercises) and to the “Derde Afdeeling” (English texts).

e. phrases and dialogues

In Ahn’s view, learning a foreign language should be as “natural” as possible, in the way in which a child learns its mother tongue (Macht 1986:113). Useful phrases and conversations were part of this process. The majority of the phrases and conversations are found in the *Tweede Cursus*. The *Eerste Cursus* only has two dialogues (“Derde Afdeeling”, text 1 and 2). Furthermore, the *Tweede Cursus* has 26 dialogues in the “Tweede Afdeeling”, while the “Vijfde Afdeeling” completely consists of “spreekwijzen en zamenspraken” [idiomatic phrases and dialogues].

f. exercises

In the *Nieuwe Leerwijze der Engelsche Taal* there were not only Dutch sentences that had to be translated, as was common in the deductive-contrastive method, but also English sentences had to be read and translated into Dutch. The “Eerste afdeeling” of the *Eerste Cursus* contains 158 English and Dutch exercises consisting of unconnected sentences. The 89 English exercises had to be read, perhaps memorised and translated orally; the 69 Dutch exercises needed to be translated in writing. Besides, the “Tweede afdeeling” contained 74 “opstellen”, consisting of 37 English and 37 Dutch translation exercises. Furthermore, in the “Derde afdeeling” there were 11 English “conversations and narratives” whose stories had to be read and translated and perhaps retold, in imitation of Gerdes’ French course. This means that the 243 exercises of the *Eerste Cursus* consisted of two types: L2-L1 and L1-L2 translation exercises. Figures 6.13 and 6.14 give an overview of the learning activities and types of exercises in Gerdes’ *Eerste Cursus*.

The *Tweede Cursus* has a greater variety of exercises. Apart from the translation sentences, there are also phrases and dialogues, letters and texts for reading and translation. What is new is that there were nine texts in English and Dutch followed by questions. According to the preface of the French coursebook, the pupils were supposed to read and translate these

texts, answer the questions in writing and retell the text in their own words. The second volume finishes with a number of reading exercises in English, whereby a number of words and phrases are given. In his preface to the French course Gerdes suggests that the texts are suitable for reading, translating, retelling and summarising in writing, “bij wijze van *extrait*” [in the manner of an *extrait*].

g. other items

In the *Eerste cursus* there are no other items. In the *Tweede Cursus* 18 letters are offered in the “Tweede afdeeling”.

Organisation of learning content

The *Nieuwe Leerwijze der Engelsche Taal* consists of two volumes which were both meant for beginners. Gerdes was very aware of the necessity of ordering his course content in a well-considered way. In the preface to the *Eerste Cursus* of the French course (1850), he uses the term “opklimming” [gradation] in order to denote the gradually increasing level of difficulty and again he uses the term in the preface to the *Tweede Cursus*. In short, his idea was to offer easy items first, not to provide too much material at a time and give frequent opportunities for repetition: “... en wat noodzakelijk is, in ieder opstel treft men eene herhaling aan”. [... and, what is necessary, in each exercise repetition can be found.] The book does not begin with the traditional order of the word classes, but from the very beginning more or less meaningful sentences are presented, whose grammar points are repeated in similar sentences in the “Tweede afdeeling”. In the “Tweede Afdeeling”, too, an overview is given of the verb with its tenses and moods. The “Derde Afdeeling” presents a number of conversations and narratives to be read and translated.

Presentation of learning content

In the preface to the *Nieuwe Leerwijze der Fransche Taal* – in fact a manual for all of the three language courses – we read that the two volumes were supposed to be finished within one year on the basis of four to six lessons per week. The courses did not begin with a treatment of the classic pattern of word classes, as was the case in the grammar-translation method. Instead, the learner was confronted with a considerable number of sample sentences in English which he would hear, repeat, read and perhaps learn

by heart. The sentences provided samples of a certain grammatical item and were followed by sentences in Dutch with the same grammatical item. After the English sentences had been translated orally, the Dutch sentences were translated in writing. Grammatical items, such as the conjugation of verbs, were not treated in a cognitive way, but were learnt by constant repetition of paradigms, just as long as it took pupils to master them. The conversations and narratives of the “Derde Afdeeling” had to be read and translated. The first volume had to be finished after six months and the pupils would know the English sentences practically by heart. From the start of the second volume, the foreign language had to be spoken, so that at the end of the first year the pupils could use it well enough. Together, the two volumes could form the basis to start with an extensive grammar and/or more advanced reading material. As Ahn and his followers thought reading material important, the *Nieuwe Leerwijze* was supplemented with readers. For ELT this meant that Gerdes had an English reader published in two volumes: *Engelsch Leesboek voor de Scholen*, *Eerste Stuk* 1856, *Tweede Stuk* 1856.

Gerdes’ coursebook was a novelty in Dutch FLT, in as far as grammar rules were (practically) absent. Gerdes and his sources Ahn and Seidenstücker did not believe in memorising rules, but in memorising examples. The forms of verbs and other words were learnt by heart through the English sentences in the “Eerste Afdeeling” and the paradigms in the “Tweede Afdeeling”. On the whole there was more emphasis on speaking than in deductive courses. After de *Eerste Cursus* had been finished, that is after six months, Gerdes insisted on his learners speaking L2. Oral proficiency was mainly practised by retelling narratives. On the other hand, translating still occupied a prominent place in the learning activities. The Dutch sentences were translated anyway and it is quite likely that many teachers who used the course also had their pupils translate the English sentences. It is remarkable that the success of Gerdes’ coursebooks had a relatively short life of about thirty years (1850-1880). Nevertheless, they signify a break away from the grammar-translation method in its purest form.

Historical reception and evaluation

It is remarkable that the *Nieuwe Leerwijze*, for French, German as well as English, should have had such a favourable reception. Within a short time

many printings of these coursebooks were published. Apparently, around 1850 there was a need for something more than only rules and translation exercises. Gerdes was the first Dutch textbook writer to introduce the work of Seidenstücker and Ahn in the Netherlands. Its success may be called representative of the aversion of some writers to the methodology of Meidinger and his followers.

The earliest review of the *Nieuwe Leerwijze* did not concern the English course, but the French course (*Nieuwe Bijdragen*, August 1852:641-642). Another one, also concerning his French course, appeared in *HHB* (1857, vol. 1:2-7). Gerdes appreciated the two reviews, as he refers to them in the prefaces to the sixth and seventh editions of his French course. The first review is the more critical of the two. The reviewer states that he values the usefulness of Gerdes' method and he adds that he himself uses Seidenstücker's method in his own French lessons and that he has good results with it. However, he also states that a course of this kind can only serve as an introduction to "eigenlijke spraakkunst" [grammar proper] and that therefore the title is rather pretentious. On this ground, the reviewer is very critical of the lack of grammar rules and he misses the traditional order in which, in his opinion, they must be presented. However, in the preface to his French coursebook Gerdes had rightly claimed that the underlying structure of his *Nieuwe Leerwijze* was that of the parts of speech grammar: "Ofschoon, deze opstellen het van buiten leeren der spraakkunst uitsluiten, zijn dezelve intusschen naar vastgestelde grondregels ingerigt". [Although these exercises preclude memorising the grammar, they are based on an established pattern of rules.] The second reviewer is more positive and only gives an overview of the contents. The same journal presents quite a positive review of the German course (*HHB* 1857, vol.2:9-10). *Nieuwe Bijdragen* (March 1853:208-215) presents a review of Gerdes' *Handleiding tot het spoedig leeren der Engelsche Taal* (1851), which is rather negative in tone.

There is only one review of the English course of the *Nieuwe Leerwijze* known to us (*HHB* 1857:6-7). Rather than giving an evaluation of its content, the review supplies a summary of the preface to the English as well as of the French course. The only specific observation is that the gradation of the first volume of the English course is a gradual enough. Furthermore, on the basis of the good impression that the French course makes, the reviewer assumes that the English course will lead to equally good results.

FIGURE 6.13 OVERVIEW, IN ABSOLUTE NUMBERS, OF RECEPTIVE LEARNING ACTIVITIES AND TYPES OF EXERCISES IN GERDES' *NIEUWE LEERWIJZE DER ENGELSCH E TAAL. EERSTE CURSUS* (1855)

	language skills exercises							
	receptive							
	listening		reading					
	sound		word		sentence		text	
Types of exercises	A		A		A		A	
Numbers in typology (1/7)	1		2		3		4	
Learning activities								
<i>Read and translate these sentences from English into Dutch</i>								
<i>Read and translate these texts from English into Dutch</i>								
							126	
								11

FIGURE 6.14 OVERVIEW, IN ABSOLUTE NUMBERS, OF PRODUCTIVE LEARNING ACTIVITIES AND TYPES OF EXERCISES IN GERDES' *NIEUWE LEERWIJZE DER ENGELSCH E TAAL. EERSTE CURSUS* (1855)

language skills exercises					
		productive			
		speaking	writing		
Types of exercises	others				15
	text	D	meaning	14d	
	text	C	meaning	14c	
	text	B	meaning	14b	
			form	14a	
	sentence	C	form/ meaning	13c	
	sentence	B	meaning	13b	
			form	13a	106
	word	C	form/ meaning	12c	
	word	B	meaning	12b	
			form	12a	
	text	D	meaning	11d	
	text	C	meaning	11c	
	text	B	meaning	11b	
			form	11a	
	sentence	C	form/ meaning	10c	
	sentence	B	meaning	10b	
			form	10a	
	word	C	form/ meaning	9c	
	word	B	meaning	9b	
			form	9a	
	sound	B	form	8	
Focus on form or meaning					
Numbers in typology (8/15)					
Learning activities					
Translate these sentences into English					

6.2.8 *De Engelsche Taalmeester* (c1856)

by Charles Hains Gunn (dates of life unknown)

Author's background

Little is known about the life of Charles Hains Gunn. Presumably, he came to the Netherlands at the end of the 1840s, for his earliest work known to be published in the Netherlands, *A new English grammar and delectus*⁵⁹³, *part one*, appeared in Rotterdam in 1848. By that time he had already had a work published in England, *Desultory Hours*, which came out in Yarmouth in 1844⁵⁹⁴. Like so many English people before him, Gunn would have come to Rotterdam to teach English. However it be, various prefaces make mention of him living in Rotterdam in the 1850s. According to the preface of his *The historical reader and translator* he was still living in Rotterdam in 1859, but shortly afterwards he must have moved to Amsterdam, for, when his textbook *Do you speak English?* (1861) appeared, Gunn was a teacher at the local grammar school there⁵⁹⁵. Probably, he became Cowan's successor, who left Amsterdam in 1860 in order to work for the British diplomatic service (see also 6.2.6). From the preface to his *French Delectus* (1865) it appears that besides English Gunn also taught French.

From his published works it further appears that Gunn showed a preference for literature. The title of his very first publication, *Desultory Hours*, points in that direction and some of his works are literary manuals or anthologies. Gunn seems to have played an important intermediary role between English literature and Dutch readers, for he wrote at least five works relating to (the teaching of) literature, the most successful publication being his adaptation of *The Golden Treasury of English Poetry* (1863), originally compiled by F.C. Palgrave⁵⁹⁶. This anthology became

⁵⁹³ According to *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*, a “delectus” is an early nineteenth century word for “a selection of passages, esp. Latin and Greek, for translation”.

⁵⁹⁴ A copy is available in the British Library; see *British Museum Catalogue of Printed Books*, London 1961 (vol. 94).

⁵⁹⁵ The Amsterdam grammar school – nowadays named Barlaeus Gymnasium – used to be located at the Singel, one of the city's major canals.

famous throughout the world and was also popular in the Netherlands. For his own literature lessons at the grammar school he probably wrote *Manual of modern English prose literature* (1862) and *Manual of modern English poetical literature* (1863), but, of course, his books may also have been used at other grammar schools or at the new High Burgher Schools, where literature was an compulsory subject. Gunn was also editor of a literary magazine, the *Reviewer, English and American monthly*. This magazine, published by Binger Brothers in Amsterdam, seems to have been short-lived. Gunn's literary activities remind us of those of his fellow countryman B.S. Nayler, who lived and worked in Amsterdam at the same time that Gunn was teaching in the Netherlands⁵⁹⁷. This Englishman embarked upon a number of literary activities, too, and acted as intermediary between the world of English-American literature and a circle of interested Dutch readers (see also 2.1). Within a period of about seventeen years, Gunn wrote fifteen works, most of which were in circulation for only a short time:

- *A new English grammar and delectus, part one*. Rotterdam, 1848
- *Selection of English reading-lessons in prose and poetry, being a practical introduction to English composition. With copious exercises for translation and reconstruction according to given rules and idioms*. Rotterdam, 1850
- *English idiomatic phraseology*. Den Haag, 1852
- *The English delectus, part one*. Rotterdam, 1855
- *Examination Questions on the English delectus*. Rotterdam, 1855
- *De Engelsche taalmeester. Handleiding om in vijftig lessen de Engelsche taal grondig te leeren kennen*. Rotterdam (?), c1856
- *The historical reader and translator*. Rotterdam, 1859
- *Exercises on A Selection of English Synonyms, edited by Archbishop Whateley*⁵⁹⁸. London, 1859 (in British Library)

⁵⁹⁶ C.H. Gunn introduced this successful poetry anthology to the Dutch reading public. This book of verse was to be tremendously popular throughout the English speaking world and ran into many reprints. Also in Holland the book went through several reprints. It was published by the Amsterdam bookseller W.H. Kirberger, who between 1850 and 1883 specialised in the import of English books (Van der Weel 2002). In 1991 a facsimile edition appeared.

⁵⁹⁷ Nayler lived and worked in Amsterdam between 1820 and 1848.

⁵⁹⁸ A sixth, revised edition of the *English Synonyms* was published in Arnhem in 1869.

- *A Selection of synonyms adapted to the exercises on synonyms.* Amsterdam, c1860
- *Do you speak English? Handboek om spoedig en gemakkelijk Engelsch te leeren spreken. Bevatende de meest gebruikelijke uitdrukkingen, welke in den dagelijkschen omgang voorkomen. Vrij bewerkt naar het Hoogduitsch en Engelsch Handboek van K.G. Clairmont. Tweede druk, herzien en verbeterd door C.H. Gunn.* Amsterdam, without year
- *Manual of modern English prose literature.* Haarlem, 1862
- *Key to the exercises in C.H. Gunn's Engelsche Taalmeester. Exclusively for the use of teachers.* Amsterdam, 1863
- *The golden treasury of English poetry edited by C.H. Gunn.* Amsterdam, 1863 (originally edited by F.C. Palgrave)
- *Manual of modern English poetical literature.* Haarlem, 1863
- *The French Delectus: a selection of materials for translation exercises.* Amsterdam: W.H. Kirberger, 1865.

Target group

De Engelsche Taalmeester was primarily meant for school education and possibly for private tuition. However, for private tuition the book seems less suitable, as there are no directions for pronunciation and as the learning content requires some help from a teacher. According to the preface, it was Gunn's conviction that the pronunciation and idiomatic phrases of English could only be mastered with the assistance of a teacher.

Explicit views on language teaching and learning

The most important statement by Gunn in his preface is that it is not the number of words of a foreign language that proves a learner's linguistic competence, but the way in which the learners uses those words. Gunn reached this conclusion after reading an article in the *Edinburgh Review* in which it was claimed that the English language has many more words than are actually used by native speakers. This convinced Gunn that learners of a foreign language can make do with a limited number of words. With that objective in mind, Gunn wrote the *Engelsche Taalmeester* which offered word lists, exercises and reading texts in which words occurred in various combinations. He also stated that, if it is true that only few native speakers of English have a complete command of their language, foreign language learners will never be able to attain a perfect

command of it. And he added that learning a foreign language is not the work of one year or the reading of one book, but of “vele jaren, veel lezen, veel onderzoeken en veel omgang met hen die de taal goed spreken en kennen”. [many years, much reading, much investigation and much contact with those who speak and know the language well.] In his preface Gunn opposes pronunciation rules and transcriptions of English. After all, pronunciation can only be learnt by imitation, he argues, and he underlines this opinion with a French quotation: “L’Anglais ne s’apprend que de vive voix” [One can only learn English by speaking]. Furthermore, he objected to cacographies. The preface ends with an explanation of teaching procedures.

Origin and sources

Why Gunn wrote his *Engelsche Taalmeester* we do not know. The book will primarily have been written for his own use, because the greater part was in English with only a little Dutch. Given the scanty amount of rules and teacher instructions and the nature of the questions on the texts, the book gives the impression of being rather teacher-dependent, whereby the teacher preferably was a native speaker or at least had a thorough command of English.

Gunn does not mention a single source; we only have the rather cryptic French quotation above, which leads us to believe that he had another textbook in mind when writing his own work. This might have been T. Robertson’s French-English coursebook *Nouveau cours pratique, analytique, théorique et synthétique de la langue anglaise* (Paris 1838), a work that, according to Macht (1986:60), was based on the ideas of Hamilton and Jacotot. It was Robertson who introduced the Hamilton-Jacotot method at French and German schools. In the Netherlands, too, an adaptation of Robertson’s coursebook was published and subsequently reviewed in the *Nederlandsch Tijdschrift voor de praktische beoefening van de Fransche, de Engelsche en de Hoogduitsche taal* (1860:21-25)⁵⁹⁹. We also know that Gunn adapted a German-English book of idioms by K.G. Clairmont into a Dutch-English book of idioms, which suggests that he

⁵⁹⁹ In the review it appears that Robertson’s teaching method, adapted for Dutch learners, was mainly based on translating. Furthermore, it strongly reminds us of the procedure that was proposed in Roggen’s treatise (1829I).

may have been familiar with Clairmont's English coursebook *Reine Grundlehre der englischen Sprache* (1831). Macht (1986:71-81) places this coursebook in the tradition of the Hamilton-Jacotot method, too. Indeed, a number of elements in Gunn's *Engelsche Taalmeester* remind us of the practices of Hamilton, Jacotot, Robertson and Clairmont (see also Macht 1986:49-103):

- there are no pronunciation rules (cf. Hamilton and Jacotot)
- there are hardly any grammar rules; grammar is learnt inductively (cf. Jacotot)
- with the exception of the 12 word lists, vocabulary is learnt in context (cf. Hamilton, Jacotot and Robertson)
- reading practice consists of L1-L2 and L2-L1 translations and comprehension questions on the texts (cf. Hamilton, Jacotot and Robertson)
- speaking practice consists of oral questions on the texts (cf. Jacotot and Robertson).

Printing history

We do not know when the *Engelsche Taalmeester* was published first; we only know when the second, third and fourth editions came out, viz. in 1859, 1862, and 1864 respectively⁶⁰⁰. It may be inferred from the place of publication, Rotterdam, that Gunn wrote his coursebook in that city, before he moved to Amsterdam to teach at the local grammar school. The second edition was published by Oldenzeel, the third and fourth editions by G. Theod. Bom of Amsterdam. Except for the title page, there are no differences in content between the third and the fourth editions. It is remarkable that Gunn's coursebook had three reprints in a relatively short space of time. This may have had something to do with the status that Gunn enjoyed as "lector" at the Amsterdam grammar school and with his reputation as author of literary anthologies. However, the popularity of the *Engelsche Taalmeester* was short-lived and, as far as we know, there are no later references to it, so that we must conclude that it did not greatly influence other coursebooks.

⁶⁰⁰ *Brinkman's Catalogus* does not record publications of *De Engelsche Taalmeester* prior to the third edition (1862).

Table of Contents

(Third edition 1862)

[iii]	Title page
[v]-viii	<i>Voorrede</i> (Preface)
1-164	Twelve word lists, fifty exercises and fifty reading-lessons
165	<i>nota bene</i> (recommendation to learners to compile their own vocabularies)
166-183	English-Dutch lexical notes referring to reading texts
184	errata

Outline of course content

a. texts

De Engelsche Taalmeester contains fifty reading texts, nearly all of which have geographical, historical and classical-literary themes as subjects, such as “the surface of the earth”, “the feudal system” and “Xerxes”. Half of the texts were followed by comprehension questions on the texts in English. They had to be answered in English, as was the case in Gerdes (1856II) (*Tweede Cursus*). After the first twenty-four texts there were no more questions, as Gunn felt that, from this point, learners should be able to retell the texts in their own words.

b. spelling and pronunciation

There are no rules or transcription, as Gunn held very negative views on their usefulness. In the preface he says: “Het komt mij voor dat deze twee hulpmiddelen ten hoogste afkeurenswaardig en ongerijmd zijn, daar zij bij geene mogelijkheid van nut kunnen wezen, behalve voor diegenen die zich veel moeite willen geven om de Engelsche taal *niet* te leeren”. [It seems to me that these two aids (i.e. transcription and cacographies) are absurd and strongly to be condemned, since they can be of no use, except for those who want to go to great lengths *not* to learn the language.]

c. grammar

De Engelsche Taalmeester does not contain very much grammar. Each of the twelve ‘lessons’ has a number of grammatical and semantic rules, which, quite remarkably, are offered in footnotes. In this way, the relatively inferior position of grammar is stressed. The rules relate both to morphology and syntax and sometimes take the form of a paradigm. Grammatical words are occasionally presented in word lists. The first three rules in the book illustrate

the variety of morphological, syntactic and semantic rules. Thus, the first rule discusses the form of the indefinite article (*a/an*), the second the position in the sentence of nouns indicating time (*to day*), while the third compares the meaning of *beautiful* with *fine*, *handsome* and *pretty*. In other words, there is no structure based on the traditional order of the word classes. Altogether, there are forty-three rules, all phrased in Dutch. Not only are forms and word order dealt with, but also meaning and usage. For instance, rule 32 explains the meaning and usage of the auxiliaries *shall*, *will* and *should*.

d. vocabulary and idioms

Each of the twelve ‘lessons’ starts with a Dutch-English word list of fifty words on average. This puts the total amount at about 600 words, being the vocabulary to be used productively. The amount of words corresponds with Gunn’s opinion expressed in the preface that the average native speaker uses no more than 600 words productively: “A person who does not belong to the educated classes of society, will at no period acquire more than three hundred, or three hundred and fifty. Upon a stock of twice that amount he may mix with learned men, and even write a book.” In a *Nota Bene* at the back of the book Gunn advises his learners to compile a vocabulary themselves. It would have to take the form of derivations based on the model: verb – noun – adjective, e.g. *flatten* – *flatness* – *flat*. Apart from the productive vocabulary in the twelve word lists, the reading texts provide a solid quantity of new vocabulary to be learnt receptively. The meaning of the words could be looked up in a glossary of eighteen pages.

e. phrases and dialogues

There are no separate sections with idiomatic phrases and dialogues. However, these occur in the word lists.

f. exercises

The exercises in Gunn’s coursebook are divided into 50 English “reading lessons” and 50 “exercises”. Of these “exercises” 30 are presented in English and 20 in Dutch, so that altogether 80 exercises are presented in English. The 20 Dutch exercises had to be translated into English. The English exercises are used for a variety of activities. Not only do they have to be read, translated into Dutch and translated back into English, there are also a number of other assignments, such as blank-filling and transformation. Alto-

gether we find five reading/translation exercises with words and idiomatic phrases that also occur in the word lists and subsequent rules. Also, these words and idiomatic phrases were probably used to practise pronunciation. Besides, there are twenty transformation exercises, aiming at practising grammatical forms and sentence patterns. This is achieved, for instance, by changing person or gender in a sentence, putting sentences in the singular or plural, or by changing the tense. Finally, there are five blank-filling exercises in which an auxiliary or conjunction have to be supplied. The fifty “reading lessons” are English texts to be read, translated into Dutch and summarised. Their function is to practise pronunciation, expand vocabulary and practise the grammar patterns that has been presented in the word lists, rules and exercises. Figures 6.15 and 6.16 give an overview of the learning activities and types of exercises in the *De Engelsche Taalmeester*.

g. other items

There are no other items.

Organisation of course content

De Engelsche Taalmeester is not organised in chapters dealing with a particular word class or certain grammatical items, but it consists of twelve sections with exercises and reading texts. This reminds us of the structure in Clairmont (1831), in which the grammar was also dealt with in twelve reading lessons (cf. Macht 1986:77). Each section starts with a word list which contains grammatical words and sometimes paradigms. The word lists are followed by a relatively small number (43) of grammatical and lexical rules. The rules are followed by exercises which have to be used for various purposes. For instance, they have to be translated into Dutch and subsequently translated back into English, but there are different assignments as well. The exercises are followed by English texts for reading and translating. The texts are followed by questions in English, with the help of which the student has to retell the text or give a summary of it, using the words and phrases in the text. The structure is linear rather than concentric, although there is some repetition in the exercises.

Presentation of course content

The few rules and the absence of pronunciation marks point to the central role of the teacher in presenting the course content. Thus, the pupil

greatly depends on his presentation, explanation and feedback. The vocabulary in the word lists is to be learned productively. For the rest vocabulary is learnt in context, through the English “reading lessons”. Most emphasis is put on working with the exercises and texts. Seeing that Gunn deals with grammar mainly on the basis of sentences and texts instead of rules, we can speak of a moderately inductive method.

The twenty Dutch exercises have to be translated into English. The remaining thirty English exercises have to be translated into Dutch and then translated back (orally) into English, a technique reminding us of the interlinear translation method of Hamilton and Robertson (Macht 1986:52-53). Besides, on the basis of these English exercises, other learning activities have to be carried out, aiming at reproduction of word forms and sentence structures. In his Preface (1862:vii) Gunn suggests that these activities had better be done orally. The word forms and sentence structures of the exercises also occur in the reading texts. These texts may also be used as dictations. The questions on the texts serve as comprehension checks and as prompts to get the learners to speak, for with the help of the questions the pupils are induced to retell the texts in their own words.

Summarising, we can conclude that Gunn employs a moderately inductive grammar approach, that he works on a strongly contrastive basis, that reading (English texts) play an important role in his teaching method, that vocabulary is largely learnt in context and that speaking receives systematic attention.

Historical reception and evaluation

On the basis of the number of editions it may be claimed that around 1860 Gunn's *Engelsche Taalmeester* enjoyed a short period of popularity, but it appears that soon afterwards the coursebook was forgotten. The education journal *Nieuwe Bijdragen* (1851:771-773) has a review of Gunn's *Selection of English reading lessons* from 1850. From this review it appears that the structure of the *Selection of English reading lessons* was very similar to *De Engelsche Taalmeester*, which was to be published some years later. The review was moderately positive, but had some critical remarks regarding the word lists – something which Gunn had obviously taken to heart when *De Engelsche Taalmeester* was published. Of *De Engelsche Taalmeester* itself no review is known.

FIGURE 6.15 OVERVIEW, IN ABSOLUTE NUMBERS, OF RECEPTIVE LEARNING ACTIVITIES AND TYPES OF EXERCISES IN GUNN’S *DE ENGELSCH E TAALMEESTER* (C1856)

	language skills exercises							
	receptive							
	listening		reading					
	sound	word	sentence	text	word	sentence	text	
Types of exercises	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	
Numbers in typology (1/15)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Learning activities								
Read and translate these words into Dutch					5			
Read and translate these texts (and retell the story)							26	

DE ENGELSCH E TAALMEESTER (C1856)

language skills exercises																									
productive																									
speaking																									
writing																									
others																									
Types of exercises	sound	B	form	8	9a	9b	9c	10a	10b	10c	11a	11b	11c	11d	12a	12b	12c	13a	13b	13c	14a	14b	14c	14d	15
Focus on form and/or meaning	word	B	form	8	9a	9b	9c	10a	10b	10c	11a	11b	11c	11d	12a	12b	12c	13a	13b	13c	14a	14b	14c	14d	15
Numbers in typology (8/15)	word	B	form	8	9a	9b	9c	10a	10b	10c	11a	11b	11c	11d	12a	12b	12c	13a	13b	13c	14a	14b	14c	14d	15
Fill in an appropriate grammatical word	word	B	form	8	9a	9b	9c	10a	10b	10c	11a	11b	11c	11d	12a	12b	12c	13a	13b	13c	14a	14b	14c	14d	15
Translate these sentences into English	word	B	form	8	9a	9b	9c	10a	10b	10c	11a	11b	11c	11d	12a	12b	12c	13a	13b	13c	14a	14b	14c	14d	15
Rephrase these English sentences	word	B	form	8	9a	9b	9c	10a	10b	10c	11a	11b	11c	11d	12a	12b	12c	13a	13b	13c	14a	14b	14c	14d	15
Read (and translate) these texts and answer the questions on them	text	B	form	8	9a	9b	9c	10a	10b	10c	11a	11b	11c	11d	12a	12b	12c	13a	13b	13c	14a	14b	14c	14d	15
	text	B	form	8	9a	9b	9c	10a	10b	10c	11a	11b	11c	11d	12a	12b	12c	13a	13b	13c	14a	14b	14c	14d	15
	text	B	form	8	9a	9b	9c	10a	10b	10c	11a	11b	11c	11d	12a	12b	12c	13a	13b	13c	14a	14b	14c	14d	15
	text	B	form	8	9a	9b	9c	10a	10b	10c	11a	11b	11c	11d	12a	12b	12c	13a	13b	13c	14a	14b	14c	14d	15
	text	B	form	8	9a	9b	9c	10a	10b	10c	11a	11b	11c	11d	12a	12b	12c	13a	13b	13c	14a	14b	14c	14d	15
	text	B	form	8	9a	9b	9c	10a	10b	10c	11a	11b	11c	11d	12a	12b	12c	13a	13b	13c	14a	14b	14c	14d	15
	text	B	form	8	9a	9b	9c	10a	10b	10c	11a	11b	11c	11d	12a	12b	12c	13a	13b	13c	14a	14b	14c	14d	15
	text	B	form	8	9a	9b	9c	10a	10b	10c	11a	11b	11c	11d	12a	12b	12c	13a	13b	13c	14a	14b	14c	14d	15
	text	B	form	8	9a	9b	9c	10a	10b	10c	11a	11b	11c	11d	12a	12b	12c	13a	13b	13c	14a	14b	14c	14d	15
	text	B	form	8	9a	9b	9c	10a	10b	10c	11a	11b	11c	11d	12a	12b	12c	13a	13b	13c	14a	14b	14c	14d	15
	text	B	form	8	9a	9b	9c	10a	10b	10c	11a	11b	11c	11d	12a	12b	12c	13a	13b	13c	14a	14b	14c	14d	15
	text	B	form	8	9a	9b	9c	10a	10b	10c	11a	11b	11c	11d	12a	12b	12c	13a	13b	13c	14a	14b	14c	14d	15
	text	B	form	8	9a	9b	9c	10a	10b	10c	11a	11b	11c	11d	12a	12b	12c	13a	13b	13c	14a	14b	14c	14d	15
	text	B	form	8	9a	9b	9c	10a	10b	10c	11a	11b	11c	11d	12a	12b	12c	13a	13b	13c	14a	14b	14c	14d	15
	text	B	form	8	9a	9b	9c	10a	10b	10c	11a	11b	11c	11d	12a	12b	12c	13a	13b	13c	14a	14b	14c	14d	15
	text	B	form	8	9a	9b	9c	10a	10b	10c	11a	11b	11c	11d	12a	12b	12c	13a	13b	13c	14a	14b	14c	14d	15
	text	B	form	8	9a	9b	9c	10a	10b	10c	11a	11b	11c	11d	12a	12b	12c	13a	13b	13c	14a	14b	14c	14d	15
	text	B	form	8	9a	9b	9c	10a	10b	10c	11a	11b	11c	11d	12a	12b	12c	13a	13b	13c	14a	14b	14c	14d	15
	text	B	form	8	9a	9b	9c	10a	10b	10c	11a	11b	11c	11d	12a	12b	12c	13a	13b	13c	14a	14b	14c	14d	15
	text	B	form	8	9a	9b	9c	10a	10b	10c	11a	11b	11c	11d	12a	12b	12c	13a	13b	13c	14a	14b	14c	14d	15
	text	B	form	8	9a	9b	9c	10a	10b	10c	11a	11b	11c	11d	12a	12b	12c	13a	13b	13c	14a	14b	14c	14d	15
	text	B	form	8	9a	9b	9c	10a	10b	10c	11a	11b	11c	11d	12a	12b	12c	13a	13b	13c	14a	14b	14c	14d	15
	text	B	form	8	9a	9b	9c	10a	10b	10c	11a	11b	11c	11d	12a	12b	12c	13a	13b	13c	14a	14b	14c	14d	15
	text	B	form	8	9a	9b	9c	10a	10b	10c	11a	11b	11c	11d	12a	12b	12c	13a	13b	13c	14a	14b	14c	14d	15
	text	B	form	8	9a	9b	9c	10a	10b	10c	11a	11b	11c	11d	12a	12b	12c	13a	13b	13c	14a	14b	14c	14d	15
	text	B	form	8	9a	9b	9c	10a	10b	10c	11a	11b	11c	11d	12a	12b	12c	13a	13b	13c	14a	14b	14c	14d	15
	text	B	form	8	9a	9b	9c	10a	10b	10c	11a	11b	11c	11d	12a	12b	12c	13a	13b	13c	14a	14b	14c	14d	15
	text	B	form	8	9a	9b	9c	10a	10b	10c	11a	11b	11c	11d	12a	12b	12c	13a	13b	13c	14a	14b	14c	14d	15
	text	B	form	8	9a	9b	9c	10a	10b	10c	11a	11b	11c	11d	12a	12b	12c	13a	13b	13c	14a	14b	14c	14d	15
	text	B	form	8	9a	9b	9c	10a	10b	10c	11a	11b	11c	11d	12a	12b	12c	13a	13b	13c	14a	14b	14c	14d	15
	text	B	form	8	9a	9b	9c	10a	10b	10c	11a	11b	11c	11d	12a	12b	12c	13a	13b	13c	14a	14b	14c	14d	15
	text	B	form	8	9a	9b	9c	10a	10b	10c	11a	11b	11c	11d	12a	12b	12c	13a	13b	13c	14a	14b	14c	14d	15
	text	B	form	8	9a	9b	9c	10a	10b	10c	11a	11b	11c	11d	12a	12b	12c	13a	13b	13c	14a	14b	14c	14d	15
	text	B	form	8	9a	9b	9c	10a	10b	10c	11a	11b	11c	11d	12a	12b	12c	13a	13b	13c	14a	14b	14c	14d	15
	text	B	form	8	9a	9b	9c	10a	10b	10c	11a	11b	11c	11d	12a	12b	12c	13a	13b	13c	14a	14b	14c	14d	15
	text	B	form	8	9a	9b	9c	10a	10b	10c	11a	11b	11c	11d	12a	12b	12c	13a	13b	13c	14a	14b	14c	14d	15
	text	B	form	8	9a	9b	9c	10a	10b	10c	11a	11b	11c	11d	12a	12b	12c	13a	13b	13c	14a	14b	14c	14d	15
	text	B	form	8	9a	9b	9c	10a	10b	10c	11a	11b	11c	11d	12a	12b	12c	13a	13b	13c	14a	14b	14c	14d	15
	text																								

6.2.9 Handleiding bij het onderwijs in het Engelsch

II. Inleiding. De voornaamste eigenaardigheden der Engelsche taal (1881)

By C. Stoffel (1845-1908)

Author's background

Stoffel's life is quite well documented. We have an article by Bunt (1964) which sheds light on Stoffel's professional career and his significance for contemporary ELT. After his death, A.E.H. Swaen, who in 1913 was to become professor of English language and literature at the Municipal University of Amsterdam, published an obituary to commemorate his friend (Swaen 1909-1910). Stuurman (1993:40-51) has added some notes to this obituary and translated it into English. These two publications are our chief biographical sources⁶⁰¹.

Cornelis Stoffel was born in Deventer, where he attended the French school of P.H. van Moerkerken and afterwards the commercial class of the local grammar school. He started his teaching career as a trainee at French schools in Den Bosch and Deventer, but on the advice of Johan van Vloten⁶⁰² (Leek 1988:75) left for London to improve his English and to read for the Secondary School Certificate examination. In this respect he placed himself in the ranks of distinguished anglicists like Roorda, Eijkman, Poutsma, Fijn van Draat and Kruisinga, who all spent some time in England in preparation of their Secondary School Certificate examinations⁶⁰³. In London he worked in the British Museum from March until the end of July 1866. Upon his return, he took his English degree in August and in September he began teaching at the Higher Burgher School in Dordrecht. Three years later, he was appointed at the newly-founded commercial school in Amsterdam, where he would be employed until 1887. Together with two colleagues Stoffel founded

⁶⁰¹ Also see *NNBW* II, 1377.

⁶⁰² Johan van Vloten (1818-1883) was a literary man, known for his Shakespeare translations. In 1854 he was appointed professor of Dutch literature and history at the Deventer Atheneum.

⁶⁰³ See the respective biographies/obituaries in Stuurman (1993).

Taalstudie, a two-monthly periodical for modern language studies, in 1879 and became editor of the English section⁶⁰⁴. However, after a few years, he felt obliged to give up his place on the editorial board because of physical and mental ill-health. His language course *Handleiding bij het Onderwijs in het Engelsch* was published between 1880 and 1883, while he was still actively engaged in teaching. In 1887 his deteriorating health forced him to resign his teaching job and he settled in Nijmegen, where he could devote himself entirely to his philological studies and publications. For some time he also chaired the combined teacher examination boards for English. His publications *Studies in English Written and Spoken* (Zutphen 1894) and *Intensives and Downtoners* (Heidelberg 1901) are considered to be his main works (Bunt 1964:218). On the ground of his scholarly work he was invited in 1900 to accept a professorship at Groningen, at that time the only university with a Chair for English Studies. However, he felt obliged to decline because of his ill health. In acknowledgement of his scholarship he received an honorary doctor's degree from the University of Groningen. His illness gradually became worse and in 1908 he died in Nijmegen.

On the basis of his publications Stoffel must be regarded as one of the pioneers of English studies in the Netherlands in the second half of the 19th century, together with such anglicists as Beckering Vinckers (1821-1892), Ten Bruggencate (1849-1922), Eijkman (1854-1937) and Roorda (1855-1930). Taking *Studies in English Written and Spoken* as its starting-point, Zandvoort (1974:62) mentions the year 1894 as the beginning of Dutch supremacy in modern English language studies, which in his view stretched over three quarters of a century. Stoffel's high reputation of anglicist is also illustrated by the fact that he acted as chairman of the English teacher examination boards in 1881 and probably for a few more years⁶⁰⁵. Apart from periodicals and publications, these teacher examinations played an important role in ELT from the 1860s onwards, after the

⁶⁰⁴ His co-editors were F.J. Rode for French and T.H. de Beer for German (Wilhelm 1996:12-22).

⁶⁰⁵ *Verslag van de commissie belast met het afnemen der examens van hen die een acte van bekwaamheid verlangden voor het Middelbaar Onderwijs in de Nederlandsche taal- en letterkunde, vreemde talen en hare letterkunde...*[etc.] ARA, 2^e afdeling, Ministerie van BIZA, inventarisnummer 2.04.09, 894.

Higher Burgher School had been established. How important these examination sessions were, is described by Van Essen (1983:75), who qualifies them as the (awe-)inspiring meeting-points that started off the “pragmatic and predominantly nonhistorical tradition in the study of English in the Netherlands”.

Stoffel published the following textbooks for schools:

- *Handleiding bij het onderwijs in het Engelsch. Deel I. Uitspraak; Lees- en Vertaalboek*, 1880
- *Handleiding bij het onderwijs in het Engelsch. Deel II. Inleiding; de voornaamste eigenaardigheden der Engelsch taal*, 1881
- *Handleiding bij het onderwijs in het Engelsch. Deel III. Voortzetting der vergelijking van het Engelsch met het Nederlandsch*, 1883
- *Engelsch leesboek. I en II. Moderne prozastukken bijeenverzameld en toegelicht door C. Stoffel*, c1890
- *Engelsch leesboek voor aanvangsklassen, met volledige woordenlijst. I, II en III*, 1893.

Target group

The preface to the first volume of *Handleiding bij het onderwijs in het Engelsch* shows that Stoffel’s target group consisted of secondary school pupils, who at the time were still almost exclusively boys. About the reading and translation texts in this volume he says: “Ik heb getracht onderhoudende en voor den knapenleeftijd geschikte stukken te vinden”. [I have tried to find entertaining and suitable pieces for boys.] Apparently, his course was not meant for beginners, nor for self-tuition, as Stoffel himself remarks: “Voor zelfoefening door mingevoorderden is het ongeschikt”. [This work is not suitable for self-study by beginners.] According to A.E.H. Swaen, at the time Reader in English literature at Groningen University, the course was also used by those who were reading for secondary teacher examinations (Stuurman 1983:44). The teacher journal *De Drie Talen* (1884) usually placed the course on its list of recommended manuals for advanced students of English, as at that time there was no Dutch alternative that could claim an equally high level of grammatical description⁶⁰⁶.

Explicit views on language teaching and learning

In the preface to the second volume of the course, Stoffel at once states his basic principle: “Alle onderwijs in vreemde talen moet, zal het werkelijk ontwikkelend en vormend zijn voor den geest, zich ten nauwste aansluiten aan der leerlingen kennis van hunne moedertaal. Onderwijs in eene vreemde taal, dat de moedertaal ignoreert, is zuiver werktuigelijk, en geeft den leerlingen steenen voor brood. Met die overtuiging vervuld, heb ik in dit boek zooveel mogelijk de Nederlandsche taal tot punt van uitgang genomen, overal het Engelsche taaleigen met het Nederlandsche vergeleken, en het onderscheid doen uitkomen”. [All foreign language teaching should closely link up with the pupils’ knowledge of their mother tongue, if it is really to develop and educate their minds. Foreign language teaching that ignores the mother tongue is purely mechanical and provides the pupils with bricks instead of bread. Convinced of this truth, I have taken the Dutch language as a starting point and compared the English idioms with the Dutch idioms wherever possible to bring out the differences.] Stoffel also assumes that his book will be used by foreigners who are familiar with the Dutch language. With his explicit choice for a bilingual approach in which language rules played an important part, he implicitly takes a stand against textbooks that only use English and/or favour a minimum of rules (such as Gunn’s *Engelsche Taalmeester* c1856II or Roodhuyzen’s *Introduction to the use of the English Language* 1870II). Later he was to give vent to his scepticism about the “direct method” in a review of Roorda’s *Engelsche Spraakkunst* (cf. 6.2.10). Stoffel is of the opinion that the learner should obtain linguistic insight primarily through his native language. On the basis of contrastive analysis, a foreign language grammar only needs to emphasize the items that are different for speakers of the native language. This implied that an English coursebook for speakers of Dutch would inevitably have to be different from an English coursebook for other language speakers.

⁶⁰⁶ It should not be forgotten that the scholarly, contrastive grammars of English for advanced students, which were to grant Dutch anglicists their reputation of experts on contemporary English grammar, had not yet been published. Poutsma’s *Grammar of late modern English* did not start to appear until 1904 and the publication of Kruisinga’s *Grammar of present-day English* did not begin until 1911.

At the same time Stoffel feels that for pupils a grammar is only a tool and not an end in itself (preface to *Engelsch Leesboek* 1893). He also realises that a grammar book does not need to be exhaustive for young learners and should only offer items that are relevant to them: “Mijn boek is slechts eene ‘Handleiding bij het onderwijs in het Engelsch’, geene ‘Engelsche spraakkunst’; daarvoor komt er te veel in voor van zuiver lexicographische aard, en wordt er te veel in gemist, dat in geene Engelsche spraakleer zou mogen ontbreken”. [My book is just a guidebook for the teaching of English, not an English grammar; it contains too much of a purely lexicographic nature, and it misses too much of what is essential in any English grammar.] (Preface to volume II, 1881). Stoffel also believes in what he calls self-activation of the learner or “grammaire en action”. The phrase was borrowed from Beckering Vinckers’ *Engelsche Spraakkunst* (1850II:X): “Verwijzen is voor mij bij taalonderwijs een hoofdmiddel, ’t is *la grammaire en action*”. [Reference in teaching a language is a chief tool for me, it is grammar in action.] What they both meant was the practice of pupils referring to the rules in the exercises and looking up the rules.

Origin and sources

It is not clear what induced Stoffel to write his *Handleiding*. According to the preface to volume I it had been his intention from the very start to write three volumes, one on the phonology of English and two on morphology and syntax. Stoffel mentions all the sources that helped him to write his course. According to the preface, Volume I is an adaptation of (the 50th edition of) Plate’s *Elementarstufe* from his *Methodisch geordneter Lehrgang der Englischen Sprache* (first edition 1850)⁶⁰⁷. In Stoffel’s view, this book contains the most important rules for learning English pronunciation. Along with Plate, Stoffel is of the opinion that learners should acquire some insight into English phonology. Initially, he intended to follow the *Elementarstufe* as closely as possible, but he comments that he remained true to Plate only as far as page 63 and afterwards followed his own course. The second part of this volume consists of texts which Stoffel had partly taken from such writers as (Miss) Braddon, Dickens, Hughes (*Tom Brown’s Schooldays*) and Washington Irving.

⁶⁰⁷ See Macht (1986:245-261).

In Volume II Stoffel mentions several sources of inspiration, i.e. Hoppe's *Elementarbuch*⁶⁰⁸, Mätzner's *Englische Grammatik*⁶⁰⁹: *Satzlehre*, from which he has derived many examples, Kramers' *Nederlandsch-Fransch Woordenboek*, for the discussion of prepositions, and Terwey's Dutch grammar, for the use of conjunctions. Besides, he mentions Wilhelm Zimmermann's *Lehrbuch der englischen Sprache*. This coursebook was translated and adapted by B. Dingemans (1864) and P.H. van Moerkerken (1871), who had been Stoffel's teacher in Deventer, and it was given the title *Zimmermanns Engelsche Spraakkunst*. Stoffel himself taught from this book for years and had his pupils translate the rules into English. He recommends this procedure also for his own *Handleiding*, referring to the above quotation by Beckering Vinckers (1875). Furthermore, in the preface to Volume III, Stoffel mentions two works by Rudolf Sonnenburg⁶¹⁰ as sources for his grammar and exercises.

Printing history

The *Handleiding bij het onderwijs in het Engelsch* consists of three companion parts. *Deel I, Uitspraak; lees- en vertaalboek* was published by Brinkman of Amsterdam in 1880. The second and following editions were published successively by W. Hulscher of Deventer and J.H. & G. van Heteren of Amsterdam. The seventh and eighth editions were revised by Stoffel's friend, the Groningen lecturer A.E.H. Swaen, who was to become professor of English at the Municipal University of Amsterdam.

Deel II, Inleiding; de voornaamste eigenaardigheden der Engelsche taal was published by W. Hulscher of Deventer in 1881. The 10th edition (1899) was published by J.H. & G. Van Heteren of Amsterdam; the 17th edition (without date) by J.M. Meulenhoff of Amsterdam. The 14th and

⁶⁰⁸ A. Hoppe *Lehrbuch der englischen Sprache für Schulen* (1879). This work paid a lot of attention to teaching pronunciation, much more than was customary in those days (Macht 1886:210-213).

⁶⁰⁹ Stoffel here refers to Eduard Mätzner's *Englische Grammatik* (Berlin 1865). Klippel (1994:346) claims that around the middle of the century there was a division between scholarly grammars of English on the one hand and school grammars on the other. In her view Mätzner's *Englische Grammatik* clearly belonged to the former category.

⁶¹⁰ Rudolf Sonnenburg *Grammatik der Englischen Sprache nebst methodischem Uebungsbuche* (Berlin 1865) and *Englisches Uebungsbuch, zweite Abtheilung*.

following editions were edited by Swaen. The original structure, however, was not essentially changed, so that there is hardly any difference between the early and later editions.

Deel III, Voortzetting der vergelijking van het Engelsch met het Nederlandsch was published by W. Hulscher of Deventer (1883); the third and later editions were again published by J.H. & G. Van Heteren of Amsterdam. The fifth and sixth editions were revised by Swaen.

Table of Contents (edition 1883)

Stoffel's *Handleiding* consists of three volumes. *Deel I, Uitspraak; lees- en vertaalboek* (1880), deals with the phonology of English. The "Eerste Afdeeling" [first part] presents pronunciation rules, the "Tweede Afdeeling" [second part] reading texts to practise pronunciation. *Deel II, Inleiding; de voornaamste eigenaardigheden der Engelsche taal* (1881) as well as *Deel III, Voortzetting der vergelijking van het Engelsch met het Nederlandsch* (1883) deal with morphology and syntax. Also *Deel II, Inleiding; de voornaamste eigenaardigheden der Engelsche taal* is divided into two parts. The first part, *Inleiding*, consists of 31 'lessons' in which the main forms of verbs, nouns and adjectives are discussed in combination with thematically arranged vocabulary. The second part, *de voornaamste eigenaardigheden der Engelsche taal*, consists of 70 'lessons' that further explore the content of the first part. *Deel III, Voortzetting der vergelijking van het Engelsch met het Nederlandsch* (1883) consists of a *Preliminary*, in which a variety of subjects such as *capital initials*, *syllabification*, *punctuation*, *word order* and *concord* are discussed. Then follow 21 chapters mainly with syntactic rules and 52 translation exercises, consisting of unconnected Dutch sentences. Finally, there are four lengthy Dutch texts for translation and a number of idiomatic notes.

Contents of *Deel II* (2nd revised edition 1883)

I	[Title page]
III-VI	<i>Voorrede</i> [Preface]
VII-IX	<i>Inhoud</i> [Table of contents]
1-62	<i>Eerste Afdeeling. Inleiding</i> (les 1-31) [First Part. Introduction (units 1-31)]
63-193	<i>Tweede Afdeeling. Voornaamste eigenaardigheden der Engelsche Taal.</i> [Second Part. Chief peculiarities of the English language (units 32-70)]

- 194-200 *Aanwijzingen voor den leerling bij het vertalen der oefeningen in de tweede afdeeling* [Directions for pupils in translating the exercises of Part Two]
- 201 *Bladwijzer op de noten, betreffende het juiste gebruik van Engelsche woorden* [Page numbers to the notes regarding the proper use of English words]

Outline of course content

a. texts

Each lesson of the *Eerste Afdeeling* contains an English text, that is, a number of sentences together suggesting a text form, because of the vocabulary used and the setting. As a matter of fact, they are a collection of more or less unconnected sentences which have been selected because of the grammatical and lexical items of the lesson. All in all, there are 31 of such ‘texts’. The *Tweede Afdeeling* does not have such English ‘texts’. However, this does not mean that the learners who used Stoffel’s *Handleiding* were denied reading texts. In 1893 he had the three volumes of his *Engelsch Leesboek* published. Stoffel realised that reading English texts would be more effective if the reader was familiar with the social background. For that reason he selected what he called “realia”, i.e. texts and comments highlighting the social-cultural life of the English speaking peoples, an activity that today would be referred to as ‘cultural awareness’. According to Swaen this was a novelty, which never before had been included in English coursebooks so systematically (Swaen 1909, cited in Stuurman 1993:47). In this respect it is interesting to see that Stoffel had his doubts about the use of teaching foreign literature to young learners and preferred discussing texts which focuses on the social-cultural background of a particular language area and which might act as an introduction to literature teaching in the proper sense⁶¹¹.

b. spelling and pronunciation

Volume II contains no spelling or pronunciation rules. They are dealt with in *Deel I, Uitspraak; lees- en vertaalboek*. Nor does the *Handleiding* contain any phonetic symbols. It was editor Swaen who was to introduce “eenvoudig fonetisch schrift [simple phonetic transcription] in the fourteenth edition.

⁶¹¹ See “Voorrede voor den eersten druk” in *Engelsch Leesboek* (1893).

c. grammar

In principle there is no distinction between morphology and syntax, so that from the start we find syntactic rules. There is no distinction either between which grammar items should be mastered receptively or productively. The selection of the grammatical items is based on a combination of tradition and intuition. It must be observed here that Stoffel had a profound knowledge of English grammar. Yet, he did not try to write an exhaustive English grammar, as he believed that a foreign language grammar only needs to discuss the items that are different in the native language. In his view, linguistic concepts should be studied in L1 lessons. His grammar, he says, has a strong lexicographical nature, as its main objective was “vergelijking van het Engelsche taaleigen met het Nederlandsche”. [comparing English with Dutch idioms.] Stoffel pays most attention to the verb. He starts with the verbs “have” and “be” and successively discusses the tenses of the verb, a number of auxiliaries, the progressive form and the passive voice. All in all, nine word classes come up for discussion. In the *Tweede Afdeeling, De voornaamste eigenaardigheden der Engelsche taal*, the number of explicit rules has increased considerably. Apparently, Stoffel believed that an explicit knowledge of rules was a condition for the learner to improve his language skills. In his time, knowledge of language rules was necessary as a metalinguistic skill. In this respect it should be pointed out that the school-leaving examination requirements of the Higher Burgher Schools included explicit knowledge of language rules (Vlaanderen 1964:60).

d. vocabulary and idiom

Below each Dutch translation exercise in the *Eerste Afdeeling* there is a Dutch-English list of words. An interesting point is also that in the *Eerste Afdeeling* Stoffel presents the vocabulary under the heading of what nowadays would be termed “specific notions” (cf. Van Ek 1976), such as “the family”, “the house”, “food”, “animals” and so on. In doing so, he goes back to the thematic presentation of vocabulary, as was common practice before 1800. Below each English ‘text’ in the *Tweede Afdeeling* there is a Dutch-English list of words.

e. phrases and dialogues

There is no separate section of idiomatic phrases and dialogues.

f. exercises

Stoffel's *Handleiding* has a larger variety of learning activities than was the case in coursebooks before 1880. Whereas the *Eerste Afdeeling* contains translation exercises only (31 English-Dutch and 31 Dutch-English), the 82 exercises in the *Tweede Afdeeling* consist of six different kinds of activities, viz. translation English-Dutch (2), translation Dutch-English (57), gap filling (5), exercises in word formation (14), combinations of gap filling and transformation exercises at word level (3), and transformation exercises at sentence level (1). Figures 6.17 and 6.18 give an overview of the learning activities and types of exercises in Stoffel's *Handleiding. Deel II. Inleiding*.

g. other items

There are no other items

Organisation of course content

The *Handleiding* consists of three volumes. Volume I exclusively deals with pronunciation. Volumes II and III are more or less concentric, as far as the selection of the grammatical content is concerned. Thus, in Volume II, the *Tweede Afdeeling* is not only a sequel to, but also an expansion of the *Eerste Afdeeling*, which deals with the essentials of the verb, the noun and so on. Thus, the passive voice is discussed in the *Eerste Afdeeling* as well as in the *Tweede Afdeeling*. The concentric character also appears from the references in the third course volume to the second. Volume III in its turn is an expansion of Volume II and is suitable for advanced learners, taking the level of difficulty into consideration.

Presentation of course content

The presentation of the learning content in Volume II is as follows. The 31 lessons of the *Eerste Afdeeling* each starts with a paradigm and sometimes with one or more rules. Next comes an exercise with English sentences, which resemble a text because of their coherence. These sentences contain the grammatical items that have been presented in the paradigms and rules. The sentences have to be read and translated. After this exercise follows an English-Dutch word list. Then follows an exercise with Dutch sentences for translation into English as well as a Dutch-English word list. In the *Tweede Afdeeling* almost each of the 70 lessons starts with a para-

digm of a grammatical item. The paradigms are often clarified by one or more rules in Dutch. In the *Tweede Afdeeling* there are far more rules than in the *Eerste Afdeeling*. Next comes a pattern of translation exercises identical to the *Eerste Afdeeling*; only the word lists are lacking.

In the *Eerste Afdeeling* Stoffel uses a less deductive method in the presentation of grammar, as the sentences in the English “texts” function as illustrations of a grammatical item. In the *Tweede Afdeeling* rules precede the sentences. Although these “texts” may look like dialogues or descriptions, on closer inspection they turn out to be no real conversations or situational sketches. As Stoffel emphasises, his approach is contrastive; he believed that the learner will benefit most from a comparison of Dutch with English. Because of the division into two sections, his teaching method resembles Cowan & Maatjes (1854II and 1856II), which was most probably modelled on Seidenstücker-Ahn. This observation agrees with the fact that Stoffel’s *Eerste Afdeeling* was based on Plate (1850), whose teaching method was based on Ahn (cf. Macht 1986:251). The *Tweede Afdeeling*, however, is based on Zimmermann (1850) and through this book on Ploetz (cf. Macht 1986:189-205), who advocated a more grammatical approach than Ahn did.

Historical reception and evaluation

Stoffel’s course was very well received. Before 1900 six editions of Volume I came out and ten editions of Volume II. Around the turn of the century, the journal *De Drie Talen*, whose editor was L.P.H. Eijkman, regarded Stoffel’s course as the standard grammar for Dutch students who were reading for one of the teacher certificate examinations. It never failed to appear on the list of recommended student manuals.

In 1880, a favourable review of Volume I was written by P.H. van Moerkerken in the journal *Taalstudie* (1880:244-245). The only point of criticism was that Stoffel provided the reader with too much information and too little opportunity to think for himself.

In his obituary, A.E.H. Swaen claimed that, although Stoffel had been drawing upon Plate’s course, he had in fact produced original work by putting much greater emphasis on the teaching of pronunciation than any other textbook had done before him, with the exception of Beckering Vinckers (1875). However, he adds that the latter book could hardly be called a textbook for schools. Swaen also makes a comparison with the *Leercursus ter beoefening der*

Engelsche taal by Cowan & Maatjes which did not pay any attention to English phonology. Swaen also praises Volumes II and III because of the lucidity of the discussion of the linguistic elements in them.

FIGURE 6.17 OVERVIEW, IN ABSOLUTE NUMBERS, OF RECEPTIVE LEARNING ACTIVITIES AND TYPES OF EXERCISES IN STOFFEL’S *HANDLEIDING, DEEL II* (1881)

	language skills exercises							
	receptive				reading			
	listening	word	sentence	text	word	sentence	text	
Types of exercises	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	
Numbers in typology (1/15)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Learning activities								
Read and translate these sentences from English into Dutch						33		

FIGURE 6.18 OVERVIEW, IN ABSOLUTE NUMBERS, OF PRODUCTIVE LEARNING ACTIVITIES AND TYPES OF EXERCISES IN STOFFEL’S *HANDLEIDING, DEEL II* (1881)

language skills exercises									
	productive speaking				writing				others
	sound	word	sentence	text	word	sentence	text	text	
Types of exercises	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	C D	
Focus on form or meaning									
Numbers in typology (8/15)	8	9a	10a	11a	12a	13a	14a	14d	15
Translate these sentences into English									
Fill in a fitting word									
Write the correct form of the word									
Fill in a fitting word and adapt the forms of the other words									
Transform the sentence									

6.2.10 *Engelsche Spraakkunst voor Schoolgebruik, Deel I* (1886)

Supplement bij Deel I (1895)

By P. Roorda (1855-1930)

Author's background

Piet Roorda came from the northernmost part of the Netherlands⁶¹². He was born in 1855 in the village of Nes on the island of Ameland, where his father was a Dutch Reformed Church minister. He trained to become a primary school teacher and in 1879 he obtained his secondary school teaching qualification for English (M.O.). The report of the examination board records that the school teachers P. Roorda and L.P.H. Eijkman took their exam between 20 October and 28 November 1879, and that in both cases the results were considered “zeer voldoende” [quite sufficient]⁶¹³. At this time Roorda was 24 years of age and lived at the village of Steenberg where he taught French and English. Soon after, he was appointed at the Sneek grammar school and Higher Burgher School, but in 1882 he moved to the city of Groningen where for a long time he would be English master at the grammar school and three-year course HBS. Subsequently, he became a member of the (M.O.) examination board for secondary school teachers. Outside the field of ELT Roorda became known for his interest in the then new science of phonetics. In 1889 he published his manual *De Klankleer en hare practische toepassing*, which according to Kruisinga's obituary was to be the best treatise on the subject for the next few decades. It is very likely that his knowledge of human speech will have helped him to be appointed in 1899 as director of the Institute for the deaf-mute in Groningen. In 1920 Roorda retired and settled in Hilversum. After his death in 1930 it was his daughter Gerridina (1891-1954),

⁶¹² For a full account of Roorda's professional life see the obituary written by E. Kruisinga (in Stuurman 1993:68-73). Most of the above data have been taken from this obituary.

⁶¹³ *Verslag van de commissie belast met het afnemen der examens van hen die een acte van bekwaamheid verlangden voor het Middelbaar Onderwijs in de Nederlandsche taal- en letterkunde, vreemde talen en hare letterkunde...*[etc.] ARA, 2^e afdeling, Ministerie van BIZA, inventarisnummer 2.04.09, 893.

who, an anglicist like her father, took over the task of editing his textbooks.

Roorda's best-known textbook is his *Engelsche Spraakkunst voor Schoolgebruik*, which was published in three volumes. In 1892 appeared *Dutch and English compared, with an appendix containing the rules of English Grammar. Part I (Grammatical)* and in 1893 *Dutch and English compared. Part II (Free Translations)*. The first volume of this work not only contains grammar rules but also Dutch sentences for translation. According to the author, it aims at students reading for a teacher examination. The second volume is a collection of Dutch and English texts for translation and could be used independently of any coursebook. Besides, Roorda published three volumes of an English reader named *Engelsch leesboek* in collaboration with C. Grondhoud; this reader was meant for use in schools. His publications are the following:

- *Engelsche Spraakkunst voor schoolgebruik. Deel 1* 1886-1962⁷⁵
- *Engelsche Spraakkunst voor schoolgebruik. Deel 2* 1887-1939¹⁵
- *De Klankleer en hare practische toepassing* 1889-1916⁴
- *Dutch and English compared, with an appendix containing the rules of English Grammar. Part I (Grammatical)* 1892-1926⁴
- *Dutch and English compared. Part II (Free Translations)* 1893-1918⁴
- *Engelsche Spraakkunst voor schoolgebruik. Deel 1, Supplement* 1895-1951³¹
- *Engelsch leesboek. Deel I* 1899-1935²¹ (in collaboration with C. Grondhoud)
- *Engelsch leesboek. Deel II* 1899-c1924¹¹ (idem)
- *Engelsch leesboek. Deel III* 1900-c1924⁴ (idem).

Target group

The title of the course *Engelsche Spraakkunst voor Schoolgebruik* speaks for itself. In actual fact the course would chiefly have been used in grammar schools and Higher Burgher Schools, the kinds of schools at which Roorda himself was teaching. Volume I and Volume II, for beginners and intermediate learners respectively, were intended for the lower forms of these schools.

In his preface to the *Supplement to Deel I*, Roorda writes that he wishes to meet the demand for a more practically oriented coursebook, as an

extension of *Deel I*. He probably meant the demand of High Burgher Schools with a three-year-course and similar short courses, such as commercial schools, where the emphasis was on practical, contemporary language use.

Explicit views on language teaching and learning

Roorda is not very forthcoming in communicating his views on foreign language teaching. In the preface to the first edition he refers to Sweet, Ellis and Viëtor, but obviously only in their capacity of phoneticians. Literally he says about them: “Veel had ik ter verduidelijking willen geven, vooral hetgeen Sweet, Ellis en Viëtor ons hebben geleerd; maar dat vele, hoezeer ook noodzakelijk in een boekje voor onderwijzers bestemd, moet achterwege blijven, waar men slechts het noodige voor den leerling wil geven”. [I would have preferred to clarify many subjects, especially those that Sweet, Ellis and Viëtor have taught us, but these subjects, however indispensable in a book for teachers, must be left out when one wants to present essentials for pupils.] The preface shows that Roorda attaches great importance to a correct pronunciation, but it does not tell anything about teaching procedures or the underlying method of his coursebook. Seeing that the only type of exercises are translation exercises, Roorda must have believed in a bilingual approach. On the other hand, it is striking that the greater part of *Deel II* is written in English, with the argument that “daar men zich bij het onderwijs dan toch zooveel mogelijk van de vreemde taal zal bedienen”. (*Voorbericht* 1886:iv) [in teaching the foreign language will be used as much as possible.] This is remarkable, since the ELT coursebooks of that period were all written in Dutch. With this comment, Roorda presents himself as a progressive writer of course materials. Thus, in the table of contents, the “directions to students”, “symbols of English sounds” and all the rules English is used. *Deel II* was written for the intermediate pupils of High Burgher Schools and grammar schools, who had already worked their way through *Deel I*.

From the preface it also appears that Roorda attaches great importance to a correct pronunciation. In this respect he was a child of his time, in which the empirical science of phonetics was making much progress and was considered very relevant to FLT. Learners were supposed to acquire their knowledge of pronunciation through rules and reading exercises. To a certain extent, Roorda uses an inductive method, in as far as learners

themselves are expected to try and find the correct pronunciation of words on the basis of their knowledge of pronunciation rules and some examples. This technique reminds us of the so-called “mnemonic sentences” and “mnemonic verses”, which Beckering Vinckers offered to the learner in his *Engelsche Spraakkunst* (1875).

The *Supplement bij Deel I* (1895) was largely written in English. In doing so, Roorda showed himself to be once more a supporter of the use of the target language. There are no explicit statements on teaching and learning foreign languages.

Origin and sources of coursebook

Roorda does not mention a reason for writing the *Engelsche Spraakkunst*. However, it becomes clear from the prefaces to the first and second editions that teaching pronunciation is important to the author. In the first edition he makes mention of the inspiration he received in this respect from Sweet, Ellis and Viëtor, but he does not enter into details. In the preface to Volume II Roorda says about his sources: “De boeken die ik geraadpleegd heb, zijn natuurlijk vele. Bepaaldelijk overgenomen heb ik, voor zoover ik mij bewust ben, alleen de volgorde der sterke werkwoorden uit Hoppe’s *Lehrbuch der Englischen Sprache*⁶¹⁴, en hier en daar bij de behandeling der synoniemen iets van Graham, Whately en Webster”. [The books I have consulted are manifold, of course. As far as I am aware, the only things that I have borrowed were the order of strong verbs from Hoppe’s *Lehrbuch der Englischen Sprache*, and occasionally a few things from Graham, Whately and Webster, while discussing synonyms.] Apart from these English language authorities, it does not become clear if there were any methodological sources on which Roorda based his coursebook and if so, which they were. He followed the existing grammar-translation method and may have been inspired by Valkhoff (1874II) and Stoffel (1881II). Both courses first offer sample sentences and rules, which are then followed by English and Dutch translation exercises consisting of unconnected sentences. This pattern is found in Roorda (1886II and 1895II) as well. Roorda may also have borrowed the idea of providing cultural information on Britain and its population from Stoffel (1893II).

⁶¹⁴ A. Hoppe *Lehrbuch der Englischen Sprache für Schulen* 1879 (cf. Macht 1986:210).

Roorda wrote the *Supplement bij Deel I* (1895II) to accommodate learners who needed a more practical approach (see above). No mention is made of sources. The practical character of the *Supplement* appears from the nature of the vocabulary and the idiomatic phrases, which are primarily based on colloquial usage. Besides, the exercises in the *Supplement* mainly consist of dialogues, letters, descriptions and so on, in which, Roorda says, some information on Britain and its population is included.

Printing history

The *Engelsche Spraakkunst voor Schoolgebruik* consists of three volumes: *Deel I* (1886II), *Deel II* (1887II) and *Supplement bij Deel I* (1895II). From the preface to *Deel I* it can be deduced that Roorda initially meant to write two volumes. The *Supplement bij Deel I* followed more or less automatically, resulting from the need for a more practical textbook. All volumes were published by P. Noordhoff of Groningen. *Deel I* was to have the most editions of all the ELT coursebooks published in the Netherlands before 1920. The last and 75th edition appeared in 1962. Before 1920, approximately 48 editions were published. From the 63rd edition onwards, published in 1930, the editions were edited by Roorda's daughter Gerridina. The changes in the editions before 1920 were only minor ones; the differences were most prominent in the first and second editions. In the preface to the second edition Roorda informs the reader that he has extended the part on pronunciation with a number of reading exercises. From the sixth edition, there appeared pronunciation marks in the glossary at the back of the book, while a map of London was added, too. *Deel II* (1887) was considerably less successful, probably because of its strong grammatical bias. All in all there were 15 editions, the last of which appeared in 1939.

The *Supplement bij Deel I* was first published in 1895 and had its 31st and last (revised) edition in 1951. In 1920 the 22nd edition came out. From the 26th edition (1930) onwards, the course was edited by Roorda's daughter. The second and following editions show few differences with the first. The major differences are that a Dutch-English glossary with pronunciation marks has been inserted at the end of the book and that a list of irregular verbs has been put in front of the glossary.

Table of Contents

Deel I (7th revised edition 1899)

I	(Title page)
III-V	<i>Voorbericht</i> (Preface to 1 st /2 nd /6 th /7 th editions)
VI-VII	<i>Inhoud</i> (Table of contents)
VIII	<i>Aanwijzingen</i> (Notes)
1-170	75 <i>Lessen</i> (Units)
171-176	<i>Lijst van onregelmatige werkwoorden</i> (List of irregular verbs)
177-199	<i>Woordenlijst</i> (Glossary)

Supplement bij Deel I (23rd edition 1921)

I	(Title page)
III-IV	<i>Voorbericht</i> (Preface to 1 st edition; idem to 2 nd to 23 rd editions)
V-VII	<i>Contents</i>
VIII	<i>Directions to students</i>
1-181	Grammar rules, examples, exercises
182-187	<i>Lijst van onregelmatige werkwoorden</i> (List of irregular verbs)
188-206	<i>Vocabulary</i> (Glossary)

Outline of course content

a. texts

There are eight English texts at the end of the book. These form the final part of 63 English translation exercises, the first 55 of which offer unconnected sentences. However, they increasingly take on the character of coherent texts, because of the repetition of words and the dialogues. The final eight texts consist of two anecdotes and six novel fragments⁶¹⁵. The *Supplement* has no English texts at all.

b. spelling and pronunciation

Although in principle Roorda distinguishes between sound and spelling, in the absence of a proper phonetic transcription system he still relates the

⁶¹⁵ In the preface to the 72nd edition (1949) we are told that the last six texts were taken from a novel; which one it was, is not disclosed.

English sounds to the spelling. This means that spelling remains the point of reference for the recognition of sounds. The description of the sounds happens in the traditional manner of “imitated pronunciation”⁶¹⁶, whereby the ‘nearest equivalent’ of Dutch or of any other language serves as an example, e.g. “De lange hoofdklank der *i* en *y* is Nederl. *ai* of beter gezegd de *ei* van Duitsch *mein*”. [the long primary sound of *i* and *y* is Dutch *ai*, or rather the *ei* of German *mein*.] Roorda uses his own transcription, e.g. “De lange hoofdklank der *a* ... kan dus worden voorgesteld door *eei*”. [The long primary sound of *a* ... can thus be represented by *eei*.] The first 12 chapters as well as chapter 31 deal with the pronunciation. Each chapter consists of a number of (numbered) pronunciation rules and a reading exercise. Here and there, numbers in front of words refer to the corresponding rules. Roorda uses a combination of an articulatory and an auditory approach. Thus, he explains how the phonemes /_/, “de scherpe th” [the sharp th] and the /_/, “de zachte th” [the weak th] are realised inside the mouth. Besides, he urges the teacher to pay attention to auditive discrimination, that is, learners should be taught how to distinguish between various sounds. In the 1920s Roorda would introduce some minor changes in transcription, but he did not conform to the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). His daughter G. Roorda, introduced this phonetic transcription in the 64th edition of 1931. However, in the preface to the 72nd edition (1949) she observe that the pronunciation rules of the first 12 lessons of *Deel I* (read: the spelling-pronunciation rules) have proved their value, as “schrijftaal tòch tot steun is voor de uitspraak (van de spreektaal)”. [written language supports the pronunciation of the spoken language.]

The *Supplement* has no rules or exercises concerning pronunciation.

c. grammar

The rules and translation exercises in *Deel I* show that the coursebook chiefly aims at teaching grammar. The lessons 13 up to 75 deal with one or more grammatical item. No distinction is made between morphology and syntax; both aspects occur simultaneously. In fact, the items that come up for discussion concern nine word classes, but these are not dealt

⁶¹⁶ Cf. Abercrombie (1963 [1956]:33).

with in the traditional order, as was the case in the early nineteenth century grammars. Here, only a limited number of items are discussed per word class. The first “lessons” in the book chiefly deal with the verb.

In spite of the intended practical set-up, *Supplement bij Deel I* strongly aims at grammatical knowledge. The structure is clearly based on the word classes. The following items successively come up for discussion: the article, nouns, the adjective, numerals, place of the subject, pronouns, the verb, the adverb, the preposition and the conjunction. Each lesson starts with a number of English sample sentences and their Dutch translation. Next follow the rules on the grammatical items in these examples. There are also references to the corresponding rules and examples in *Deel I*. After the rules follow Dutch sentences for translation into English.

d. vocabulary and idioms

Each “lesson” contains an English-Dutch list of words, which also occur in the Dutch translation exercises at the end of the “lesson”. In his preface Roorda emphasises the fact that he only offers words “die in eenvoudige proza en in het spreken gebruikt worden”. [which are used in simple prose and in speech.] At the end of the book is a Dutch-English glossary of all the words, with a few pronunciation marks.

e. phrases and dialogues

There are no idiomatic phrases and dialogues.

f. exercises

In *Deel I* the only type of exercises are translation exercises, altogether 126. The even exercises consist of Dutch sentences, the odd ones of English sentences. In other words, there are 63 exercises for each language. As we observed above (a. texts), the last 8 English exercises in the book are not merely collections of sentences but coherent texts. The other translation exercises are not completely lacking in coherence, but they cannot be called proper texts. Figures 6.19 and 6.20 give an overview of the learning activities and types of exercises in Roorda’s *Engelsche Spraakkunst voor Schoolgebruik, Deel 1*.

The *Supplement bij Deel I* has 41 translation exercises (often consisting of more sections), which basically consist of unconnected sentences, but

occasionally show some contextual coherence. These sentences contain grammatical difficulties that relate to the rules in the book (or to those in *Deel I*); sometimes numbers explicitly refer to these rules. Figure 6.21 gives an overview of the learning activities and types of exercises in Roorda's *Supplement bij Deel I*.

g. other items

Besides a map of London at the back of the book, there are no other items.

Organisation of course content

Roorda's *Engelsche Spraakkunst* has a transparent structure. It starts with 12 lessons on pronunciation. Then follows the grammatical content, which is presented in 62 lessons. In fact, grammar is the most important part of the coursebook. In principle the method is linear, although the writer continually pays attention to repetition. In his preface he points out that “Niets ter vertaling [is] gegeven dat niet in eene der vroegere lessen is behandeld”. [Nothing is offered for translation which has not been discussed in one of the earlier lessons.] The teaching content is always presented in small units, which in practice would probably fit in one lesson hour. *Deel II* is organised in a more or less concentric way, since the material forms a repetition and extension of *Deel I*. Consequently, there is continuous reference to the relevant rules in the first volume.

Presentation of course content

For his pronunciation Roorda used the technique of “mnemonic sentences” and “mnemonic verse”, as Beckering Vinckers had done in his *Engelsche Spraakkunst* (1875). The presentation in *Deel I* is as follows. Each lesson starts with a number of English sample sentences with a grammatical problem. They are immediately followed by the Dutch translation. Then follow some (numbered) grammatical rules in Dutch; sometimes the rules have the form of paradigms. After the rules there is an English-Dutch wordlist, followed by texts for translation, first the English text, then the Dutch text. The English texts are compiled in such a way that the grammar patterns that were discussed before, are used in the texts. Although the English sentences do not form texts, there is often some coherence because of the repetition of words. The texts are by no means authentic, with the exception of the final eight texts. The second

exercise has unconnected (numbered) Dutch sentences for translation into English. This structure remains unchanged throughout the “lessons”, so that each lesson has exactly the same pattern.

Roorda does not state any preference for an inductive or deductive treatment of grammar. However, from the fact that each lesson starts with sample sentences, it may be concluded that this treatment was not meant to be purely deductive. Witness his books with the title *Dutch and English compared*, a bilingual teaching method was a matter of course for Roorda. There are no exercises for the spoken language, except in the exercises on pronunciation.

Historical reception and evaluation

Each lesson in *Deel I* has an identical pattern and the content is presented in a conveniently structured manner by means of small units, numbered rules and sentences and simple, contemporary texts. Obviously, the well-structured character of the book must have appealed to many teachers. Thus, the book creates a ‘teacher friendly’ impression, which might explain its success.

Some editions contain parts of reviews, which are inserted either at the beginning or at the end of the book by way of advertisements and throw some light on the success of the course. What seems to be particularly appreciated was the set-up, gradually increasing in difficulty, the expert selection and presentation of the material and the use of contemporary English. For instance, Van Moerkerken⁶¹⁷ observes in *Het Schoolblad* “De leergang is bij uitstek geleidelijk; uit woorden en zinnen worden de regels afgeleid en deze vinden vervolgens weder hunne toepassing in Engelsche opstellen, waarna de leerling zelf ze in practijk leert brengen in Hollandsche zinnen”. [The course has an eminently gradual set-up; rules are deduced from words and sentences, which are then applied in English exercises, after which the pupil learns to put them into practice in Dutch sentences.]⁶¹⁸ And in *Museum, Maandblad voor Philologie en Geschiedenis* C. Stoffel had the following comment on Roorda’s course, with a simulta-

⁶¹⁷ P.H. van Moerkerken edited the 1871 edition and also later editions of Wilhelm Zimmermann’s *Lehrbuch der englischen Sprache* (1850), which in 1864 had been adapted by B. Dingemans into a Dutch version, named *Engelsche Spraakkunst*.

⁶¹⁸ In *Supplement to Deel I* (1895).

neous sneer at the Reform movement: “Indien aan de *Engelsche Spraakkunst* van den heer Roorda niet de ‘directe methode’ ten grondslag ligt, geeft zij op elke bladzijde het doorslaand bewijs, dat zij het werk is van een verstandig en bij uitnemendheid ter zake kundig onderwijzer, die volkomen op de hoogte is van wat er in de laatste twintig jaren op dit gebied hier en elders gezegd en geschreven is”. [If the ‘direct method’ is not the basis of Mr Roorda’s *Engelsche Spraakkunst*, it gives conclusive evidence, on every page, of being the work of a sensible and eminently expert teacher, who is fully aware of what has been said and written in this field during the last twenty years, here and anywhere else.]⁶¹⁹ Also the gradually increasing level of difficulty and the use of colloquial English in the texts are emphasised: “Geleidelijke ordening der moeilijkheden, bestendig streven naar alledaagsch Engelsch, ziedaar in mijn oog de bijzondere hoedanigheden van het boek”. [A gradual presentation of the difficulties, steadily aiming at colloquial English, these are in my view the special qualities of the book.] (G. Duflou in *De Vereeniging*). This reviewer adds: “bij den heer R. leert men Engelsch niet alleen, zoals men het schrijft, maar ook, en vooral, zoals men het spreekt”. [By using Mr Roorda’s course, one not only learns the way English is written, but especially the way it is spoken.]⁶²⁰

However, there was also criticism of the degree of difficulty of the course, especially of the second volume. In a review in the *Weekblad voor Gymnasiaal en Middelbaar Onderwijs* (1904-1905:357) this volume was considered too difficult for school pupils and the reviewer judged it to be more suitable for future teachers of English.

⁶¹⁹ In *Supplement to Deel I* (1895).

⁶²⁰ See seventh edition (1899); the reviewer here referred to lesson 26 (the use of ‘some’ en ‘any’), to lesson 53 (‘question tags’) and to the texts at the back of the book.

FIGURE 6.19 OVERVIEW, IN ABSOLUTE NUMBERS, OF RECEPTIVE LEARNING ACTIVITIES AND TYPES OF EXERCISES IN ROORDA’S *DE ENGELSCH E SPRAAKKUNST VOOR SCHOOLGEBRUIK, DEEL 1* (1886)

	language skills exercises							
	receptive							
	listening		reading					
	sound	word	sentence	text	word	sentence	text	
Types of exercises	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	
Numbers in typography (1/7)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Learning activities								
Read and translate these sentences from English into Dutch						55		
Read and translate these texts from English into Dutch							8	

DE ENGELSCH E SPRAAKKUNST VOOR SCHOOLGEBRUIK, DEEL 1 (1886)

language skills exercises										
productive										
speaking										
writing										
Types of exercises	sound	B							others	
	word	B							form	
									meaning	
	word	C							form/meaning	
									meaning	
	sentence	C							form/meaning	
									meaning	
	sentence	B							form	
									form	
	text	B							form	
form/meaning										
text	C							meaning		
								meaning		
Focus on form or meaning	text	B							text	
	text	C	D						text	
	word	B							form/meaning	
									meaning	
	word	C							form/meaning	
									meaning	
	sentence	C							form/meaning	
									meaning	
	sentence	B							form	
									form	
text	B							form		
								form/meaning		
text	C							meaning		
								meaning		
Numbers in typology (8/15) Translate these sentences into English	sound	B							8	
	word	B							form	
									meaning	
	word	C							form/meaning	
									meaning	
	sentence	C							form/meaning	
									meaning	
	sentence	B							form	
									form	
	text	B							form	
form/meaning										
text	C							meaning		
								meaning		

FIGURE 6.21 OVERVIEW, IN ABSOLUTE NUMBERS, OF PRODUCTIVE LEARNING ACTIVITIES AND TYPES OF EXERCISES ROORDA’S *ENGELSCH E SPRAAKKUNST VOOR SCHOOLGEBRUIK, SUPPLEMENT BIJ DEEL I* (1895)

language skills exercises						
	productive		speaking			
	writing					
Types of exercises	others					
	text		D	meaning	14d	
	text		C	meaning	14c	
	text		B	meaning	14b	
				form	14a	
	sentence		C	form/ meaning	13c	
	sentence		B	meaning	13b	
				form	13a	41
	word		C	form/ meaning	12c	
	word		B	meaning	12b	
				form	12a	
	text		D	meaning	11d	
	text		C	meaning	11c	
	text		B	meaning	11b	
				form	11a	
	sentence		C	form/ meaning	10c	
	sentence		B	meaning	10b	
				form	10a	
word		C	form/ meaning	9c		
word		B	meaning	9b		
			form	9a		
sound		B	form	8		
Focus on form or meaning						
Numbers in typology (8/15)						
Translate these sentences into English						

6.2.11 *Leerboek der Engelsche taal voor eerstbeginnenden (1890)*

by J.H.A. Günther (1853-??)

Author's background

Johann Heinrich Anton Günther was a Dutchman despite his German name. He was born in Nijmegen in 1853 of a German father and a Dutch mother. His father, Wilhelm Bernhard, born in Erfurt, Prussia, in 1820, had emigrated to Nijmegen and settled there as an instrument builder. In 1849 Wilhelm, a Lutheran, had married a local Roman-Catholic girl. The couple had five children, of whom Johann was the eldest son⁶²¹. After attending the Dutch-Reformed primary school, Johann became an assistant schoolteacher and probably obtained a lower teaching certificate for English before he went on to take his full-scale teaching degree in English in 1880. In that year only two candidates succeeded in passing the M.O. examination: H. Poutsma and J. Günther. The English section of the examination board⁶²², which was chaired by D.J. Steyn Parvé, consisted of two native speakers of English, B.C. Brennan and J.G. Sennett. Günther and Poutsma had to take a full examination programme⁶²³, which covered not only proficiency in language skills and modern grammar, but also knowledge of literature and historical grammar.

Shortly after taking his degree, Günther left his native town for Arnhem, where he probably took up a post as modern language teacher⁶²⁴.

⁶²¹ See the Register of Births, Deaths and Marriages (1880-1890), Municipal Archives Nijmegen.

⁶²² See Algemeen Rijksarchief (ARA) [Public Record Office], Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken (BIZA) [Home Home Department], afdeling onderwijs [Department of Education] 2.04.09, 894.

⁶²³ In the following year the examination programme was to undergo a considerable change, due to the 1879 education act becoming operational in 1881. From that year onwards the programme was to be split into two parts. The A exam demanded proficiency in language skills, mainly speaking, writing and translating, as well as a reasonable knowledge of modern grammar and idiom, whereas the B examination in addition required the candidates to have a good knowledge of English and American literature and historical grammar.

⁶²⁴ The Register of Births, Deaths and Marriages of the Municipal Archives of the city of Arnhem describe his occupation as 'teacher'; contemporary address books record that he lived at number 18 Eerste Spijkerdwardsstraat.

However, soon after, in 1881, he exchanged Arnhem for Groningen where he was appointed English master at the State Higher Burgher School. The evidence for this we find in the preface to Roorda's *Engelsche Spraakkunst* (1886II), in which we find a reference to Günther's position at the State HBS. In this school grammar P. Roorda, at that time English master at the local grammar school and municipal HBS of the city of Groningen, thanked Günther for reading the proofs and for giving good advice. After a few years Günther moved to Amsterdam⁶²⁵ where he held a post at the "Eerste Hoogere Burgerschool met driejarigen cursus" [First three-year-course Higher Burgher School]⁶²⁶. In 1894 Günther became an examiner on the provincial examination board for the HBS school-leaving exams in the province of Noord-Holland⁶²⁷. On 6 June of that year, he was invited to take the place of J.C.G. Grasé (also see 6.2.12). One month before, on 16 May 1894, J.C.G. Grasé, teacher of English at an Amsterdam Higher Burgher School, had been appointed on the board to take the place of L.H.P. Eijkman. The reason for this reshuffle was probably that Eijkman and subsequently his colleague Grasé had expressed their ideas on teaching methodology in a way that was unacceptable to the other members of the examination board. Since Günther was asked to take their places, it is likely that he held moderate views on teaching methods. Through a fairly significant remark the official report of the exams provides us with a hint of what happened⁶²⁸. The report expressly stated that the board, thus constituted, had accepted its task and that it had been able to complete the task without any disturbance: "De commissie, aldus samengesteld, heeft hare taak aanvaard en zonder stoornis ten einde gebracht"⁶²⁹. Around the turn of the century Günther must have taken up a post in Haarlem, for the membership list of the Association of Teachers at Secondary Schools⁶³⁰ records that in 1902 he was

⁶²⁵ According to the preface to *English Synonyms* (1904) Günther lived at 56 Willemsparkweg Amsterdam.

⁶²⁶ See title page of *A new English reader for the use of schools* (1900).

⁶²⁷ *Verslag van de commissie belast met het afnemen der eindexamens van de hoogere burgerscholen in de provincie Noord-Holland in 1894.*

⁶²⁸ See 6.2.12 for a more detailed discussion of the affair.

⁶²⁹ *Verslag der commissie belast met het afnemen der eindexamens van de hoogere burgerscholen in de provincie Noord-Holland in het jaar 1894.*

employed at the municipal five-year-course Higher Burgher School of that city.

Günther's name must not be confused with that of his German namesake who is quoted by Wilhelm Viëtor in his well-known pamphlet "Der Sprachunterricht muss umkehren!" (1882). Here Viëtor refers to an article written by V.H. Günther (1881) entitled "Der Lateinunterricht am Seminar", which appeared in the *Jahrbuch des Vereins für Wissenschaftliche Pädagogik*⁶³¹. Howatt (1984:388), however, who translated Viëtor's pamphlet, erroneously cites the initials of this person's first names as J.H.A.

Günther wrote six ELT textbooks, three of which were intended for use in schools. The others were written as study materials for future teachers of English. They are the following:

- *Leerboek der Engelsche taal voor eerstbeginnenden* 1890-c1920¹⁵
- *A handbook of the English language for the use of schools* 1891-1920⁶
- *A manual of English pronunciation and grammar for the use of Dutch students* 1899-1916³
- *English synonyms explained and illustrated* 1904-1928⁵
- *A new English reader for the use of schools* 1900
- *A handbook of English idiom* 1928 (?) (in collaboration with H.G. de Maar).

Target group

Günther wrote his *Leerboek der Engelsche taal* for the use of schools. In the preface he literally speaks of "a school book like this". Also the sequel to this *Leerboek*, the *Handbook of the English language*, was intended *for the use of schools*, as the title denotes. Günther wrote the two books when he was a teacher at the State and Municipal Higher Burgher Schools in Groningen.

⁶³⁰ *Berichten en Mededeelingen van Vereeniging van Leeraren aan Inrichtingen van Middelbaar Onderwijs* (1896-1904).

⁶³¹ See "Der Lateinunterricht am Seminar. Ein Beitrag zur Methodik desselben von V.H. Günther, Seminaroberlehrer zu Löbau i. S." (*Jahrbuch des Vereins für Wissenschaftliche Pädagogik* 1881:149-247).

Explicit views on language teaching and learning

The *Leerboek der Engelsche taal* contains an extensive preface serving as a justification for the learning content. In this respect it is both a treatise and a teacher's guide. Günther's *Leerboek* was the first concrete proof among ELT coursebooks that the international Reform movement had also reached the Netherlands. None of the earlier coursebooks had defined the principles of the Reform in such a lucid manner. Günther starts by saying that his coursebook is a result of "van hetgeen mannen als Sweet, Passy, Viëtor, Western, Nader, Würzner, Klinghardt en anderen gedurende de laatste jaren op het gebied van het onderwijs in vreemde talen hebben verricht". [that which such men as Sweet, Passy, Viëtor, Western, Nader, Würzner, Klinghardt and others have achieved recently in the field of foreign language teaching.] He goes on to say that his book is based on three principles: 1. coherent texts; no unconnected sentences; 2. starting from sounds, not from letters; 3. teaching language rules according to the inductive approach: first the example, then the rule. According to Howatt & Widdowson (2004:189), at any rate the first two principles should be qualified as Reform principles. These authors mention the following elements as the three basic principles of the Reform: "the primacy of speech, the centrality of the connected text as the kernel of the teaching-learning process, and the absolute priority of an oral methodology in the classroom". According to Christ (1993) the following themes persisted in the discussions of German foreign language teachers of the 1880s and 1890s: preference for the native tongue or the foreign language in the classroom, the role of phonetics, the role and function of grammar, the position of the translation, the role of literary texts and of the foreign culture in general. From Günther's principles it appears that he was well-informed about the debate between reformers and their opponents. As regards translations, Günther says in his preface that he did not include Dutch-English translation exercises in the learning content of the first year. This was in keeping with what the Reform advocated through the words of Viëtor: "Translation into the foreign language is an art which is inappropriate for the school classroom" (Howatt (1984:361). However, the *Handbook* (1891II), which may be seen as a sequel to the *Leerboek*, did offer Dutch-English translation exercises.

Origin and sources of coursebook

The *Leerboek der Engelsche taal* is the first ELT coursebook in the Netherlands to be structured in accordance with the principles of the Reform. In his preface Günther mentions various names of Reformers who acted as sources of inspiration to him: Sweet⁶³², Passy⁶³³, Viëtor, Western, Nader & Würzner⁶³⁴, Klinghardt. However, it is not easy to indicate the precise influence that they had. Nevertheless, we know that Viëtor's pamphlet *Der Sprachunterricht muss umkehren!* (1882/1886), which initiated the Reform movement and defined its basic principles, contained a number of practical suggestions⁶³⁵ for the structure of foreign language lessons which for the greater part have been adopted by Günther.

Viëtor recommends the following procedure. An introduction to the pronunciation of English is followed by texts. These texts are read out by the teacher and repeated by the pupils. The meaning of the words is guessed and, if necessary, explained and questions are asked and answered on the content of the texts. This results in increasing fluency, at first in sentences and later in larger units. Viëtor also pleads for the insertion of a glossary with phonetic transcription at the back of the coursebook. All these recommendations were adopted by Günther. For this reason, Viëtor's treatise was probably his most important source. Presumably, Klinghardt had a strong influence on Günther as well. When writing the *Leerboek*, he may have heard of the experiment that was carried out by Klinghardt in 1887-1888 and on which Klinghardt reported in 1888⁶³⁶, since Günther mentions his name in the preface and links it to the other Reformers. This assumption is borne out by the fact that Günther explicitly mentions Sweet's *Elementarbuch des gesprochenen Englisch* (1885) and that this textbook formed the basis for Klinghardt's experiment. There are enough elements in Günther's coursebook that were also present in the

⁶³² Günther specifically mentions Sweet's *Elementarbuch des gesprochenen Englisch* (1885).

⁶³³ He also mentions Passy's *Éléments d'Anglais Parlé* (1886), which was specifically written for learners of English (Howatt 1984:327).

⁶³⁴ Nader, E. & Würzner, A. *Lehrbuch der englischen Sprache für Mädchenlyzeen und verwante Anstalten* (cf. Macht 1987:376).

⁶³⁵ See Howatt's translation of Viëtor's pamphlet (1984:360-361).

⁶³⁶ The report was entitled *Ein Jahr Erfahrungen mit der neuen Methode* (Howatt 1984:170).

experiment, such as the procedure of prompt and repeat⁶³⁷, with the emphasis on a correct pronunciation, the inductive teaching of grammar and the questions on texts. However, the use of phonetic transcription – which played a crucial role in the experiment – does not occur in the *Leerboek*.

Printing history

The *Leerboek der Engelsche taal voor eerstbeginnenden* was first published in 1890 by J.B. Wolters of Groningen. The following editions appeared quickly one after the other and by 1920 fifteen editions had come out. It appears from the prefaces that alterations in the second up to the fifth edition consisted of the insertion of new reading texts and the extension of the number of written exercises. Afterwards the contents remained virtually unchanged. The *Leerboek der Engelsche taal voor eerstbeginnenden* had a sequel in *A Handbook of the English language for the use of schools* (1891), which, in contrast with the *Leerboek*, was written completely in English, with the exception of a bilingual word list at the end. Of this book, six editions appeared altogether.

Table of contents

(Sixth edition 1905)

[1 p]	(Title page)
[5 pp]	<i>Voorrede</i> [Preface]
[4 pp]	<i>Inhoud</i> [Table of contents]
1-15	<i>Eerste afdeeling. Klankleer</i> [First part. Phonology]
16-141	<i>Tweede afdeeling</i> [Second Part] (texts, vocabulary, grammar rules)
142-155	<i>Derde afdeeling. Leesstukken ter herhaling en bevestiging van het geleerde</i> [Third Part. Reading texts to repeat and fix what has been learnt]
156-200	<i>Woordenlijst</i> [Glossary] (English-Dutch; and phonetic transcription)

⁶³⁷ Klinghardt's second report was significantly called: *Drei weitere Jahre Erfahrungen mit der imitativen Methode* (1892) (Howatt & Widdowson 2004:188).

Outline of learning content

a. texts

The coursebook contains a large number of English texts, viz. 53 in the “Tweede Afdeeling” and 9 in the “Derde Afdeeling”. The function of the text is primarily to provide material for grammar and vocabulary. The texts of the “Tweede Afdeeling” form the central part of each chapter and are followed by an English-Dutch word list, in which the transcription of the English word is given. The texts have a great variation in subject matter. Some contain informal, spoken language (“The clock and the watch”; “my dog”; “my room” and so on), others offer very formal and literary language in the form of poems (“The minstrel boy”, “Answer to a child’s question” and so forth). In between we have a miscellany of informative texts, anecdotes, stories etc. The texts in the “Derde Afdeeling” are additional reading material.

b. spelling and pronunciation

Günther makes an essential distinction between sound and spelling and uses a phonetic transcription with 50 symbols for vowels and consonants. The *Leerboek* starts with nine lessons on phonology, undoubtedly because of the importance that at the time was attached to pronunciation under the influence of phonetics. Each lesson begins with a number of rules in Dutch with a pronunciation symbol as a starting point, although the realisation of the sound in the spelling is not ignored. For example: “De klank /ei/ wordt geschreven 1. a, voor consonantteeken + stomme e: ale, bale, make, maze ... 2. a, voor nge, ste, ble: change, range, strange ...”. [The sound /ei/ is spelled 1. a, when preceding a consonant letter + silent e: ale, bale, make, maze ... 2. a, before nge, ste, ble: change, range, strange ...] Günther starts his lessons with the texts in the ordinary spelling and without transcription, unlike what Grasé (1896II) would do six years later under the influence of Klinghardt’s experiment. In this respect he shows himself to be a moderate reformer. The chapters on pronunciation are concluded with reading exercises.

c. grammar

The grammar in the *Leerboek der Engelsche taal* does not distinguish between morphology and syntax and focuses on the most frequent grammatical forms. In this respect we have a practical pedagogic grammar

instead of a “scholarly” approach. Thus, the book begins with some basic rules which enable the learner at once to read a simple text. In other words, there is no elaborate discussion of cases and irregular plurals. For example, the basic rules deal with the article, the regular plural of nouns, the third person singular of the present tense, the present participle, the personal pronouns in the singular, the possessive pronouns and so on. The rules are in Dutch and are preceded by a text in each chapter. The learner is expected to trace the grammatical patterns in the text of his own accord. In order to facilitate this process, the rules are preceded by a number of sample sentences in which the rule is ‘hidden’. Some rules were presented in paradigms. The rules are usually followed by exercises.

d. vocabulary and idiom

Essentially Günther’s teaching method is bilingual, although the learner is expected to discuss the texts in English. After the text has been read, it is to be translated into Dutch. Therefore, each text in the “Tweede afdeeling” is followed by a bilingual list of words. At the end of the book there is a glossary of all the words in the book with their transcription. This transcription may owe its inclusion to Viëtor’s recommendation (see above).

e. phrases and dialogues

There is no separate category of phrases and dialogues, as found in many early nineteenth century coursebooks. Some texts, however, have the form of a dialogue. In this respect these texts resemble the texts in present-day textbooks.

f. exercises

The *Leerboek der Engelsche taal* contains 35 learning activities, distributed over 61 chapters. All the activities are intended for productive writing practice; they can be divided into six kinds of exercises. Almost all learning activities (31) aim at form; of the remaining ones, four have a mixed focus (form/meaning), while one activity is completely different. By far most learning activities relate to the use of the correct word form, such as: “Schrijf de juiste woordvorm op, vul het juiste woord in, vervoeg het werkwoord, zet in de juiste tijd”. [Write down the correct form of the word, fill in the correct word, decline the verb, put in the proper tense.]

There are only two form exercises at sentence level, viz. the activities: “Zet de zinnen in de lijdende c.q. bedrijvende vorm”. [Put the sentences in the passive or active voice.] There is also only one translation activity: “Vertaal de Nederlandse tekst in het Engels”. [Translate the Dutch text into English.] An example of a somewhat freer, productive learning activity is: “Schrijf zinnen die een betrekkelijk voornaamwoord/voorzetsel bevatten”. [Write down sentences containing a relative pronoun/preposition.] Figure 6.22 gives an overview of the learning activities and types of exercises in Günther’s *Leerboek der Engelsche taal*.

g. other items

There are no other items in the *Leerboek*. The *Handbook*, however, offers a number of letters.

Organisation of learning content

The *Leerboek der Engelsche taal* is a book for absolute beginners. The learning content is purely linguistically-oriented. The gradation of the content is linear. After the *Leerboek*, intended for the first year, learners could continue with Günther’s *Handbook of the English language for the use of schools* (1891II). However, the *Handbook* is not the complement of the *Leerboek*. The volumes could be used independently from each other, so that one can hardly speak of a coherent course. In this respect, it is significant that the *Leerboek* had fifteen editions, but that the *Handbook* had only six. In as far learners started with the *Leerboek* and continued with the *Handbook*, one may speak of a concentric approach, seeing that the *Handbook* presented the same material once again, but then in a more extensive form. Whether it was really Günther’s intention to present a two-volume course remains unclear. In his preface to the *Leerboek* Günther does not refer to the *Handbook*, but in the preface to the latter book he observes:” This book is intended for those pupils who have gone through my ‘*Leerboek der Engelsche taal*’ ”. It seems likely that, after writing the *Leerboek*, he felt the need to write a coursebook that was more in line with the principles of the Reform than he had been able to realise in his first work and that could be a sequel to it.

Presentation of learning content

The preface to the *Leerboek* contains suggestions on how to use the book. The English texts are the core of the lessons. Each text is read out by the

teacher and repeated by the pupils for as long as it takes to avoid any pronunciation errors. Then the text is translated and the meaning of the words is explained. Next, grammar points come up for discussion. The sample sentences following each text contain the grammar items which the pupil have to study with the help of the (Dutch) rules below them. In the next lesson, the text, which has meanwhile been studied by the pupils at home, is used as the starting point for conversations. Thus, a great deal of emphasis is put on oral skills. The texts are presented in the ordinary spelling, not in phonetic transcription, as had been done by Klinghard and would be done by Grasé (1895II/1896II). In short, we can say that Günther held moderate views with regard to translation and phonetic transcription – two important topics in the Reform debate. It is remarkable that, in contrast to the *Leerboek*, the *Handbook* is completely in English. This fact suggests that, more than ever before, Günther was convinced of the necessity to use the target language as the language of instruction.

Historical reception and evaluation

The 1898 catalogue of J.B. Wolters' publishing house presents part of a review of Günther's *Leerboek*, taken from the German series *Phonetische Studien IV*, as well as a review of the *Handbook*, whose origin is not disclosed. The former review praises the *Leerboek* to the skies: "this is as near perfection as we can fairly expect to come". Also, in the second volume of the *Tijdschrift voor Onderwijs en Opvoeding* (1899-1900: 39-40) a book review appeared which was signed by BDB. It concerns a review by B.D. Best, teacher of English at the Municipal Grammar school of Amersfoort. Best reviews the fourth edition of Günther's *Leerboek*, which appeared in 1899. He is surprised to see that so many teachers at grammar schools and Higher Burgher Schools are still using the "vertaal-methode" [translation method] and are using coursebooks by Roorda, Stoffel, Ten Bruggencate and Van Tiel. For this he gives the following explanation: "Het zal wel zijn om den goeden naam, dien deze werken hebben, dat die, welke eene nieuwe leerwijze voorstaan, nog zo sporadisch voorkomen op de programma's der H.B. Scholen en Gymnasia". [It is probably because of the reputation of these works that the books that favour a new method are so scarce at Higher Burgher Schools and grammar schools.] Best assumes that Günther's *Leerboek* is chiefly used at MULO schools and he believes that the book is indeed more suitable for this type of schools because of

the choice and the length of the texts and because of the piecemeal presentation of the grammar content. In his view the special merit of the book is the inductive teaching method, which gives the book its modern character. Furthermore, he remarks that the effectiveness of the work depends on the actual use of it by the teacher. Some teachers, he says, will use it mainly as a reader, in spite of the writer's intention laid down in the preface. Others, on the other hand, will use it in the spirit of the "hervormings-methode" [Reform Movement]. Another characteristic of this method, apart from the inductive way of grammar teaching, is, according to the reviewer, the use of phonetic transcription. And in this respect Günther fails to live up to Best's expectations. Here, Best took the side of the radical reformers, who preferred working with a transcription to achieve correct pronunciation before starting with the ordinary spelling. It is not amazing that Best should hold this view, for he had succeeded Grisé at the Amersfoort grammar school, where he used Grisé's *Oefeningen in de Engelsche Taal*, as we are told by an alumnus in a chronicle (see 6.2.12).

LEERBOEK DER ENGELSCH TAAI (1890)

[illegible]

6.2.12 *Oefeningen in de Engelsche taal II. Leerstof voor The First Year (1896)*

By J.C.G. Grasé (c1864-1934)

Author's background

Jan Carl Gijsbert Grasé was born in a Remonstrant protestant family in Amsterdam on 11 May 1864⁶³⁸. He obtained his full teacher certificate of English language and literature⁶³⁹ and started his career at the Municipal Grammar school in Amersfoort⁶⁴⁰. Four years later⁶⁴¹ he changed over to the First Five-year-course Higher Burgher School at the Keizersgracht in Amsterdam, where he became a close colleague⁶⁴² of L.P.H. Eijkman⁶⁴³, co-founder and since 1885 editor for English of the journal *De Drie Talen*. Eijkman was a staunch supporter of the Gouin method. It seems likely, therefore, that Grasé owed his interest in Gouin to his more experienced colleague, who was ten years his senior. Eijkman probably informed Grasé about an article on Gouin in the *Review of Reviews* of 1892⁶⁴⁴ and in the summer of 1893 Eijkman attended a course on Gouin's method in London. On 18 April, 1894, he gave a presentation to the Nederlands Onderwijzers Genootschap [Dutch Primary Teachers Association] in Amsterdam, in which he uncompromisingly advocated the use of the method in the classroom and suggested that a critical atti-

⁶³⁸ Gemeente Archief Amsterdam.

⁶³⁹ Algemeen Rijksarchief (ARA), Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken (BIZA), afdeling onderwijs 2.04.10, 586-588.

⁶⁴⁰ *Gedenkboek Stedelijk Gymnasium Amersfoort* (1928:111).

⁶⁴¹ Grasé started teaching at this HBS in February 1892. At the same time he helped out teaching for a sick colleague at the Amsterdam First HBS with a three-year course until the summer of 1894. From that time the job was taken over by J.H.A. Günther, who had given up his position at the Rijks HBS at Groningen (see: *Onderwijsverslag 1894-1895 in Handelingen der Staten-Generaal 1895-1896, Bijlage D:123*).

⁶⁴² Eijkman had been teaching at this HBS since 1883; in 1898 he changed over to the newly-founded Second HBS with a five-year course in Amsterdam (Stuurman 1983:60).

⁶⁴³ See Stuurman (1983:58-66) for a (limited) biography.

⁶⁴⁴ In the teacher journal *De Drie Talen* (May 1894:63-93) Eijkman explained how he became familiar with the Gouin method through an article in the *Review of Reviews*.

tude towards it was a sign of laziness⁶⁴⁵. In the same year *Handleiding voor de beoefening der moderne talen volgens de leerwijze van Gouin* came out, a course, with separate volumes for English, French and German. Eijkman wrote the ELT volume, C.A. Hofman the FrLT volume and J.J.A.A. Frantzen the GLT volume. Initially Grasé may have adopted Eijkman's views on FLT, since in 1894 both he and Eijkman stepped out of the provincial examination board for the school-leaving examinations of the Higher Burgher Schools⁶⁴⁶. Probably the reason was that the other members of the board felt offended by Eijkman or disagreed with him to such an extent that cooperation was no longer possible⁶⁴⁷.

Grasé was also known for other reasons. According to an article in *NRC Handelsblad*⁶⁴⁸ it was Grasé who introduced American baseball into Holland after having spent some time in the USA in 1911. He is also reported to have founded a baseball club, named 'Quick', in Amsterdam in the same year. In 1921 Grasé was appointed lecturer in English at the Amsterdam Municipal university under A.E.H. Swaen, who had been appointed professor of English language and literature in 1913 (Stuurman 1983:94). Swaen and Grasé had co-operated in editing a number of readers for school use (Stuurman 1993:115-116). At this time Grasé was still teaching at the Higher Burgher School, which he left on 14 January 1928. He died in 1934, probably in Naarden. Grasé wrote or edited the following works:

⁶⁴⁵ The last sentence of the presentation read: "De gemakzuchtige onderwijzer wordt tot zijn plicht geroepen". [The lazy teacher is called to his duty.]

⁶⁴⁶ See 6.2.11 for Günther's role in this affair. Eijkman's appointment on the provincial examination board was withdrawn on 16 May 1894. He was to be replaced by J.C.G. Grasé. However, on 6 June 1894 Grasé's appointment was withdrawn as well (*Berichten en Mededeelingen van de Vereeniging van Leeraren aan Inrichtingen Van Middelbaar Onderwijs*, vol. 7, 1894-1896).

⁶⁴⁷ The affair had a follow-up during the 29th general meeting of the "Vereeniging van Leeraren aan Inrichtingen van Middelbaar Onderwijs" [Secondary School Teachers Association] in August 1894. Here Eijkman started an unpleasant discussion following a presentation by M. Horn on FLT and the Direct Method, which later induced W. Kuiper (1961:144) to observe that Eijkman had rendered the Direct Method a bad service (cf. *Berichten en Mededeelingen van de Vereeniging van Leeraren aan Inrichtingen Van Middelbaar Onderwijs*, 7e reeks, 1893:243ff.).

⁶⁴⁸ *NRC Handelsblad* of 12 July 1993; the article was written by 'JB'.

- *Oefeningen in de Engelsche taal. I. Leerstof for the first three months* 1895-1921¹⁴
- *English Grammar of the First Year* 1895-1915³
- *Oefeningen in de Engelsche taal. II. Leerstof for the First Year* 1896-1923²⁸
- *Oefeningen in de Engelsche Taal III. Idiom and grammar for higher forms, on an inductive plan* 1905-1915²
- *Exercise book to English Grammar of the First Year* 1912
- (ed.) Baronesse d'Orczy *The Scarlet Pimpernel* 1908-1965 (in collaboration with A.E.H. Swaen)
- (ed.) H.G. Wells *The Wheel of Change* 1908 (in collaboration with A.E.H. Swaen)
- (ed.) Marjorie Bowen *I will maintain* 1911 (in collaboration with A.E.H. Swaen)
- *An idiomatic reader for higher forms* 1930 (in collaboration with C. van Heerikhuizen).

Target group

Grasé's course was intended for use in schools. Not only the titles, *Leerstof voor The first three months*, *Leerstof voor The First Year* and *Idiom and Grammar for higher forms*, suggest this, but from the prefaces it becomes clear that the material was expressly intended for use in schools. In the preface to volume II, *Leerstof voor The First Year*, Grasé explicitly says: "Uit de wijze, waarop mijn aantekeningen gesteld zijn, blijkt reeds dat mijn boekjes geen handleidingen zijn voor eigen studie van beginnenden. Het gesproken woord van den onderwijzer moet aanvullen, waar ik aantekeningen heb weggelaten". [From the way my notes have been written it is clear that my textbooks are no self-study manuals for beginners. The teacher's oral instructions should complete what I left out in my notes.] Indeed, the nature of the material is such that it required a great deal of interaction between teacher and pupil as well as among the pupils themselves.

Views on language teaching and learning

Explicit views on foreign language teaching and learning abundantly prevail in Grasé's course material as well as in his brochure *Directe Methode en Phonetisch Schrift als Grondslagen van Taalonderwijs* (1896I) and his

treatise “Iets over Direkte Methode” [Something on the Direct Method]. The brochure has, to a high extent, the character of a teacher’s guide. The second treatise was the text of a speech which he held at the Philological Conference in Utrecht in 1904. In presenting theoretical treatises, Grasé was an exception when compared to the writers of FLT textbooks before him. Only such textbook writers as Roodhuyzen, Esmeijer and Eijkman had written treatises that had a direct link with their textbooks.

Grasé saw himself as one of the representatives of the Reform Movement⁶⁴⁹. In his brochure *Directe Methode en Phonetisch Schrift als Grondslagen van Taalonderwijs* (1896I:10) he states: “Wij hervormers erkennen, dat we veel verschuldigd zijn aan al die nieuwe en nieuwste methodes van Viëtor, Jespersen, Gouin of Berlitz, die conversatie-, die natuurlijke, die aanschouwelijke methodes...”. [We, reformers, acknowledge that we owe a great deal to all those new and latest methods by Viëtor, Jespersen, Gouin or Berlitz, those conversation methods, those natural and visual methods...] He was the first Dutch writer of FLT textbooks who went to great lengths to explain the principles of the Reform in two treatises, and who applied those ideas consistently in his own coursebooks.

The 1896 brochure is an ardent plea for teaching the spoken language, starting with listening and reproduction. The pupils first have to become used to the sounds and intonation of the foreign language in order to reproduce them correctly. This is achieved by pupils reproducing isolated sounds as well as sound combinations. At the same time phonetic symbols are introduced. This stage took five to six lessons, a little shorter than in the Klinghardt experiment⁶⁵⁰, which spent ten lessons in two and a half weeks on it. The next step involved linking sounds and phonetic transcription to words and sentences. In accordance with Gouin’s ideas, sets of sentences are presented which the pupil has to grasp, remember and reproduce. Within each sentence the verb acts as the pivot of meaning as well as a stimulus to reproduce the sentence. Sentences and coherent texts are the starting-points for the learning process. Gradually, the texts were supposed to lead to a discussion of grammar points and vocabulary.

⁶⁴⁹ See Wilhelm (1994) for an assessment of Grasé’s position in Dutch ELT around 1900.

⁶⁵⁰ Howatt & Widdowson (2004:192-194).

Grasé qualifies his own work as follows: “Het is slechts één der vele pogingen op het gebied van onderwijs in levende talen om hieraan een richting te geven waarbij het gesproken woord in den aanvang hoofdzaak wordt”. [It is only one of the many attempts in the field of modern language teaching to point the way, whereby initially the spoken word is the main concern.] What mattered to the Reform was to teach the “levende taal” [living language]⁶⁵¹. This meant that teaching language skills was to play a vital role. Grasé realises this very well and stresses the importance of starting with the oral skills: “Eerst hooren, dan spreken, daarna lezen en schrijven”. [Listening first, then speaking, reading and writing.]⁶⁵² It is no coincidence that his 1896 brochure bears the motto: “De taal leeft in den klank” [Language lives in the sound], which reminds us of Van den Bosch’ slogan: “Taal is klank” [Language is sound.] Through this motto the latter referred to an innovation movement in L1 teaching (see journal *Taal & Letteren*). Yet, we must not conclude that Grasé was satisfied with teaching skills only. Ultimately, he pursues a cultural aim, that is, teaching pupils so much of the foreign language that they will be able to read and appreciate a literary author as if he were a native writer. But for this purpose a different approach was required: “Ik eindig [...] met er op te wijzen dat, wil men het doel bereiken: een prozaschrijver of dichter in de hoogste klas te lezen en samen te genieten, en het onderwijs in de vreemde taal en letterkunde zooveel mogelijk op dat in de moedertaal te doen gelijken, zonder deze laatste uit te sluiten, – *veel*, zoo niet *alles*, afhangt van het onderwijs in het eerste jaar”. [I would like to finish ... by pointing out that, if one wants to achieve the objective: read and enjoy a prose writer or poet in the highest form and make the teaching of foreign languages and literature resemble the teaching of the mother tongue, as much as possible, without precluding the latter, – *a great deal*, if not *everything*, depends on the teaching in the first year.] It seems very likely that Grasé borrowed this viewpoint from J. Storm, as it occupies as a motto

⁶⁵¹ This point of view was put forward some years later by Otto Jespersen in his treatise *How to teach a foreign language* (1904:2-5), in which the author states: “Language is not an end in itself [...]; it is [...] a means of communication”. Like Grasé, Jespersen did not point to a single founder of the Reform, but regarded it as a collective movement.

⁶⁵² Preface to *The First Three Months* (1895II).

one of the title pages of the second volume: “Das erste Jahr ist für die folgenden bestimmend. [The first year is decisive for the next years.] – Prof. J. Storm”.

It seems that, from the outset, Grasé was averse from dogmatism, as appears from his statement that he regarded the various Reform approaches as “slechts verschillende uitingen van één Hervormingsmethode, oor-methode als ik die zoo noemen mag, verschillend naar gelang van den aard van den onderwijzer”. [merely different manifestations of one Reform method, ear-method, if I may say so, varying in as far as they depend on the teacher.] In his preface to the second edition (1899II) of volume II, *Leerstof voor The First Year*, he states:

Het boek ziet er minder als “Gouin”-leerboek uit. Waar ik de methode van Gouin hoogschat voor beginners,... laat ik niet ongaarne tegen het einde van het eerste jaar zijn methode geheel los, want ik mag het Dr. J.J.A.A. Frantzen nazeggen, “geenszins wil ik Gouin’s leerwijze als de alleen zaligmakende uitgeven”. Ik zou dit van geen enkele willen beweren. *De methode*, of de *beste methode* zal wel niet bestaan, niettegenstaande aanmatigende, kwakzalverachtige “uitvinder”-aankondigingen voorgeven een taal(tje) in zekeren (korten) tijd te kunnen leeren.

[The book bears less resemblance to a “Gouin” coursebook. Whereas I highly esteem Gouin’s method for beginners, [...] I gladly take my leave of his method at the end of the first year, for I take the liberty of repeating Dr J.J.A.A. Frantzen: “I would not publicize Gouin’s method as the only road to bliss”. I would not say this of any coursebook. I daresay *The method*, or *the best method* does not exist, notwithstanding the arrogant claims of quacks or inventors pretending that a foreign language can be learnt in a certain (short) period of time.]

This viewpoint may be interpreted as criticism of Eijkman, as, after all, it had been the latter’s pretension (in his article in *De Drie Talen* of May 1894) to prove that Gouin’s method was the best (1896:10). Grasé was also critical of the Berlitz method, which he considered much too limited, taking into account the meaninglessness of the questions and answers (1896:23). In his second treatise, too, Grasé criticises the “onbenullige gesprekjes en vragen” [silly dialogues and questions] of the Berlitz

method, which he considered only fit for “tolken en kelners” [interpreters and waiters] (1904:150). Furthermore, it is remarkable that, compared to the 1896 brochure, the 1904 treatise has a more defensive tone and that Grasé expresses himself more carefully about inductive language teaching, the role of grammar and monolingual teaching. It seems that he is more willing to reach out to the sceptics in the world of FLT.

Grasé’s second treatise is the text of a speech that he held at the 1904 Philological Conference in Utrecht. The presentation bore the modest title: “iets over Direkte Methode” [Something on the Direct Method], but was in fact once more an extensive exposé of the principles of the Reform⁶⁵³. In his speech he opposes the exclusively utilitarian objective of FLT that was aimed at by the German ministry of education in 1891⁶⁵⁴. He also objects to the standpoint of the French education minister, who emphatically excluded “culture littéraire et gymnastique intellectuelle” [literary culture and intellectual gymnastics.] Grasé comments on the aims of FLT as follows: “Als de taal gansch het volk is⁶⁵⁵, dan kan de studie van een nieuwe zowel als van een oude taal, ons de geestelijke en materieele cultuur van een vreemd volk van nabij leeren kennen” [If language belongs to all the people, then the study of a new as well as an old language may acquaint us with the spiritual and material culture of a foreign nation] and also “De taak, dan, van den leeraar eener vreemde taal zou ik zóó willen omschrijven: hij moet den leerling een middel verschaffen, waardoor deze in aanraking komt, en begint vertrouwd te geraken met het verstands- en gevoelsleven van een vreemde cultuursfeer ...” [I would like to define the task of a foreign language teacher as follows: he should provide pupils with a tool that brings them into contact and familiarizes them with the spiritual and emotional life of a foreign culture...]⁶⁵⁶

⁶⁵³ *Handelingen Nederlandsch Philologencongres* 1904:142-161.

⁶⁵⁴ In 1902 this aim was reconsidered and the study of literature was once again included in FLT curricula (see Puren 1988)

⁶⁵⁵ The quotation “De taal is gansch het volk” is derived from Van den Bosch and represents Grasé’s sympathy for Van den Bosch’ view on language and language teaching.

⁶⁵⁶ *Handelingen Nederlandsch Philologencongres* 1904:143.

Origin and sources

Grasé's motivation for writing a new course was the conviction that he could contribute to the international Reform Movement. The positive results of the new method in Germany induced him to put the method to the test in his own classes. In his preface to *The First Three Months* (1895) he says that this coursebook is only one of the many attempts to give the spoken language priority over the written language in the classroom, at least at the initial stage. In any case, the idea was to be finished with "de oude trant van: twaalf woorden leeren en een daarvan geconstrueerde dorre thema te vertalen" [the old procedure of: learning twelve words in order to translate a boring exercise that has been constructed with those words]. Grasé then goes on to mention a great number of 'authorities' outside the Netherlands from whom he has derived inspiration: Viëtor, Walter, Junker, Klinghardt, Beijer, Jespersen, Paul Passy, Gouin. Likewise, he mentions the names of two Dutch colleagues who had been examples to him: Günther (*Leerboek der Engelsche Taal voor Eerstbeginnenden*, 1890II) and Van Neck (*Nederlandsch-Engelsche klank- en zinverwante woorden*, 1889II).

I Leerstof voor The First Three Months (1895)

The main inspiration for *The First Three Months* was the Gouin method. Grasé says that he became interested in Gouin when reading an article on his method in *Review of Reviews* early in 1892. Gouin's influence can be found in the use of series of sentences in which one particular action is focused on, e.g. lighting a match. This action is then broken up into a number of smaller actions. However, in the preface Grasé at once puts Gouin in perspective by commenting: "Het is slechts één der vele pogingen op het gebied van onderwijs in levende talen om hieraan een richting te geven waarbij het gesproken woord in den aanvang hoofdzaak wordt". [This is only one of the many attempts in the field of foreign language teaching to point the way in which the spoken language is predominant at the initial stage.] Besides, Gouin's influence did not go beyond the content of the first year⁶⁵⁷.

Klinghardt's influence is apparent from the listening and speaking activities and because of the use of phonetic symbols. Although Grasé

⁶⁵⁷ Preface to second edition of volume II, 1899.

does not literally refer to Klinghardt's experiment, he must have known about its existence, witness his reference to Klinghardt in the 1896 brochure concerning the use of phonetic transcription in the classroom (1896I:11). Besides, reports on the experiment had been published in 1888 and 1892, possibly with references to it in the German journal *Englische Studien*, a communication medium for language teachers. The essence of the experiment was that the German grammar school teacher Klinghardt taught English to a class of beginners by confronting them exclusively with spoken language and phonetic transcription for three months on end. Thus, they were forced to reproduce sounds correctly, while at the same time the transcription prevented the conventional spelling from interfering. Klinghardt's teaching was based on Sweet's *Elementarbuch des gesprochenen Englisch* (1885).

In order to justify his use of phonetic transcription, Grisé claims in his preface that at elementary state schools in England (London and Brighton) reading is taught through phonetic texts and he mentions Laura Soames, Paul Passy and Franz Beijer as people who promote phonetic transcription. Also, in the 1896 brochure, Grisé refers to Franz Beijer, Klinghardt, Walter, Paul Passy and Junker, who all claim that pupils do not confuse phonetic transcription with spelling. As if this was not enough, in the 2nd edition of *The First Three Months* Grisé quotes statements by Klinghardt saying that through phonetic transcription pupils are at last able to concentrate on the pronunciation of a foreign language, now that spelling and pronunciation are separated.

Finally, Grisé calls in the help of such 'authorities' as Jespersen, Lundell en Sweet to prove that phonetic transcription was virtually indispensable for acquiring a correct pronunciation, that learning conventional spelling was not hampered by it and that by using phonetic transcription pupils learned more quickly how to spell than without it. Barring one exception, Grisé employed the phonetic symbols as they were used in the textbooks by Günther and Stoffel. These were slightly simpler, he said, than the transcription in Ten Bruggencate's dictionary.

II Leerstof voor The First year (1896)

In the preface to the first edition of volume II, Grisé points out that the texts of lessons 49, 50 and 73 has been taken from the books by Stoffel⁶⁵⁸, Günther⁶⁵⁹ and Wijnhoff⁶⁶⁰. In the preface to the second edi-

tion he says that various alterations have been made, partly as a result of his acquaintance with the works by Hartman⁶⁶¹ (1895) and Carré⁶⁶². Along with Carré, Grasé believes that conjugating sentences (not grinding them out), is the best way of developing “spraakgevoel” [language sensitivity]. In this second volume of *Oefeningen in de Engelsche Taal*, Grasé has borrowed less from Gouin, for, in spite of his appreciation for the method – provided that its exercises are alternated with sums, conjugations of sentences, an occasional story, poem or play fragment – he has completely abandoned Gouin towards the end of the first year with the argument: “Geenszins wil ik Gouin’s leerwijze als de alleenzaligmakende uitgeven” [By no means do I wish to proclaim Gouin’s method as the sole path to bliss].

Idiom and Grammar (1905)

In his preface to the second, revised edition, Grasé refers to such Reformers as Walter, Viëtor, Klinghardt, Kron and Münch. In other words, in part we have different “authorities” here from the ones mentioned in volumes I and II.

Printing history

Grasé wrote only one coursebook, entitled *Oefeningen in de Engelsche Taal*, which consisted of three volumes. The first volume, *Oefeningen in de Engelsche taal. I. Leerstof for the first three months*, was published in 1895. As if to underline the importance of the spoken language, even the title page was printed in phonetic transcription. Within ten years there was a fifth edition; the fourteenth appeared in 1921 and the fifteenth, and probably the last, was published in or before 1930⁶⁶³. The first volume

⁶⁵⁸ The text was taken from Stoffel’s *Engelsch leesboek voor aanvangsklassen* (vol. 1, 2 and 3, 1893).

⁶⁵⁹ Grasé meant Günther’s *Leerboek der Engelsche taal voor eerstbeginnenden* (1890).

⁶⁶⁰ The reference is probably to Wijnhoff’s *Tales and Stories. First English Reading-book* (1879, 1884², 1889³).

⁶⁶¹ Hartman *Reise-Eindrücke und Beobachtungen*.

⁶⁶² Carré: *Méthode pratique de langue*.

⁶⁶³ The 1930 publisher’s catalogue (J.B. Wolters of Groningen) mentions the 15th ed. as the last.

was accompanied by *English Grammar of the First Year* (1895-1915³). Volume two, called *Oefeningen in de Engelsche taal. II. Leerstof for the First Year* came out in 1896. It included the entire content of the first volume, *The first three months*; however, this time it was written in the conventional spelling. Volume two was even more successful than volume one. Within ten years seven editions had appeared and the 28th and probably last edition dates from 1923⁶⁶⁴. Volume three, *Oefeningen in de Engelsche Taal III. Idiom and grammar for higher forms, on an inductive plan*, appeared in 1905. It had only one (revised) edition in 1915. *Oefeningen in de Engelsche taal. III Idiom and grammar for higher forms, on an inductive plan* was published in 1904 and had a second edition in 1909. In 1912 Grase published his *Exercise book to English Grammar of the First Year* as an addition to his 1895 grammar.

The materials for the first year are supplemented by an exercise book, entitled *Grammar of the First Year*. Pupils are expected to write down examples in it and the rules pertaining to them. The book first appeared around 1908⁶⁶⁵ and the fourth and last edition came out in 1920. Initially, the pupils themselves were supposed to fill the book with the examples and rules that they had found, but apparently this took too much time and many teachers thought it more convenient when at least a number of examples and rules would be printed. The publication of this exercise book may therefore be seen as a compromise to the practice of teaching.

Volume three, entitled *Idiom and Grammar for Higher Forms*, with the subtitle *On an Inductive Plan*, appeared in 1904 and was intended for the second year, which meant the third form of the Higher Burgher School. This volume had a second edition in 1909. The book literally contains two exercise books, viz. one for writing down exercises (*Exercises*) and a concise survey of the most important grammar rules (*Concise Grammar*). The latter is a booklet in which on the left-hand pages of the eighteen chapters such items are explained as English spelling, capitals, syllabification, punctuation, word-stress, prefixes and suffixes, verbs, nouns, pro-

⁶⁶⁴ The 1930 publisher's catalogue (J.B. Wolters of Groningen) mentions the 28th edition as the last.

⁶⁶⁵ See *Brinkman's Catalogus* 1901-1910 and 1911-1915.

nouns, articles, adjectives, numerals, adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions, word-order, obsolete forms and irregular verbs. The right-hand page is meant to be filled with notes. The booklet has 80 pages altogether.

Table of contents

(Ninth edition 1909)

[1 p]	(Illustration of royal coat of arms, flags and coins)
[1 p]	(Title page)
[1 p]	(Motto J. Storm)
[4pp]	(<i>Voorwoord</i>) [Preface] (to first, second and ninth editions)
[6pp]	<i>Contents</i>
[2pp]	<i>Grammar-index</i>
[1 p]	<i>Het Alphabet</i> [The alphabet]
[1-159]	Lessons 1-80
[160-163]	Miscellaneous (conjugation of verbs, grammar rules, exercises, 'how to address people')
[164-194]	Appendix (riddles, anecdotes, narratives and poems)

Outline of learning content

a. *texts*

Contrary to the coursebooks before 1890, *Oefeningen in de Engelsche taal. II* offers texts functioning as starting points for the learning content of the lesson. The first texts are the "series" of Gouin. They are sets of sentences in which actions are described step by step with the verb acting as the pivot of each sentence. The learner is supposed to associate each part of the action with a linguistic utterance either by carrying out the action while speaking or by imagining the action while speaking, so-called inner visualisation. In this way, a logical sequence originates, in which the verb acted as a reminder, facilitating the memorisation of the sentence by the learner. The verb is always underlined, also in the later texts. In this way the pupils are able to grasp the coherence of sentences and text and memorise the story, for in practice they mostly get to know the text by heart. After the first two months the text is used as a reading text for receptive use. Throughout the course, Grasé adheres to the principle of using a text as a starting point for each lesson.

The selection of the texts, which offer daily, spoken language and deal with subjects from every-day life, was made according to the principles of

Gouin and the Reform. Thus, there are texts on daily events, such as going home after school, doing homework, supper, going to bed, getting up, breakfast and so on. The longer texts are narrative in character, describing, for instance, a train journey from Amsterdam to Haarlem. We also find realia and miscellaneous items such as illustrations, a description of English currency, letters, proverbs, riddles, short poems and anecdotes. These practical matters serve to evoke images of the foreign culture.

b. spelling and pronunciation

The first part of the course, *Leerstof voor The First Three Months*, including the title, is presented in phonetic transcription. Grasé uses a total of thirty different symbols, basing himself on the phonetic script of Stoffel's readers (1893II), Ten Bruggencate's dictionaries (1894II and 1896II) and Günther's leerboeken (1890II and 1891II) (cf. Grasé 1896I:22). The pupil is not meant to be confronted with the conventional spelling until he has mastered the correct pronunciation of the first forty-four texts. In doing so, Grasé met the requirement of the Reform that sound and not spelling should be the start of FLT. Probably, he also followed Klinghardt's example, who in 1888 and 1892 had committed his experiences with transcription to writing. The *Leerstof voor The First Three Months* begins with a short introduction in Dutch on the pronunciation in English; it is probably meant for the teacher. In volume II, *Leerstof for the First Year* there are seven chapters with a number of spelling and pronunciation rules.

c. grammar

After the first three months, in which attention was only paid to pronunciation in texts, the same texts are presented in the conventional spelling. For the greater part, the texts are grouped around a grammatical item. No distinction is made between morphology and syntax. In the texts aspects of form and word order are presented simultaneously. It goes without saying that a classic treatment of subsequent word classes is completely absent.

For Grasé grammar teaching is no aim in itself, but is subservient to skills teaching. It would go too far to present an exhaustive analysis of the grammar content here. cursory reading, however, gives the impression that Grasé has selected the grammar content of his coursebooks mainly

on the basis of tradition and intuition. The selection does not seem to be essentially different from the selection of content in coursebooks for beginners based on the grammar-translation method. In actual fact, nine word classes come up for discussion: verb, noun, pronoun, article, adjective, numeral, adverb, preposition and conjunction. There are seven pronouns: personal, indefinite, possessive, reflexive, interrogative, relative and indefinite pronouns. As far as the nouns are concerned, number, gender and case are discussed; as regards the verbs, there are six tenses: the present, present perfect, past, past perfect, future and conditional tense.

The organisation of the grammar is completely different from that of a classic 'parts of speech grammar'. After teaching the pupils how to count and the names of the days and the months of the year, Grisé immediately starts with the present tense of the verb. The verb takes up a central position, because in the first forty-three texts, the verb is the indispensable centre of the actions in the sentences. Grammatical structures are always presented in a context (text or dialogue). Besides, there are conventional paradigms, so that grammatical structures may be practised explicitly, too.

d. vocabulary and idioms

Vocabulary and idioms are offered through the texts. Consequently, the meaning of words has to be learned in context. All the material is bilingual. The specific notions in the lessons concern such items as 'house and home', 'life at home', 'education', 'free time/entertainment', 'travel', 'health and welfare', 'shopping', 'food and drink', 'services', 'weather and time' (cf. Van Ek 1976:59-83). By far the majority of the specific notions concern 'house and home' and 'life at home'.

e. phrases and dialogues

Idiomatic phrases are offered within the framework of a particular subject. There is also a small number of dialogues.

g. other items

There are many additional elements that are sometimes found in eighteenth century 'communicative' coursebooks, such as proverbs, anecdotes and letters. In addition, we find sums, riddles, narratives and poems. There are also illustrations, including a plate derived from Hölzel's *Wandbilder*.

f. exercises

The title of *Oefeningen in de Engelsche Taal* is already significant in itself. The course is not entitled ‘coursebook’, ‘grammar’, ‘syntax’ or ‘manual’, but suggests, by virtue of its title, that the use of language skills is considered more important than language knowledge and that learning a foreign language is primarily a process of practice. *Oefeningen in de Engelsche Taal* II has a large number and a great variety of learning activities, 99 in all. All the exercises are productive or are combinations of receptive and productive exercises. There are twelve different types of exercises. The great variety of exercises implies a break with the grammar-translation courses, which only had exercises for translation. Grasé was not the first writer, however, to offer a variety of exercises. Stoffel (1881II) and Günther (1890II) had preceded him. The number of oral exercises considerably exceeds the number of written exercises: 73 vs. 8. Of 18 exercises it is not clear how they were used. Most activities are primarily focused on form (41); a limited number are primarily focused on meaning (8). The remaining 50 have no clear focus. Figure 6.23 gives an overview of the learning activities and types of exercises in Grasé’s *Oefeningen in de Engelsche Taal II. Leerstof voor The First Year*.

Organisation of learning content

The first volume, *Leerstof voor The First Three Months*, conspicuously starts with forty-four texts in phonetic transcription. These are subsequently presented in the conventional spelling in the second volume, *Leerstof voor The First Year*. Thus, we have gradation on the basis of: sounds first, letters next. So far no single course had so consistently made use of phonetic transcription. Because of the repetition of the content of the first three months, we may speak of a concentric approach.

Presentation of learning content

The teacher plays an important role in the procedures that Grasé has in mind. A great deal depends on his knowledge of modern English as well as on his teaching skills. Obviously, teachers need a lot of creativity and skill to make direct method lessons into a success. This probably made quite a few teachers shrink from the implications of the method, which required considerable physical effort as well. In this respect it is significant that volume I, which requires oral teaching in English, has fewer editions

than the second volume, which contains written exercises, too. It is also remarkable that in the later editions of volume II there is more room for grammatical structures and Dutch-English translation exercises⁶⁶⁶. This is contrary to the objectives of the inductive, unilingual method, but it shows the need of many teachers for a coursebook with which they could work more easily.

The typical characteristics of the Reform, coherent texts, phonetic transcription, inductive grammar teaching, absence of translations, can all be found in *Oefeningen in de Engelsche Taal* I and II. Grasé begins each lesson with a text that has to be listened to, repeated and, finally, read. The text also serves as input material for grammar and vocabulary. During the first three months, the focus is on listening and reproduction of the spoken text. In the absence of any sound reproduction equipment, the teacher starts by reading out or dramatising a text. This is the presentation stage of the lesson. The pupils listen, grasp the meaning of the text through observation and keep repeating it with the aid of phonetic transcription until no more pronunciation errors are made. This is the repetition stage. Ultimately, the pupils will have memorised the entire text. The emphasis on correct reproduction must be explained by the negative view of the Reform on the role of errors and by the idea that the conventional spelling will cause interference in pronunciation.

L1 does not play a significant part during the presentation stage, because the teacher is supposed to explain the meaning of words and sentences by means of gestures or illustrations. In this way their meaning can be grasped by observation and association. An alternative form of presentation is explaining meaning through paraphrasing with familiar words. Grasé found the Gouin series of sentences very useful in presenting new learning content. However, if there is no alternative, he resorts to Dutch. Here he distinguishes himself from the dogmatists among the Reformers, who refused to use L1.

In principle, Grasé rejects explicit grammar teaching. In accordance with the inductive approach, the text should be the starting point for new gram-

⁶⁶⁶ See J.B. Wolters' 1930 catalogue, in which it is stated that in the 28th edition the grammar part has been adapted, that is, a list of irregular verbs has been inserted and Dutch exercises have been added for translation into English.

matical items, whereby the teacher helps pupils to discover recurring patterns. The examples and the rules derived from them are written down in a separate exercise book. Here, too, Grisé does not show himself to be very dogmatic, as we occasionally find paradigms as well as grammatical surveys.

Historical reception and evaluation

On the basis of the number of editions it may be concluded that, generally speaking, Grisé's course had a favourable reception. However, this success was limited to the learning content of the coursebook volumes for the first year. The volume for the first three months, offering phonetic transcription, had fifteen editions in all and was, therefore, less successful than its sequel for the first year. It throws some light on the enthusiasm with which phonetic transcription was welcomed in the Netherlands, since the second volume, which contains the material of the *First Three Months* in conventional spelling, was published 28 times. It is likely that many teachers only used the first year volumes to be able to use living, spoken English, but that in the following years they thought it safer to change over to a more systematic grammar and translation approach – probably with a view to the school-leaving examination. It seems that this was the reason why Grisé's coursebook for the second year (third form of Higher Burgher School) was considerably less successful; it had one reprint only.

There is an indirect account of Grisé's teaching method in the annals of the Amersfoort grammar school, written by an alumnus. He describes the English lessons of Grisé's successor J.D. Best, who had succeeded him in 1892 and – judging by the account – continued the work of his predecessor in his style, so that in fact we get a good impression of Grisé's teaching⁶⁶⁷. The most important memory is the fact that during the lessons English had to be spoken and texts memorised, so that the pupils learned the pronunciation without any effort:

Maar de 'moeilijke' uitspraak van het Engelsch! Hij leerde ze ons spelenderwijs. Nog herinner ik mij de boekjes in fonetische spelling, die ons allerlei verhalen in het Engelsch leerden vertellen, vóór we een

⁶⁶⁷ *Gedenkboek Stedelijk Gymnasium Amersfoort* (1928:335-337). The contribution is by Th. Bremer of Arnhem (November 1927).

woord Engelsch konden lezen. “I cut a point to my pencil. I take my knife out of my pocket ...” Na twintig jaar zou ik ’t nog tot een goed einde kunnen brengen.

[But, the ‘difficult’ pronunciation of English! He taught it, as if it were child’s play. I still remember the books in phonetic transcription which made us tell all kinds of stories in English, before we were able to read a single word in English (...). After twenty years I would still be able to do it quite well.]

As far as we know, there are two reviews of *Oefeningen in de Engelsche Taal*. The first is an anonymous review in the *Tijdschrift voor Onderwijs en Opvoeding*⁶⁶⁸. In it the reviewer has much praise for Grasé’s work. He writes that Grasé has completely broken with the “old method” but that, on the other hand, he has not slavishly followed either Berlitz or Gouin. Armed with his rich experience and command of English, he has been able to go his own way and use the strong points of said authors. According to the reviewer, Grasé is not dogmatic in his approach. Thus, he does not hesitate to give a Dutch translation where it would be more effective than using English. The reviewer himself has used Grasé’s course in the classroom and come to the conclusion that his pupils acquire a better pronunciation by working with phonetic transcription. Moreover, he has not noticed any interference with the conventional spelling – an item that was a recurring point of discussion. Also, it was the reviewer’s opinion that *Oefeningen in de Engelsche Taal* offers sufficient knowledge to prepare pupils for the Higher Burgher School examinations.

The second review is in German, written by R. Kron⁶⁶⁹. This reviewer, too, states that Grasé has used Gouin’s series of sentences, but that he has otherwise compiled his own material. Furthermore, he writes that Grasé deals with grammar in the traditional way, on the basis of the word classes. According to the reviewer, Grasé has been influenced by the Frenchman Carré, who was a great supporter of working with illustrations. Surveying Grasé’s work, Kron considers Grasé an exponent of the eclectic stream in FLT.

⁶⁶⁸ Cited in the 1904 catalogue of J.B. Wolters.

⁶⁶⁹ See previous note. Richard Kron was a German writer of ELT materials who belonged to the eclectic movement in FLT (Macht 1987:passim).

FIGURE 6.23 OVERVIEW, IN ABSOLUTE NUMBERS, OF PRODUCTIVE LEARNING ACTIVITIES AND TYPES OF EXERCISES IN GRASE'S *OEFENINGEN IN DE ENGELSche TAAL. II. LEERSTOF FOR THE FIRST YEAR* (1896)

	language skills exercises											
	productive speaking						writing					
	sound	word	word	sentence	sentence	text	word	word	word	sentence	sentence	text
	B	B	C	B	C	B	B	C	B	C	B	C
	form	form	meaning	form	meaning	meaning	form	meaning	form	meaning	form	meaning
Types of exercises												
Focus on form or meaning												
Numbers in typology (8/15)	8	9a	9b	9c	10a	10b	10c	11a	11b	11c	11d	
Counting numbers		20										
Listen and repeat the sentences		32										
Rewrite the story												
Write your own story												
Rephrase the sentences					7							
Listen and guess the proverb												1
Retell the story												
Conjugate the verbs		4						5				
Write story with the help of these pictures												
Make sentences with these words												
Fill in a fitting word			1									
Form correct sentences					1							
Do the arithmetical assignments							14					
Translate these sentences with a view to their word order					4							

7. CHAPTER SEVEN

COURSEBOOK ANALYSIS

7.0 Introduction

In this chapter we will compare and analyse the data from the separate coursebooks that were described in Chapter Six, Coursebook Description. Not all the aspects described in Chapter Six will come up for analysis, however. Aspects that are only relevant to individual coursebooks, such as the writer's background, printing history, table of contents and historical reception and evaluation, have been left out, leaving only aspects that could be compared in a useful way. These aspects are the following: target groups (7.1), explicit views on language teaching and learning (7.2), sources and references to "authorities" (7.3), the selection of course content (7.4), the organisation of course content (7.5) and the presentation of course content (7.6).

7.1 Target groups

The groups of learners of English can be distinguished on the basis of the following criteria (see 6.1.4):

- level (beginners, intermediate, advanced)
- types of education (school education, home education by parents and/or private tutor, self-tuition)
- age (youngsters, adults)
- gender (males, females)
- special groups (emigrants, teachers, traders, sailors, native speakers of English).

The data give rise to the following remarks. Of the fourteen researched course volumes, five volumes were exclusively intended for absolute beginners (Kappelhoff 1807II, Cowan & Maatjes 1854II, Gerdes 1855II, Gunn c1856II and Günther 1890II). Of these, three (Cowan & Maatjes

1854II, Gerdes 1855II and Günther 1890II) were followed by volumes for further education. Eight course volumes were intended both for beginners and intermediate learners (Lehman 1805II, Van der Pijl 1811II, Murray/Van der Pijl 1816II, De Hollander 1850II, Cowan & Maatjes 1856II, Roorda 1886II and 1895II, and Grasé 1896II). Only one volume was written for intermediate and advanced learners (Stoffel 1881II). Consequently, the greater part of the researched material was meant for beginners and intermediate learners.

Without any exception, all the coursebooks were written primarily for school education, which shows that, as early as the beginning of the nineteenth century, young learners were seen as the most important target group and that English began to be established in the school curricula. The extent to which the teaching material was intended for private tuition by parents and/or tutors is unclear. Especially at the beginning of the century, coursebook writers liked to keep their options open for commercial reasons. The same lack of clarity concerns self-tuition. The only course that claimed to be suitable for self-tuition was Murray/Van der Pijl (1816II). This brings us to the question which books were written for adults. It appears that all the material was primarily written for young learners and that no single coursebook was exclusively intended for adults. On the other hand, we may assume that Murray/Van der Pijl (1816II) and Stoffel (1881II) were used by adults as well. According to its author, the former book was also meant for self-tuition and the latter work was often used by prospective teachers. Furthermore, it is remarkable that of all the researched coursebooks only Lehman (1805) speaks of female learners. This happened in imitation of Fick's *Practische Englische Sprachlehre für Deutsche beyderley Geschlechts* (1793), on which Lehman had based his work. No other coursebook writer deems this target group worth mentioning. Most writers assume that their books were used by boys or men. As late as 1881, Stoffel said that he hoped to have collected adequate material for "den knapenleeftijd" [the age of boys]. However, we may assume that gradually, from the 1870s and 1880s onwards, a growing number of girls started to make use of these coursebooks, seeing that grammar schools and Higher Burgher Schools opened their doors to them. The coursebook writers, however, did not mention this fact. Textbooks for special target groups play a relatively subordinate role in the total corpus of ELT textbooks. Special target groups are not mentioned in

the researched coursebooks either, with one exception, that is native speakers of English. In his *Handleiding voor eerstbeginnenden* (1808) Kapelhoff claims that his work has also been written “ten dienste der Engelsche scholen”. [for the benefit of English schools.] We must therefore conclude that native speakers of English were among the learners using this coursebook⁶⁷⁰.

The coursebooks tell us very little about the types of school at which they could be used. This is understandable as far as the coursebooks prior to the 1860s are concerned, as, formally speaking, there was no secondary school system in which ELT had a place as a regular subject. The coursebooks before 1860 were written for French schools or possibly grammar schools with a so-called Second Department. The only book that refers to a particular type of school is De Hollander (1850), which mentions that it was written, among other things, to prepare secondary school pupils for their entrance examination at the Royal Military Academy.

Also after 1860 the coursebooks tell us very little about the types of school at which they were to be used. However, we may deduce from the material itself and from external evidence for what types of school most books were intended. Thus, it is quite clear that Stoffel (1881II), Roorda (1886II/1895II), Günther (1890II) and Grisé (1896II) were all written in the first place for Higher Burgher Schools and grammar schools, either because the level of content suggests it or because their authors were teachers at these types of schools. The coursebooks after 1880 were thus probably all written primarily for these new types of school. This brings us to the question to what extent adults made use of the existing teaching materials. There is no easy answer to this question, however, as none of the coursebook writers mention adults as their target group. On the other hand, adult learners must have used textbooks somehow. As there was no specific material available to them in the first half of the nineteenth century, we must conclude that both young and adult learners used the same course books. Table 7.1. gives an overview of the data.

⁶⁷⁰ At the beginning of the 19th century it was not unusual for Dutch pupils to attend English schools and for English pupils to attend so-called French schools.

TABLE 7.1 TARGET GROUPS OF LEARNERS IN THE RESEARCHED COURSEBOOKS⁶⁷¹

COURSEBOOKS	beginners	intermediate	advanced	school education	home education	self-tuition	youngsters	adults	males	females	special target groups
Lehman 1805	x	x		x	(x)	(x)	x	(x)	x	x	
Kappelhoff 1808	x			x			x		x	(x)	
Van der Pijl 1811	x	x		x	(x)		x		x	(x)	
Murray/Van der Pijl 1816	x	x		x	(x)	x	x	x	x	(x)	
De Hollander 1850	x	x		x	(x)		x		x		
Cowan & Maatjes 1854	x			x			x		x	(x)	
Cowan & Maatjes 1856		x		x			x				
Gerdes 1855	x	(x)		x			x		x	(x)	
Gunn [1856]	x	(x)		x	(x)		x		x	(x)	
Stoffel 1881	(x)	x	x	x			x	x	x	(x)	
Roorda 1886	x	x		x			x		x	(x)	
Roorda 1895	x	x		x			x				
Günther 1890	x			x			x		x	(x)	
Grasé 1896	x	x		x			x		x	(x)	

⁶⁷¹ The symbol x denotes that the coursebook was written for the target group concerned, while the symbol (x) denotes that the coursebook is likely to have been written for the target group.

7.2 Explicit views on language teaching and learning

The number of explicit views on teaching and learning foreign languages is rather limited. Of the 14 researched coursebook volumes, three (Kappelhoff 1807II, De Hollander 1850II en Roorda 1886II) do not give us any insight into their views on teaching methods. The remaining eleven do it only sparingly; Günther (1890II) and (Grasé 1896II) are positive exceptions. The views are classified here according to FLT aims and the selection of learning content on the one hand, and the organisation and presentation of learning content on the other.

FLT aims and the selection of learning content

From the occurrence of informative and narrative texts in many coursebooks as well as from the existence of accompanying readers, it appears that English coursebook writers valued a certain measure of cultural, moral and intellectual baggage. The view that modern languages offer intellectual and cultural education besides skills training, had already been put forward by Teissedre l'Ange around 1800 (Niemeyer 1799I:155-157). It was endorsed in the 1850s by Cowan & Maatjes (1854II/1856II), who points out that the aim of learning a foreign language concerns not only utility, but relates just as much to “verstandelijke en zedelijke vorming”. [intellectual and moral education.] In his *Engelsch Leesboek* [1890II]⁶⁷², Stoffel states that one of the aims of FLT is trying to understand the cultural peculiarities of a foreign country. Grasé (1896II) is not satisfied either with teaching skills only. In his opinion, FLT should offer intellectual and cultural education on an equal footing with classical education. Especially reading literary texts will have to serve this purpose. Probably all writers considered the ability to read English texts an obvious skill, seeing that we find so few references to it.

The importance of oral proficiency is never queried. What matters is the relative importance attached to conversation skills. Van der Pijl, for example, – after all a writer who embraced the grammar-translation method – underlines the importance of oral proficiency. He considers it important for beginners, who are expected to memorise words, idiomatic

⁶⁷² See preface to *Engelsch Leesboek I, moderne prozastukken verzameld en toegelicht door C. Stoffel*. Zutphen: W.J. Thieme (c1890).

phrases and dialogues. The spoken language is especially important to Reformers, such as Günther and Grisé, who wish their pupils to learn the spoken language first, analogous to the acquisition of L1. Günther is the first writer to emphasize the priority of the oral skills: “Eerst hooren, dan spreken, daarna lezen en schrijven”. [Listening first, then speaking and next reading and writing.]

One heritage of the extensive eighteenth century textbooks was the tendency to offer many language rules. This heritage still found in Lehman (1805II), Van der Pijl (1811II and 1816II) and Lloyd/Bomhoff (1835II). Gradually, however, more and more school grammars appeared that offered a selection of rules (De Hollander 1850II, Cowan & Maatjes 1854II, Gerdes 1855II and Gunn c1856II). One argument, which came to be heard more and more frequently, was that rules should be based on the differences between English and Dutch (Cowan & Maatjes 1854II, Gerdes 1855II, Gunn c1856II and Stoffel 1881II). The writers of these books felt that an L2 grammar should take L1 as a starting point and should only emphasize what was relevant to the L1 speaker.

The organisation and presentation of learning content

Lehman (1805II), Van der Pijl (1811II) and Murray/Van derPijl 1816II praise deductive grammar teaching. However, as the nineteenth century went by, deductive grammar teaching in its most rigid form lost its popularity. De Hollander (1850II) is the last of the researched coursebook writers to present the parts of speech in such a way that one word class is dealt with completely before a start is made with the next. During the 1850s, grammar teaching underwent a major change under the influence of the German coursebook writers Seidenstücker and Ahn. Their method was a protest against the orthodox grammatical method with its tedious way of rule learning and translations. Seidenstücker's and Ahn's ideas strongly influenced Gerdes (1855II) and Cowan & Maatjes (1854II). Instead of Dutch sentences for translation, English sample sentences are presented exemplifying grammatical items. The sentences have to be learnt by heart and translated into Dutch (Cowan & Maatjes 1854II, Gerdes 1855II and Gunn c1856II). As a result, the cognitive aspect of FLT is replaced in part by memorising and translating. If explicit discussion of rules is inevitable, only the essentials are dealt with on the basis of contrastive analysis.

Later, coursebook writers turned away from the inductive approach, as rules were combined with sample sentences (Stoffel 1881II, Roorda 1886II). However, the difference with the first half of the century was that word classes were no longer discussed exhaustively, but that a more concentric approach was employed. Stoffel (1881) claims that grammar in FLT is only a means and not an end in itself; besides, he is in favour of a more inductive approach (“grammaire en action”), inviting pupils to find rules on their own. The 1890s are characterised by ideas which differed fundamentally from those that represented the deductive grammatical method. Günther (1890) and Grisé (1896) both advocate an inductive treatment of grammar, whereby texts provide the subject matter for a discussion of grammar rules.

Translating from the mother tongue into English was used to some extent by all coursebook writers throughout the nineteenth century. Only Günther (1890II) and Grisé (1896II) were exceptions. Lehman (1805II) and Van der Pijl (1811II and 1816II) were the first to advocate the contrastive method. According to Lehman, translations L1-L2 are more useful for beginners than reading the foreign language. He is convinced that a deductive-contrastive method through rules and translation exercises will yield the best results. In this respect he is in complete agreement with his example Fick and, through him, with Meidinger. Although Gerdes (1855II) and Gunn (c1856II) are not in favour of this method, they make it clear that they will use translation as a form of practice. Whereas De Hollander (1850II) and his predecessors only offered Dutch sentences for translation, Cowan & Maatjes (1854II/1856II), Gerdes (1855II), Gunn (c1856II) and Stoffel (1881II) offer Dutch as well as English sentences. Stoffel (1881) still fully supports the contrastive method. As far as translating is concerned, the 1890s formed a breach with the past. This decade is characterised by ideas which are fundamentally different from those of the contrastive, grammatical method. Günther, for example, likes to see as few L1-L2 translations as possible. His ideas are fully shared by Grisé, who stresses the teaching of “living languages” and objects to teaching foreign languages in the same way as the classical languages.

Activities such as imitation and memorising have always been used in one form or another. This is true for the early nineteenth century writers, such as Van der Pijl (1811II), who has his pupils memorise words, phrases and dialogues, but also for Grisé, in whose classes series of sentences were

memorised after the example of Gouin. The pupils using Cowan & Maatjes' *Praktische Inleiding* (1854II) had to imitate sentences and memorise them. In Gerdes (1855II) memory plays a major role: "Het geheele werk berust inzonderheid op het geheugen; de volzinnen zijn gemakkelijk te begrijpen". [The whole work is particularly based on memory; the sentences are easy to comprehend.] And Gunn claimed: "L'Anglais ne s'apprend que de vive voix". [One learns English only through the spoken language.] Günther (1890II) prescribes how a text must be read out by the teacher and repeated by the pupils for as long as it takes them to imitate it flawlessly. Of all the researched coursebooks, Grisé (1896) attaches the most value to imitation and memorising.

Günther (1890II) calls the use of coherent texts one of the characteristics of the Reform. Consequently, in the works of Günther and Grisé English texts have come to replace unconnected sentences for translation. The texts serve as a multi-functional basis for the practice of pronunciation, the introduction of grammar and the expansion of vocabulary. The fact that earlier writers included English texts in their coursebooks too, does not imply that these texts had the same multi-functional purpose, since they had no immediate relation with the phonology and grammar of the coursebook.

When we compare the above ideas, it appears that the views of the coursebooks writers do not always reflect the underlying methods unambiguously. In a number of cases, such as the primacy of the spoken language versus the written language or the use of coherent texts versus unconnected sentences or the deductive versus the inductive treatment of grammar, it is easy to distinguish between the grammar-translation method and the direct method. However, when we consider the aims of FLT, the importance attached to oral proficiency, the number of grammar rules offered, learning through imitation and even translating L1-L2, the views are less divergent and the distinction between the two methods cannot be indicated so clearly. All these points lead to the conclusion that the coursebook writers, whether they favoured the grammar-translation method or the direct method, made use of aspects of both methods and generally had a open mind, as far as teaching methodology was concerned. Table 7.2 gives an overview of the chief views of these coursebook writers.

TABLE 7.2 EXPLICIT VIEWS IN THE RESEARCHED COURSEBOOKS ON AIMS, SELECTION AND PRESENTATION OF LEARNING CONTENT⁶⁷³

coursebooks	aims	selection of content				presentation of content				
		intellectual, moral or cultural aims	emphasis on oral practice	primacy of speech	limited number of grammar rules	deductive grammar teaching	inductive grammar teaching	contrastive ft; translating L1-L2	learning through imitation and memorising	coherent texts
Lehman 1805						x		x		
Kappelhoff 1808						(x)		(x)		
Van der Pijl 1811			x			x		x	x	
Murray/Van der Pijl 1816						x		x		
De Hollander 1850					x	(x)		(x)		
Cowan & Maatjes 1854/1856	x				x	(x) 1856	x 1854	x	x	
Gerdes 1855			(x)		x		x	x	x	
Gunn [1856]			(x)				(x)	x	x	(x)
Stoffel 1881	(x)			(x)	x	x		x		
Roorda 1886				(x)		(x)				
Günther 1890			x	x	(x)		x		x	x
Grasé 1896	x		x	x	(x)		x		x	x

⁶⁷³ The symbol x denotes that the coursebook writer has expressed this view. The symbol (x) denotes that the view as such was not expressed but that the coursebook content suggests that the view was shared or expressed by the writer in another context. Absence of either symbol denotes that the coursebook writer does not share the view or is not known to have shared it.

7.3 Sources and references to “authorities”

By “sources” we mean coursebooks or linguistic manuals from which the learning content of the coursebook has been fully or partially derived. Coursebook writers may refer to their sources, but this is not always the case. By “authorities” we mean other writers (linguistic experts or textbook writers), coursebooks or linguistic manuals that functioned as sources of knowledge or inspiration to coursebook writers and which are explicitly referred to. Thus, the “authority” to which a coursebook refers, could at the same time be its source. In some cases, the source could not be found, since it was not mentioned in the coursebook. In most cases, however, it was possible to trace the source on the basis of the content of the coursebook or other information.

In the 14 coursebook volumes 26 sources are mentioned. Of these sources

- twelve are Dutch (Anon. *Fransche Spraakkonst* 1802, Agron 1794, Van Wijk Rz. c1802, Lehman 1805II, Gerdes 1850, Beckering Vinckers 1875II, Wijnhoff 1879II, Stoffel 1880II, 1881II, 1893II, Van Neck 1889II, Eijkman 1894II),
- nine are German (Fick 1793, Seidenstücker 1811, Ahn 1834, G. van den Berg 1847, Zimmermann 1871, Viëtor 1882/1886, Klinghardt 1888, Hölzel, Hartman),
- three are French (Robertson 1838, Gouin 1880, Carré)
- two are English (Murray 1795, Sweet 1885).

In their turn, many of these sources made use of other sources. Thus, Fick (1793), Agron (1794), Anon. *Fransche Spraakkonst* (1802), Van Wijk Rz. (c1802) and Lehman (1805II) can all be traced back to Meidinger’s example. Consequently, the coursebooks using these sources may be said to have been modelled after the grammar-translation method. Gunn (c1856II) may have had Robertson (1838) as its source, which had been strongly influenced by Jacotot’s *Enseignement Universel. Langue étrangère* (1824) (cf. Macht 1986:60). Gerdes (1855II) refers to Van den Berg (1847), which was based on Seidenstücker (1811) and Ahn (1834). Stoffel (1881II) mentions Zimmermann/Van Moerkerken (1864[1871]II), which had Seidenstücker/Ploetz for an example (Macht 1986:189). Eijkman (1894I) was entirely founded on Gouin’s method (1880/1893) and

Klinghardt (1888) used Sweet's *Elementarbuch des gesprochenen Englisch* (1885) (Howatt & Widdowson 2004:192).

In the researched coursebooks we found 29 references. Of these references

- 10 relate to English-speaking “authorities” (Sheridan, Walker, Lowth, Johnson, Sweet, Ellis, Graham, Whately, Webster, Soames),
- 9 to German-speaking “authorities” (Hoppe, Mätzner, Viëtor, Nader, Würzner, Walter, Junker, Klinghardt, Beijer),
- 4 to Dutch-speaking “authorities” (Siegenbeek, Weiland, Kramers, Frantzen),
- 4 to Scandinavian “authorities” (Storm, Western, Lundell, Jespersen),
- 2 to French-speaking “authorities” (Agron, Passy).

With the exception of Noah Webster, the English-speaking “authorities” are all British. Of these Samuel Johnson was mentioned because of his *Dictionary* (1755), Robert Lowth because of his *Short Introduction to English Grammar* (1762) and Thomas Sheridan on account of his treatises on pronunciation. Of the 18th century experts, John Walker's *Critical Pronouncing Dictionary* (1791) enjoyed its greatest fame until the middle of the nineteenth century. His role was to be taken over by such phoneticians as Ellis, Sweet en Viëtor. The references to the names of Graham, Whately and Webster relate to the lexicon; the reference to Laura Soames concerns phonetic transcription. The German-speaking and Scandinavian “authorities” were all involved in the Reform movement, except for Hoppe and Mätzner. Hoppe (1879) dates from before the Reform, but put a lot of emphasis on the teaching of pronunciation (Macht 1986:210). Mätzner's *Englische Grammatik* was published in 1865 and had the reputation of a scholarly grammar of English (Klippel 1994:346). The Dutch linguist Matthijs Siegenbeek was referred to, because of his proposal for spelling reform (1804). Pieter Weiland was mentioned in relation with his *Nederduitsche Spraakkunst* (1805), which was to serve as a standard grammar of Dutch for the next few decades. A.N. Agron and J.J.A.A. Frantzen were referred to on account of their teaching methods, respectively based on Meidinger and Gouin. Kramers was mentioned because of his treatment of prepositions in his *Nederlandsch-Fransch Woordenboek*.

This brings us to the question which sources or “authorities” had the greatest influence on the methodological climate of ELT in the Nether-

lands. An obvious indication is: which sources and/or “authorities” were referred to most frequently? As for the most important linguistic “authority” in the first half of the 19th century, we can conclude that Walker was mentioned in four different coursebooks during the first half of the nineteenth century. This relatively high number is in keeping with references in other Dutch ELT textbooks (see 4.3) and in German ELT textbooks prior to 1840 (Klippel 1994:188). It may be concluded, therefore, that of all the pronunciation dictionaries, Walkers *Critical Pronouncing Dictionary* (1791) had its greatest impact in the first half of the 19th century. Afterwards the work appears to have lost its authority (Wilhelm 2001).

As far as methodology “authorities” are concerned, the situation is less clear at first sight. Merely on the basis of the number of references in the researched coursebooks, it is difficult to indicate major methodology “authorities” in the first half of the 19th century. All that we can say is that Agron’s name occurs only once in Murray/Van der Pijl (1816II). On the other hand, we suspect that Agron acted as a source of inspiration to many other coursebooks, including Kappelhoff (1807II) and Van der Pijl (1811II). In this view we are strengthened by contemporary reviews and by references in other coursebooks. We even have strong indications that Meidinger (1783) was a model for Agron (1794) (see 4.2.2). It is, therefore, our proposition that at first Agron’s teaching method (as well as Meidinger’s) was well enough recognisable, but that coursebook writers forgot about the source of this method as time went by, since the method came to be adopted everywhere. This might explain the fact that there are so few references to Agron (and Meidinger) in the first half of the 19th century, whereas most courses were in fact modelled on the grammar-translation method.

The 1850s saw a change in FLT methodology. Gerdes (1855) mentions the names of Seidenstücker and Ahn as sources, who most probably inspired Cowan & Maatjes (1854) as well. Seidenstücker and Ahn were responsible for an adaptation of the grammar-translation method in its most rigid form. However, there are no indications of a long-lasting or large-scale influence of this innovation. Geographically speaking, it probably did not spread further than the western part of the country with Amsterdam as its hub⁶⁷⁴. The last three decades of the 19th century present a rather mixed image with references to linguistics as well as to

methodology, as interest in phonetics and the Reform was growing. Authorities who were frequently mentioned by Roorda (1886), Günther (1890) and Grisé (1896) are Sweet and Viëtor. Whereas Roorda (1886) refers to Sweet and Viëtor because of their academic work in the fields of phonetics, Günther (1890) mentions them primarily in connection with their Reform principles. Grisé, too, refers to Sweet and Viëtor because of their Reform ideas, especially because of the importance that Sweet attached to phonetic transcription in education. Not surprisingly, he mentions many Reformers, such as Klinghardt, Passy and Jespersen, but also such names as Gouin and Berlitz. Table 7.3 gives an overview of the sources of the researched coursebooks and of explicit references to “authorities”.

⁶⁷⁴ In this context it should be noted that at some moment during the 1850s and 1860s Cowan, Maatjes, Gerdes, Gunn and Roodhuyzen were all active as teachers in Amsterdam and that their textbooks were nearly all published there.

TABLE 7.3 SOURCES AND REFERENCES TO “AUTHORITIES” IN THE RESEARCHED COURSEBOOKS

coursebooks	sources	references to ‘authorities’
Lehman 1805	Fick 1893, Anon. <i>Fransche Spraakkunst</i> 1802	Sheridan, Walker
Kappelhoff 1808	Agron 1794 (?) Van Wijk Rz. [1802] (?)	
Van der Pijl 1811	Agron 1794 (?)	Lowth, Walker
Murray/Van der Pijl 1816	Murray 1795	Murray, Agron, Siegenbeek, Weiland
De Hollander 1850		Johnson, Walker
Cowan & Maatjes 1854	Seidenstücker 1811 (?), Ahn 1834 (?), Gerdes 1850 (?)	Walker
Cowan & Maatjes 1856	Seidenstücker 1811 (?)	
Gerdes 1855	Seidenstücker 1811, Ahn 1834, G. van den Berg 1847	Seidenstücker, Ahn, Van den Berg
Gunn [1856]	Robertson 1838 (?)	
Stoffel 1881	Cowan & Maatjes 1854/1856 (?), Zimmermann/Van Moerkerken 1871, Beckering Vinckers 1875	Plate, Hoppe, Mätzner, Kramers, Terwey, Van Moerkerken, Zimmermann, Beckering Vinckers
Roorda 1886	Valkhoff 1874 (?), Beckering Vinckers 1875 (?), (Hoppe, Graham, Whately, Webster ⁶⁷⁵)	Sweet, Ellis, Viëtor,
Roorda 1895		
Günther 1890	Viëtor 1882/1886 (?), Sweet 1885, Passy 1886, Klinghardt 1888 (?), Nader, Würzner, Grant White	Sweet, Passy, Viëtor, Western, Nader, Würzner, Klinghardt
Grasé 1896	Wijnhoff 1879, Gouin 1880/1892, Günther 1890, Stoffel 1893, <i>Hölzel’s Wandbilder</i> , Klinghardt 1888 (?), Eijkman 1894, Hartman, Carré ⁶⁷⁶	Gouin, Eijkman, Viëtor, Walter, Junker, Klinghardt, Beijer, Jespersen, Passy, Günther, Van Neck, Soames, Stoffel, Ten Bruggencate, Lundell, Sweet ⁶⁷⁷ , Storm, Wijnhoff, Hartman, Carré, Frantzen, Berlitz ⁶⁷⁸

⁶⁷⁵ In the preface to the second volume (1887) Roorda acknowledges to have borrowed the selection of his irregular verbs from Hoppe’s *Lehrbuch der Englischen Sprache* (1879) and synonyms from Graham, Whately and Webster.

⁶⁷⁶ These names are first mentioned in the 2nd edition (1899).

⁶⁷⁷ The above “authorities” are all mentioned in *Leerstof for the first three months* I (1895); many of them are also mentioned in *Leerstof for the first three months* II (1896).

⁶⁷⁸ The above six “authorities” are first mentioned in Grasé (1896).

7.4 The selection of course content

7.4.1 Texts

Without exception, the writers of all the coursebooks attached great importance to reading English texts. Of the twelve researched courses, seven contain texts; two courses offer texts in other volumes of the course than those that were researched and the writers of the remaining three courses published separate reading material. The seven courses that offer English texts are Lehman (1805II), Gerdes (1855II), Gunn (c1856II), Stoffel (1881II), Roorda (1886II), Günther (1890II) and Grasé (1896II). These texts were also meant to be translated, with the possible exception of those in Grasé (1896II). Two courses offer additional reading material in other volumes of the same course: De Hollander (*Leesboek in proza* 1851II; *Leesboek in poëzij* 1853II) and Cowan & Maatjes: (*Lees- en vertaalboek voor eerstbeginnenden* 1857II; *Lees- en vertaalboek voor meergevorderden* 1859II). In other words, in these volumes reading is considered a skill to be practised within the framework of the course. The writers of the three courses not containing texts (Kappelhoff 1807II, Van der Pijl 1811II, Murray/Van der Pijl 1816II) published separate reading material which could be used as practice material to go with their coursebooks. Thus, Van der Pijl published a great deal of reading material, such as his *Engelsch lees- en vertaalboekje* (1814II/1815II). Kappelhoff published *Miscellany of ancient and modern literature* (1816II) as well as *The Bee-hive or Chrestomatic English reader* (1817II).

The presence or absence of texts as such is not a distinctive feature of the method used. The question is rather what role the text plays in the coursebook. Most texts serve as practice material for reading and translating and bear little relationship to the rest of the coursebook. In the deductive approach it is grammar rules, not texts, that serve as starting-points for the lessons. Lehman (1805II), Kappelhoff (1807II), Van der Pijl (1811II), Murray/Van der Pijl (1816II) and De Hollander (1850II) all use this approach. Cowan & Maatjes (1854II), Gerdes (1855II) and Gunn (c1856II) apply an inductive variation in the sense that they offer no rules but English sentences illustrating grammatical items. In a purely inductive method, a text is taken as a multi-functional basis to practise pronun-

ciation, grammar and vocabulary. In the researched coursebooks we only find this method in Günther (1890II) and Grasé (1896II).

The texts in most coursebooks are narrative, religious-moralistic or informative in character. The texts in Günther (1890II) and Grasé (1896II) use every-day spoken language and contain subjects from daily life in accordance with the ideas of the Reform. We also find text material such as letters, proverbs, riddles, short poems and anecdotes. This text material serves to evoke a picture of English culture and can be compared to material that we find in the present-day “communicative” approach. The only coursebook based on the deductive method to offer this kind of text material is Lehman (1805). Table 7.4 gives an overview of the occurrence of texts and other subject matter in the coursebooks researched.

⁶⁷⁹ For an analysis of the exercises see 7.4.6.

⁶⁸⁰ The symbol x denotes that the learning content occurred in the coursebook.
The symbol (x) denotes that the learning content hardly occurred or occurred in another volume of the same course.

⁶⁸¹ The phrases and dialogues in part one of the 1811 edition would disappear in the second edition (1819).

⁶⁸² The grammar volume (1850) of the course does not offer texts; the other two volumes (1851 and 1853) do.

⁶⁸³ The first two (grammar) volumes (1854 and 1856) of the course do not offer texts; the other two volumes (1857 and 1859) do.

⁶⁸⁴ Idem.

⁶⁸⁵ Rules are rare in Gerdes (1855); some paradigms do occur, however.

⁶⁸⁶ The second volume offers letters and many more phrases and dialogues than volume one.

⁶⁸⁷ The first volume (1880) of Stoffel’s course offers an abundance of pronunciation rules, the second volume (1881) offers none.

⁶⁸⁸ In Grasé (1896) vocabulary is hardly offered separately; it has to be acquired through the

TABLE 7.4 OVERVIEW OF THE SELECTION OF CONTENT (EXCEPT FOR EXERCISES⁶⁷⁹) IN THE RESEARCHED COURSEBOOKS⁶⁸⁰

coursebooks	English texts	spelling/pronunciation		grammar		vocabulary/ idioms	phrases/ dia- logues	other items
		rules	phonetic transcription	rules	sample sentences			
Lehman 1805	x	x		x		x	x	x
Kappelhoff 1808				x		x		
Van der Pijl 1811				x		x	(x) ⁶⁸¹	x
Murray/Van der Pijl 1816				x		x		
De Hollander 1850	(x) ⁶⁸²	x		x		x		x
Cowan & Maatjes 1854	(x) ⁶⁸³				x	x	x	
Cowan & Maatjes 1856	(x) ⁶⁸⁴			x		x		
Gerdes 1855	x			(x) ⁶⁸⁵	x	x	x	(x) ⁶⁸⁶
Gunn c1856	x			x		x		
Stoffel 1881	x	(x) ⁶⁸⁷		x	x	x		
Roorda 1886	x	x		x	x	x		x
Günther 1890	x	x	x	x	x	X		
Grasé 1896	x	x	x	(x)		(x) ⁶⁸⁸	x	x

7.4.2 Spelling and pronunciation

Many 18th century writers started their textbooks with pronunciation rules and examples. This was important for those who wanted to study English on their own. Viewed in this light, the need for rules may have become less urgent, when English became a subject in an increasing number of schools around 1800. Nevertheless, many coursebooks kept their sections on pronunciation. Out of the twelve researched courses, six had a pronunciation section: Lehman (1805II), De Hollander (1850II), Stoffel (1880II), Roorda (1886II), Günther (1890II) and Grasé (1896II).

Some coursebooks that are based on the grammar-translation method present rules on pronunciation; others do not. The presence or absence of phonological rules is, therefore, not characteristic of this method. Thus, Lehman (1805II) provides a large number of rules, but Van der Pijl (1811II) and Murray/Van der Pijl (1816II) do not. In the latter cases, learners are supposed to find information elsewhere, for instance in the first volume of Van der Pijl's *Engelsche lees- en vertaalboekje* (1814II), which has a number of pages with pronunciation rules. This fact reinforces our impression that, prior to or simultaneously with an English grammar, beginners often used a simple "primer" (e.g. the *Gemeenzame leerwijs, voor degenen, die de Engelsche taal beginnen te leeren* 1814II) or a reader (e.g. the *Engelsche lees- en vertaalboekje* 1814II) in order to practise their pronunciation and fluency.

During the 1850s, a number of coursebook writers objected to teaching rules, as an ineffective way of mastering grammar and pronunciation, which was in line with the inductive approach. Examples of this approach are Cowan & Maatjes (1854), Gerdes (1855) and Gunn (c1856). The latter declares himself to be very much against teaching rules.

Conversely, the rise of phonetics as an empirical-scientific discipline after 1850 resulted in the teaching of more rules and exercises. Beckering Vinckers' authoritative *Engelsche Spraakkunst* (1875II), originally intended as the first volume of his ELT course, is entirely devoted to the pronunciation of English. Stoffel, too, devotes the first part of his course *Hand-leiding bij het onderwijs in het Engelsch* (1880II) completely to pronunciation rules and exercises, while Roorda devotes a considerable part of his *Engelsche Spraakkunst* (1886II) to them. Traditionally, many coursebooks used a form of phonetic script as an aid to sounds that proved difficult for

speakers of Dutch. This also held for Stoffel (1881II), Roorda (1886II) and Günther (1890II). Although Beckerling Vinckers (1875II), Stoffel (1880II/1881II) and Roorda (1886II) make a fundamental distinction between sound and spelling, they are still obliged to use the conventional spelling for the English sounds – albeit combined with special signs – as there was not yet a generally accepted phonetic transcription system. Their description of the sounds still fits in the tradition of “imitated pronunciation” whereby the “nearest equivalent” in Dutch or another language serves as an example (Abercrombie 1963 [1956]:33). In fact, this meant that spelling remained the point of reference for the recognition of sounds, so that the pronunciation rules had better be qualified as ‘spelling pronunciation rules’. The spelling-pronunciation system illustrates the difficulty of teaching pronunciation before the appearance of phonetic transcription and the invention of the grammophone. In the year 1889 Ten Bruggencate published his *Uitspraak van het Engelsch*, in which, for the first time in the history of ELT, a completely separate phonetic transcription system was used next to the spelling system. The transcription system used symbols for each English sound⁶⁸⁹. The first writers of the researched coursebooks to use a special phonetic symbol for each sound were Günther (1890II) and Grisé (1896II). The first writer of coursebooks to present texts in a complete phonetic transcription was Grisé (1896II).

7.4.3 Grammar

Classical Latin grammar books had four sections: orthography, morphology, syntax and prosody. The structure of the researched coursebooks was limited to orthography/orthoepy, morphology and syntax; not a single coursebook included a section on prosody. At the beginning of the 19th century, morphology and syntax are still presented separately, whereby after the morphological discussion, the parts of speech come up for discussion once more, but this time from the viewpoint of word combinations and sentence structure (Lehman 1805II, Van der Pijl 1811II, Murray/Van der Pijl 1816II). One coursebook deals with morphology only (Kappelhoff 1807II), while one coursebook extends its morphology with a few syntac-

⁶⁸⁹ For this purpose he used 45 different symbols for the English vowels and consonants (see Wilhelm 2001).

tic remarks (De Hollander 1850II). From the middle of the century onwards, a tendency arises towards a more integrated treatment of morphology and syntax (De Hollander 1850II, Cowan & Maatjes 1856II, Stoffel 1881II). Thus, Cowan & Maatjes (1856II) and Stoffel (1881II) use a division into a first and second section without formally distinguishing between morphology and syntax, whereby the first section consists primarily of morphology and the second section is a concentric expansion of the first, with additional syntactic remarks. This tendency continues in the later courses: Roorda (1886II), Günther (1890II) and Grisé (1896II).

Many grammar sections in the coursebooks can be recognised as parts of speech grammars following the model of the Latin grammar. They deal with the word classes one after the other in the classical order from article to interjection. This was not only the case with Lehman (1805II), Kapelhoff (1807II), Van der Pijl (1811II) and Murray/Van der Pijl (1816II), but also with De Hollander (1850II) and Cowan & Maatjes (1856II) and even with Stoffel (1881II). Cowan & Maatjes (1854II), Gerdes (1855II) and Gunn (c1856II) form a special category, as they no longer present explicit rules, but offer sample sentences containing grammar items. However, these coursebooks, too, present their grammar items on the basis of the word class model. Not until the end of the century do we find a freer arrangement of the word classes. Roorda (1886II) is the first of the coursebook writers to start his book with a discussion of the verb⁶⁹⁰. Günther (1890II) and Grisé (1896II) display a freer order as well, whereby the emphasis is on the verb.

The number of word classes to be discussed remained approximately the same throughout the researched period, varying from eight to ten. In the first half of the century, a number of coursebooks conform to Weiland's classification (1805) of ten word classes, in which the participle has disappeared and been replaced by the adjective and the numeral. Only Kapelhoff (1808II) still distinguishes the participle as a separate word class. Later coursebooks, such as Stoffel (1881II), Roorda (1886II), Günther (1890II) and Grisé (1896II) do not distinguish the interjection as a word class. Table 7.5 gives an overview of the explicit treatment of parts of speech in the researched coursebooks.

⁶⁹⁰ As a matter of fact it was Valkhoff (1874) before him, who first started with an extensive discussion of the verb (cf. Macht 1986:154 on Ploetz).

TABLE 7.5 EXPLICIT TREATMENT OF PARTS OF SPEECH IN THE RESEARCHED COURSEBOOKS

Parts of speech	Lehman 1805	Kapellhoff 1808	Van der Pijl 1811	Murray/Van der Pijl 1816	De Hollander 1850	Cowan & Maatjes 1856	Stoffel 1881	Roorda 1886/1895	Günther 1890	Grasé 1896
article	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
noun	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
adjective	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
pronoun	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
verb	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
participle		x								
adverb	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
numeral	(x)		x		x	x	x	x	x	x
preposition	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
conjunction	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		
interjection	x	x	x	x	x	x				

The selection of the grammatical items in the courses was made on the basis of tradition and experience. All the courses offer grammar rules, some more than others. The number of rules have not been counted here; nor did we research which rules are offered in which coursebook. The earliest courses present a large number of rules, probably as many as possible. At any rate, they do not speak of any selection. This is true for Lehman (1805II), Kappelhoff (1807II), Van der Pijl (1811II) and Murray/Van der Pijl (1816II). The first coursebook writers who mention that they have limited the number of rules for pedagogical reasons are De Hollander (1850II), Cowan & Maatjes (1854II) and Gerdes (1855II). Cowan & Maatjes (1854II), Gerdes (1855II) and Gunn (c1856II) offer hardly any or no explicit rules at all, but grammatical items in sample sentences and paradigms instead. On the basis of this diminishing provision of rules, it would be wrong to speak of a transition from scholarly grammars to school grammars, as early nineteenth century grammars like Murray/Van der Pijl (1816II) and Lloyd/Bomhoff (1835) were primarily intended for school education. Conversely, a late nineteenth century work like Stoffel (1881II), intended for use in secondary schools, was considered a 'scholarly grammar' at the time⁶⁹¹. It may, therefore, be claimed that a strict separation between 'scholarly' and 'school' grammars never existed in the nineteenth century.

Another criterion for the selection of grammar rules is that of the contrastive analysis of English and Dutch grammar. This criterion is used by Cowan & Maatjes (1856II) and Stoffel (1881II). There is no such thing as a selection of grammatical items on the basis of other criteria than the traditional, linguistic ones. Thus, Günther (1890II) and Grasé (1896II), although heavily influenced by the Reform, still base their selection of rules on the classification into word classes and not on the occurrence of 'language functions'.

From about the middle of the nineteenth century the coursebooks gradually started with a discussion of the verb instead of the noun, which had been the custom for so long. Whereas De Hollander (1850II) still begins with the articles and nouns in the traditional manner, Cowan & Maatjes (1854II), Gerdes (1855II) and Gunn (c1856II) give more room

⁶⁹¹ See Aarts (1969:5-6) for a discussion of this distinction.

to the verb at the beginning of their works. It is Roorda however, who starts his coursebook (1886II) with a full discussion of the verb.

7.4.4 *Vocabulary and idioms*

In the coursebooks no mention is made of the criteria on which the selection of the vocabulary is based. It seems that this selection took place on the basis of tradition and intuition. The number of words in the coursebooks has not been counted here; nor have we investigated which words were included in which coursebooks. However, it speaks for itself that the coursebook writers wanted to include the most useful words, that is, the words that occurred most frequently. Thus, in Cowan & Maatjes (1854II) and Gerdes (1855Ii) the selection of the vocabulary is dictated by their immediate relevance for the learner to understand and (re)produce the sample sentences. And in his *Voorbericht* (1886) Roorda emphasises the fact that his book only offers those words and forms “die in eenvoudig proza en in het spreken gebruikt worden”. [that are used in simple prose and in daily speech.]

Throughout the 19th century, the study of vocabulary was almost exclusively a bilingual affair. Nearly all coursebooks offered their vocabulary through English-Dutch or Dutch-English word lists. The only coursebook in which the vocabulary is exclusively presented in English, by means of texts, is Grasé (1896II). Günther (1890II), although inspired by the Reform movement, still offers English-Dutch word lists. In the 19th century coursebooks most words are offered in word lists following English sentences or texts; alternatively they follow Dutch sentences or texts for translation into English. Occasionally, figures in the translation exercises refer to the vocabulary below the exercise. The number of coursebooks with English-Dutch word lists is almost the same as that with Dutch-English word lists⁶⁹². The same holds good for the presentation of vocabulary preceding or following the exercises or texts.

There are two coursebooks, Lehman (1805II) and Van der Pijl (1811II), which offer a “woordenboekje” [dictionary] in the tradition of

⁶⁹² Eight textbooks had English-Dutch word lists, six had Dutch-English lists. Stoffel (1881) offered English-Dutch word lists for English sentences/texts and Dutch-English lists for Dutch sentences/texts.

the eighteenth century. Thus, they act in line with the thematic presentation of vocabulary that was customary in the “communicative” approach before 1800. These “woordenboekjes” consist of English-Dutch word lists which have been arranged thematically and serve as works of reference and/or words to be memorised. Stoffel (1881II), too, presents his vocabulary in themes, such as the “family”, “the house”, “food” and “animals”, which remind us of the “specific notions” in Van Ek (1976:59-83). We also find a thematic classification in Grase’s texts (1896II), whose subjects can be compared very well to Van Ek’s ‘notions’⁶⁹³. A number of coursebooks have glossaries of words at the back⁶⁹⁴.

No distinction is made between vocabulary for receptive or productive learning, although an attempt is made by Gunn (c1856II), who offers some 600 words that have to be learnt specifically for productive use. It is Gunn, too, who takes the initiative to make the learner expand his own vocabulary, by having him make word derivations.

7.4.5 *Phrases and dialogues*

The eighteenth century practice material for oral proficiency consisted of familiar phrases and “zamenspraken” [dialogues]. In the course of the nineteenth century these phrases and dialogues practically disappeared from the regular coursebooks. However, special phrasebooks for conversation continued to exist, so that the tradition did not disappear completely. Some phrasebooks became even very popular, like T.S. Williams’ *Engelsch-Nederduitsche gesprekken* (1832II)⁶⁹⁵. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Lehman (1805II) and Van der Pijl (1811II) still offer dialogues and familiar phrases. These coursebooks may be said to have been written in a period of transition. On the one hand, Lehman no longer believes in the use of memorising and insists on dialogues being translated, but on the other hand he announces that in a second edition of his *Engelsche*

⁶⁹³ They correspond with Van Ek’s division (1976) into “house and home”, “life at home”, “education”, “free time/entertainment”, “travel”, “health and welfare”, “shopping”, “food and drink”, “services”, “weather” and “time”.

⁶⁹⁴ These were Cowan & Maatjes (1854), Gerdes (1855), Gunn (1856), Roorda (1886), Günther (1890).

⁶⁹⁵ This phrasebook had a 10th edition in 1886.

Spraakkonst more dialogues will follow. Likewise, it is typical that the dialogues and familiar phrases of Van der Pijl's *Engelsche Spraakkunst* (1811) were to disappear in the second edition (1819). On the whole, the disappearance of phrases and dialogues meant a general decline in the communicative quality of ELT coursebooks. However, there was to be a revival in the 1850s, when Cowan & Maatjes (1854II) introduced dialogues again and Gerdes (1855II) offered conversations and phrases. Other coursebooks did not follow, however. It is remarkable that phrases and dialogues should be absent in the Reform-based courses of the 1890s. Perhaps, such writers as Günther en Grasé objected to the lack of proper context in this kind of practice material.

7.4.6 Exercises

The exercises in the researched coursebooks can be divided into knowledge-related exercises and skill-directed exercises. The former group is concerned with explicit knowledge of pronunciation and grammar rules as a metalinguistic skill or with social-cultural knowledge about English-speaking countries, their population, literature and so on. This type of exercises is relatively rare and will not be discussed here. For instance, Günther (1890II) has an exercise called "Explain the use of the article" and Stoffel (1881II) and Grasé (1896II) have similar questions on explicit grammatical knowledge. The occurrence of this kind of knowledge in coursebooks can be explained by the fact that until 1901 examinations in Higher Burgher Schools required explicit knowledge of rules (Vlaanderen 1964:51;60).

Skill-directed exercises can be divided into receptive and productive exercises. Receptive exercises relate to listening and reading; productive exercises to speaking and writing. For the receptive as well as for the productive exercises we have used the same division at sound, word, sentence and text level. The productive exercises have been subdivided into B, C and D exercises in accordance with the typology of Neuner *et al.* (1981). In the case of the B exercises it will be indicated whether the focus is on form or on meaning. In the case of the C exercises it is difficult to decide whether the focus is on one or the other; hence the term 'form/meaning'. In the D exercises the focus is always on meaning.

The total number of exercises is 1848. It includes 25 exercises combining different skills, e.g. reading and speaking (Gunn c1856II) and listening and speaking (Grasé 1896II). The 1823 remaining exercises can be classified according to the skills they train. There are many more productive than receptive exercises. The proportion is 78% of productive exercises (1424) versus 22% of receptive exercises (399). No exercises have been found for listening (0%), while 399 were found for reading (22%), 114 for speaking (6%) and 1310 for writing (72%). The fact that there are no specific exercises for listening can be accounted for by the absence of technical facilities. The only exercise which comes somewhere near is a combination exercise in Grasé (1896II) in which a pupil has to guess an English proverb/saying after another pupil has told him a story in English.

The only receptive exercises are reading exercises. The courses that offer specific reading exercises are Lehman (1805II), Cowan & Maatjes (1854II), Gerdes (1855II), Gunn (c1856II), Stoffel (1881II) and Roorda (1886II). The distribution of these exercises over time indicates that reading has always been considered an important skill. There is hardly any variation in the types of reading exercises; the only kind of activity is reading (and translating) English words, sentences or texts. Out of the 399 reading exercises, 5 are at word level (1%), 268 at sentence level (68%) and 126 at text level (31%). Reading exercises at word level occur only in Gunn (c1856). Reading (and translating) texts was obviously less popular than reading (and translating) sentences.

As regards the productive exercises (1424), we may conclude that the number of oral exercises is much smaller than the number of exercises for writing: 114 (8%) versus 1310 (92%). Of the 114 oral exercises we can distinguish 24 exercises at sound level (21%), 25 at word level (22%), 60 at sentence level (53%) and 5 at text level (4%). In other words, most attention is paid to practising speaking in unconnected sentences. Of these 114 oral exercises 97 (85%) belonged to the B type, 17 (15%) to the C type and 0 to the D type. It may thus be concluded that oral practice was much more focused on (strongly guided) reproduction than on free (little guided) speaking. There are no exercises to practise free speech, such as discussion or interviews. Nearly all speaking activities are focused on form (e.g. "Listen and repeat the sentences"). Few aim at a combina-

tion of form and meaning (“do the sums, retell the story”). The only coursebook writers who introduce oral learning activities are Lehman (1805II), De Hollander (1850II) and Grasé (1896II). The first two of these have reading/pronunciation exercises (B type). Grasé (1896) is the only writer who introduces both B and C type speaking exercises.

The number of writing exercises is 1310; this is 92% of the total number of productive exercises. Of these exercises we can distinguish 114 exercises at word level (9%), 1007 at sentence level (77%) and 189 (14%) at text level. Thus, writing is focused much more on sentences than on texts. Of the 1310 exercises, 1300 (99%) are B type exercises, 9 C type exercises and 1 belongs to the D type (“write your own story”). By far the majority of writing exercises is reproductive in character. A few (9) focus on form and meaning (“Write a picture story; make sentences”), but most of them (1300) only focus on form (“translate these words/sentences/texts into English”). Just one exercise entirely focuses on meaning (“write your own story”). Without any exception, all 14 coursebooks offer writing exercises. Some do this next to other skill exercises, but five coursebooks (Kapelhoff 1808II, Van der Pijl 1811II, Murray/Van der Pijl 1816II, Cowan & Maatjes 1856II, Günther 1890II) exclusively offer writing exercises. In other words, of all the skills, writing receives most attention. Besides the specific skill exercises, there are combinations of exercises for skills training. Thus, Gunn (c1856II) offers 24 reading/translation exercises which are followed by comprehension questions on texts. In Grasé (1896II) we come across one combination exercise for listening and speaking.

Throughout the nineteenth century, the chief learning activity was translating. During the first five decades this especially meant L1-L2 translations. Around 1800 systematic translating L1-L2 was introduced as a new activity that was linked to learning grammar rules. Lehman (1805II) still offers both versions, L1-L2 and L2-L1, but in the next fifty years coursebooks chiefly want their learners to translate L1-L2. This holds for Kapelhoff (1808II) and continues until Cowan & Maatjes (1856II). During the 1850s the tide turns when Cowan & Maatjes (1854II), Gerdes (1855II) and Gunn (c1856II) link both types of exercises to learning grammar rules. Also in Stoffel (1881II) and Roorda (1886II) both types are found. In Günther (1890II) and Grasé (1896II) translation exercises disappear,

which does not mean that translating was to vanish from the ELT scene altogether. Summarising, it may be concluded that over a long period of time the variety of exercises offered in coursebooks was quite limited. The number of activities was first extended in Gunn (c1856II), when the author introduced blank-filling and transformation exercises at word and sentence level. The variation became greater yet with Günther (1890) and Grasé (1896).

In Tables 7.6 and 7.7 we have collected the data of all the researched coursebooks as far as the numbers of learning activities and types of exercises are concerned. The tables show that

- there are many more productive than receptive exercises: proportionately about 78% versus 22%;
- the only type of receptive exercises are reading exercises;
- the most practised skill is writing (72%); next comes reading (22%) and speaking (6%). Listening is not practised as a separate skill;
- the chief learning activity throughout the researched period is translating, while it is the only learning activity during the first half of the nineteenth century;
- reading English texts nearly always implies translating into Dutch;
- writing tasks are almost invariably Dutch-English translation activities;
- most learning activities (74%) take place at sentence level; 18% take place at text level and 8% at word level;
- nearly all of the speaking and writing activities (98%) are aimed at reproduction (B exercises); just 2% of the speaking and writing activities are productive C and D activities;
- of the speaking and writing exercises practically all exercises aim at form (97%); a mere 3 % focus either on form and meaning or on meaning only.

TABLE 7.6 OVERVIEW, IN ABSOLUTE NUMBERS, OF THE RECEPTIVE LEARNING ACTIVITIES AND TYPES OF EXERCISES IN THE RESEARCHED COURSEBOOKS

language skills exercises									
	receptive								
	listening			reading					
	sound	word	sentence	text	word	sentence	text		
Types of exercises (A)	A	A	A	A	A	A		A	
Numbers in typology (1/7)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
Learning activities									
<i>Read and translate these English words into Dutch</i>					5				
<i>Read and translate these English sentences into Dutch</i>						268			
<i>Read and translate these English texts into Dutch</i>									126

TABLE 7.7 OVERVIEW, IN ABSOLUTE NUMBERS, OF THE PRODUCTIVE LEARNING ACTIVITIES AND TYPES OF EXERCISES IN THE RESEARCHED COURSEBOOKS

language skills exercises									
productive									
speaking									
writing									
Types of exercises (B/C/D)	sound	B		form	8				
	word	B		form	9a				
Focus on form or meaning	word	B		meaning	9b				
	word	C		form/meaning	9c				
Numbers in typology (8/15)	sentence	B		form	10a				
	sentence	B		meaning	10b				
Learning activities	sentence	C		form/meaning	10c				
	text	B		form	11a				
Pronounce these words	text	B		meaning	11b				
	text	C		form/meaning	11c				
Count the numbers	text	D		meaning	11d				
	word	B		form	12a				
Listen and repeat the sentences	word	B		meaning	12b				
	word	C		form/meaning	12c				
Read these sentences and texts aloud	sentence	B		form	13a				
	sentence	B		meaning	13b				
Fill in a fitting word	sentence	C		form/meaning	13c				
	text	B		form	14a				
	text	B		meaning	14b				
	text	C		form/meaning	14c				
	text	D		meaning	14d				
	others				15				

Table 7.8 presents an overview of the main types of exercises as far as they occur in the researched coursebooks. The overview shows in how far the types of exercises in the coursebooks correspond with the types of exercises likely to occur in the grammar-translation method or, alternatively, the direct method (see 6.1.5). Besides, the overview gives an impression of how developments in the provision of exercises took place over time.

The overview shows that only half of the coursebooks offer receptive exercises, while all the coursebooks have productive exercises. All the coursebooks present reproductive exercises (B exercises), whereas only three offer partially productive exercises (C exercises) as well. There is only one coursebook that offers a purely productive exercise (D exercise), i.e. Grasé (1896). On the whole the emphasis is clearly on the written skills (reading and writing); oral exercises are few and far between (In Lehman 1805 and De Hollander 1850 the oral exercises are reading activities to practise pronunciation, but not until Gunn and Grasé do we find genuine oral exercises). Reading in fact meant translating into Dutch; similarly, writing meant translating into English. Not surprisingly, most exercises are translation exercises, so that learners usually operated on a contrastive basis. All the coursebooks have exercises at sentence level (unconnected sentences), while half of them also offer exercises at text level (coherent texts). Nearly all coursebook exercises focus on form; just two coursebooks have exercises focusing on meaning (Gunn c1856; Grasé 1896).

As regards the development over time, we must conclude that the exclusive emphasis on grammatical correctness of the first half of the century is moderated in the second half. Some coursebooks then devote more attention to speaking, and generally to more productive (C and D) and meaning-directed exercises (Gunn, Günther, Grasé). Also, there is a greater variety in exercises (Stoffel, Gunther, Grasé). All these data lead to the conclusion that the provision of exercises in the researched coursebooks is largely in line with the exercise types associated with the grammar translation method (written, reproductive, bilingual, form-directed exercises at sentence level). The types of exercises associated with the direct method (oral, productive, unilingual and meaning-directed exercises at text level) are relatively few and only occur in the second half of the century.

TABLE 7.8 TYPES OF EXERCISES IN THE RESEARCHED COURSEBOOKS⁶⁹⁶

7.4.7 Other items

Besides the usual learning content, i.e. spelling and pronunciation, grammar, vocabulary and dialogues, the eighteenth century coursebooks mostly offered a number of additional elements of a high “communicative” quality, such as anecdotes, letters, proverbs, prayers and the like. Loonen (1991: 155) points out that letters formed a regular item in the learning content before 1800. After 1800 these elements disappeared almost completely from the coursebooks. A remnant of this category of items is found in Lehman (1805II), which presents its readers with a number of anecdotes, poems and a list of titles. In later editions, Van der Pijl (1811II) leaves out the familiar phrases and dialogues, but keeps a small number of phrases and proverbs. De Hollander (1850II) has a section on “verkortingen van eigennamen, titels en kunsttermen” [abbreviations of proper names, titles and special terms] and Gerdes (1856II) presents eighteen letters in his *Tweede Cursus*. Roorda (1886) adds a map of London to later editions of his coursebook. At the end of the century, it is Grasé (1896II) who realises the communicative value of this type of material and uses anecdotes, sums, riddles and illustrations as practice forms for speaking and writing, which were used as gap filling or embellishment by many other coursebooks.

7.5 The organisation of course content

Prior to 1800, ELT coursebooks were hardly graded and structured to suit the needs of (young) learners. These coursebooks largely had the character of reference works and they were mostly used by adult learners. Their contents were based on a purely linguistic classification and successively presented sections on “orthography/orthoepy”, “etymology” and syntax in accordance with the Latin grammar. During the first half of the nineteenth century all the researched coursebooks basically still conform to this linguistic classification. Thus, Lehman (1805II) and De Hollander (1850II) begin with spelling/pronunciation and in its three sections Lehman’s *Engelsche Spraakkunst* (1805II) still reflects exactly the progression from sound to word and from word to sentence. After 1850, the strict distinction between morphology and syntax gradually disappears (see 7.4.3).

From about 1850 the organisation of the coursebooks gradually changes in as far as the division into word-class chapters makes way for a number of units or ‘lessons’. The first coursebooks to work in this manner are Cowan & Maatjes (1854II), Gerdes (1855II) and Gunn (c1856II). Gradually these units come to offer more varied learning content than before, with texts, rules, vocabulary, exercises and other items. In Roorda (1886II) each unit seems to have been written for one hour of teaching.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, little attention is paid to a concentric structure of learning content. After 1850 some multi-volume courses adopt a more or less concentric structure, e.g. the *Leercursus ter Beoefening der Engelsche Taal* by Cowan & Maatjes (1854II/1856II). Their *Praktische Inleiding* (1854II) offers a limited number of words and only elementary grammatical structures, which are subsequently expanded in the *Theoretisch-praktische Spraakkunst* (1856II). Another example is Gerdes’ *Tweede Cursus* (1856II), which was not only a sequel to but also an expansion of his *Eerste Cursus* (1855II). The latter volume offers only sentences, the former has texts, too. Besides, the two volumes offer exercises with the purpose of repetition. Yet another example of a concentric approach is Stoffels’ *Handleiding bij het onderwijs in het Engelsch*, in which volume II (1881II) and volume III (1883II) contain references to each other. The two volumes of Roorda’s *Engelsche Spraakkunst voor Schoolgebruik* (1886II and 1887II) have a more or less concentric structure as well. In Grasé’s leergang *Oefeningen in de Engelsche taal* Part I, *Leerstof for the first three months* (1895II), is completely repeated in Part II, *Leerstof for the First Year* (1896II). Thus, in the second half of the century, coursebook organisation presents a mixed image: some coursebooks are more linear, others more concentric, but all of them somehow show more attention for the coherence of their learning content.

7.6 The presentation of course content

Before 1800, foreign language learning mainly consisted of memorising and reciting (for beginners) and reading, translating and writing (for intermediate and advanced learners). The first step involved the pronunciation and spelling of word forms, sometimes with the help of special “spelling books” offering one-syllable words, two-syllable words and so on. Phrases and dialogues had to be memorised and were often repro-

duced in front of the teacher in order to enter into a conversation with him. For this purpose there were also phrasebooks, which already existed in the 16th century and which were often multilingual in character. Pronunciation and spelling, phrases and dialogues, declensions and conjugations had to be memorised, before learners could move on to the more complex level of syntactic constructions. For many (perhaps most) learners their school career ended here. Some learners, however, continued with a more advanced textbook, in which attention was paid to syntax, reading and translating texts and writing (commercial) letters.

After 1800 a number of changes take place in the presentation of course content and, as a result of it, in the learning activities. These changes concern the teaching of pronunciation, grammar, texts, vocabulary and exercises. The pronunciation of English had always been considered so difficult to teach that, according to some coursebook writers, rules were of little use. Consequently, we find coursebooks with and without pronunciation rules, particularly in the first half of the 19th century. Whereas Lehman (1805II) and De Hollander (1850II) use rules, Kapelhoff (1808II), Van der Pijl (1811II) and Murray/Van der Pijl 1816II do not. In the 1850s the most prominent courses (Cowan & Maatjes 1854II and 1856II, Gerdes 1855II and 1856II, and Gunn c1856), show aversion to rules and propagate learning through imitation. Afterwards, there appears to be a tendency towards more rules again. The rise of phonetics tips the scales in favour of explicit pronunciation teaching, as more scientific data are becoming known about the spoken language. Pronunciation rules are increasingly considered important, which is visible in the course materials. In all the researched coursebooks after 1880, extensive attention is paid to pronunciation. Grasé (1895II/1896II) is a case in point, because he initially confronts his learners exclusively with phonetic transcription and presents them with the conventional spelling only at a later stage. Other coursebook writers, such as Stoffel (1881II), Roorda (1886II) and Günther (1890II), use phonetic transcription only as an aid for those sounds that are awkward for speakers of Dutch.

The teaching of grammar underwent changes, too. Around 1800, a systematic form of translating L1-L2 was introduced into ELT textbooks, which subsequently became the major learning activity of the nineteenth century. The researched ELT coursebooks all operated on the basis of contrastive language learning, with the exception of the late 19th century

courses by Günther (1890II) and Grasé (1896II). The new type of exercise was closely connected with the way in which grammar rules were taught. After the publication of Agron's *Verzameling van Opstellen* (1794) deductive grammar teaching was becoming increasingly popular. During the next five decades grammar was mostly presented in a strictly deductive way, whereby rules preceded translation exercises L1-L2. Each word class was fully dealt with before a start was made with the next word class. This form of presentation underwent a slight change when Cowan & Maatjes (1854II) and Gerdes (1855II) used a more inductive approach, in which sample sentences took the place of explicit rules. These sentences had to be memorised and translated into Dutch, so that besides the customary Dutch sentences for translation, there were now English sentences for translation as well. Another difference was that a word class no longer had to be completely dealt with, before a start could be made with the next. However, the presentation of learning content very much depended on the learners' level. For example, the first volume (1854II) of Cowan & Maatjes' *Leercursus ter beoefening der Engelsche taal*, which was intended for beginners, worked on an inductive basis, whereas the second volume (1856II), intended for intermediate learners, was modelled on the deductive approach. Stoffel (1881II) and Roorda (1886II) combined the inductive and deductive approach by offering rules as well as English sample sentences. Stoffel combines paradigms with English sample sentences for translation in the "Eerste Afdeeling" of his *Handleiding* (1881), following the example of Cowan & Maatjes (1854II). In his "Tweede Afdeeling", however, he follows the purely deductive pattern of Cowan & Maatjes (1856II). Roorda (1886II), too, combines English sample sentences with rules and offers both English and Dutch sentences for translation. A more inductive method is not found until the 1890s with Günther (1890II) and Grasé (1896II). In these coursebooks, the texts contain the chief material for the discussion of grammar points.

Reading English texts has always played a prominent role in ELT. In most cases texts were also used for translation into Dutch. Thus, it may be argued that reading, i.e. intensive reading and for most learners probably also extensive reading, was virtually synonymous with translating. Half of the researched courses have English texts. In two other courses (De Hollander 1850II and Cowan & Maatjes 1854/1856II) they occur in other volumes of the same course. In addition, there was often separate practice

material for reading, compiled by coursewriters (Lehman, Van der Pijl, Gerdes, Gunn, Stoffel, Roorda, Günther). In Lehman (1805II) the English texts are clearly used for reading and translating. This also holds for Gerdes (1855II/1856II), but here they also serve as material to be retold and as material for comprehension questions. In Gunn (c1856II), comprehension questions have to be answered as well, but the texts are also used as grammatical material for gap-filling and transformation exercises. In Stoffel (1881II) and Roorda (1886) the texts function as translation exercises again. Not until the end of the century do texts become multi-functional data collections to be used as starting-points for the lessons. Günther (1890II) and Grasé (1896II) have such texts to teach pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary.

In all the researched courses vocabulary is offered in Dutch and English, with the exception of Grasé (1896II), who exclusively uses English. The vocabulary consists of word lists in the two languages, accompanying the translation exercises, and sometimes of a separate glossary or thematic word list (Lehman 1805II, Van der Pijl 1811II). The word lists have to be memorised. Communicative phrases and dialogues only occur scantily in the coursebooks, contrary to the coursebooks before 1800, in which they frequently featured as part of the learning content. This also means that on the whole the opportunities for practising listening and fluency were decreasing, unless they were realised in a different way.

How were the language skills practised? We have seen that reading English texts was practically synonymous with translating. On the basis of the exercises we cannot but conclude that listening played no part at all and that fluency played only a minor part. Furthermore, we must conclude that writing was the most practised skill and that translating L1-L2 was by far the most important learning activity. Writing chiefly meant translating, if we look upon translating Dutch sentences and texts as a form of writing. All this does not mean that we have covered every aspect of teaching language skills in the period of research. Undoubtedly, there must have been more variation in learning activities in the actual lessons than is suggested by the number and types of exercises presented in the coursebooks. Teachers may have used exercises in a different way and/or come up with exercises of their own. For instance, they could have sentences and texts translated, but they could also have them translated back into the original language. Another possibility was to have the written

exercises done orally and vice versa. It would be easy to come up with activities such as: “listen and repeat”, “What does the writer mean by...?” or: “Summarise the text”. English texts could be used for practising pronunciation and expanding vocabulary. In this context it is remarkable that a coursebook writer like Günther should offer only written exercises, whereas he advocated the primacy of the spoken language. Also, there can be little doubt that oral practice often took place on the basis of written English texts. Furthermore, what the coursebooks do not show is that an enormous amount of material was learnt by heart and recited in front of the teacher. In other words, it seems likely that the existing exercises were used for various purposes.

Table 7.9 presents an overview of the main characteristics of the researched coursebooks as far as the organisation and presentation of their learning content is concerned, the ‘how’ of ELT. The overview shows in how far these characteristics correspond with the features of the grammar-translation method and the direct method (see 6.1.3). Besides, the overview shows how coursebook characteristics developed in the course of time.

There are relatively few coursebooks that offer oral exercises and, if they do, we do not find real fluency exercises until the second half of the nineteenth century (see 7.4.6). The emphasis was, therefore, clearly on reading and writing. Nearly all coursebooks offer explicit grammar rules; even Grisé has a few. The majority offer every-day language, too, which points to a practical attitude of the coursebook writers. Some courses, in addition, present literary/formal texts, occasionally in companion volumes. The organisation of the learning content largely happens in a linear way, although there are attempts at a more concentric approach, in which the learning content is less obviously based on linguistic principles. Bilingual word lists occur in all coursebooks, except in Grisé (1896II), which strongly suggests that between 1800 and 1920 ELT nearly always took place on a contrastive basis. This fact is confirmed by the occurrence of contrastive activities in practically all coursebooks. Besides, the majority of coursebooks present grammar in a deductive manner.

On the basis of these data the conclusion must be that most of the researched coursebooks adhered to the principles and practices of the grammar-translation method. At the same time we must conclude that there were continual experiments with new method forms. This variation

shows that many English language teachers and textbook writers were willing to experiment with new teaching methods. When surveying the coursebooks over a period of a hundred years, it is evident that with Günther (1890II) and Grisé (1896II) a new era of ELT had begun. Grisé is the odd man out, as he is the only writer who consistently presents his learning content in English, has plenty of fluency exercises, uses every-day language, employs a more or less concentric approach and teaches grammar in an inductive way. It is especially the combination of these characteristics that makes his work so modern. In retrospect, we can now see that ELT was a long way removed from the days when the grammar-translation method entered Dutch FLT.

CONTENT IN THE RESEARCHED COURSEBOOKS⁶⁹⁷

[illegible]

⁶⁹⁷ The symbol x denotes that the coursebook has this characteristic. The symbol (x) denotes that the characteristic is not fully present. The symbol y denotes that the characteristic is found in another volume of the same course.

CONCLUSIONS

The demand for English language teaching

Around 1800 English was, to all intents and purposes, still an unknown language in the Netherlands. Nevertheless, interest in the English language was growing steadily, which especially comes out in the rising numbers of ELT textbooks. However, the demand for ELT is not only apparent from the rising number of textbooks throughout the nineteenth century, but also from the growing number of teachers and learners of English, the number of schools in which English was taught, the increasing number of English reading clubs and the growing sales of English books and periodicals. The demand for ELT led to the acceptance of English as a regular school subject in MULO (1857), Higher Burgher Schools (1863) and Grammar Schools (1876). The introduction of ELT did not immediately lead to a significant increase in textbook production, however. Not until the 1890s does the number of textbook publications show a significant increase. Nearly half of all ELT textbooks published between 1800 and 1920 appeared after 1890. Although by 1920 many more Dutch people were familiar with the English language than around 1800, for the majority of the Dutch population English did not become a means of communication until after the Second World War.

The learners of English

Already by the beginning of the nineteenth century, boys were the main target group of learners for the researched coursebooks. Female learners were not yet considered a special target group. Before 1920 English was generally not taught before the age of 12, as it did not have a place in the curriculum of (state) primary schools for 6- to 12-year-olds. Higher Burgher School pupils would normally be 14 years old and grammar school pupils 15 years of age, when they started to learn English. Nearly all the researched coursebooks only cater for beginners and intermediate learners. None of these coursebooks profess to be written for a particular type of school. The earliest ELT textbooks written for particular target groups, such as emigrants, were not published until the 1840s; those for other groups, such as technicians or commercial schools, followed from

the 1890s onwards. On the whole, textbooks for special target groups play a minor role in the total corpus of ELT textbooks.

ELT in education

Whereas before 1800 ELL mostly took place in non-educational settings, in the course of the nineteenth century English was learnt more and more in schools. The titles and prefaces of textbooks show that already at the beginning of the nineteenth century, ELT was primarily focusing on young learners. Consequently, it may be assumed that English was becoming integrated into the syllabus of a growing number of schools. During a great part of the nineteenth century English was mainly taught in private schools. Around 1840 ELT came to be taught in the Second Departments of Latin schools and from 1857 onwards English became an optional subject in publicly-funded MULO schools. In 1863 English language and literature became a compulsory subject in the new Higher Burgher Schools and in 1876 in the grammar schools. In higher education English was taught on a private basis by tutors at the universities and Atheneums. From the 1880s it was possible for university students to attend lectures in English language and literature at Groningen University. The first professor in English studies was appointed there in 1886. It was not until 1921, however, that students could take an academic degree in English studies, as before that time foreign languages were not recognised as degree subjects.

In Higher Burgher Schools more time was spent on FLT than in grammar schools; roughly one quarter of all the lessons was spent on FLT. ELT occupied the third position after FrLT and GLT. Between 1868 and 1920 the proportion of ELT lessons went up from about 26% to 30% of the time assigned to FLT in these schools. In grammar schools FLT had a less prominent position than in Higher Burgher Schools, since, between 1877 and 1921, only 16% to 20% of all the lessons were spent on FLT. In this period ELT grew from 26% to 30.5% within the time available for FLT. Here, too, ELT occupied the third position after FrLT and GLT. Thus, in both types of schools, ELT never went much beyond 30% of the total number of foreign language lessons and English remained in third position after French and German. The situation would be different in the 1950s and 1960s, when ELT was to take over the second position from

GLT, and it would change radically in the 1970s, when English became the first foreign language learnt in Dutch schools.

The first uniform Higher Burgher School curriculum would not come into effect until 1916. Grammar schools, on the other hand, had a set curriculum from the outset in 1877. The ELT requirements contained in the curricula, as indeed the requirements for all other subjects, were phrased in very general terms, so that teachers were free to give shape to their teaching.

In 1870 the first uniform examination programmes for Higher Burgher Schools appeared; they aim at testing both the oral and written skills. Before 1920 the examinations were conducted by external boards in the capital of each province. Grammar schools had school-leaving examinations that were conducted by the schools themselves and supervised by external examiners. The grammar school examinations, first begun in 1877, only consisted of a reading comprehension test, whereby an English text had to be translated into Dutch. Other language skills were not examined. The grammar school examinations would not be changed over a period of 90 years. The Higher Burgher School examinations were altered three times between 1868 and 1920, so that this period may be looked upon as a time of experiment. In 1920 the Higher Burgher Schools and (M)ULO schools adopted the written examination form of grammar schools. From now on all types of secondary schools had the same form of written examinations, i.e. a translation L2-L1. This form was to determine teaching methodology in Dutch FLT to a large extent in the next fifty years.

Prospective teachers of English were nearly always primary school teachers. In the absence of training colleges, they had to obtain certificates through self-tuition, which, from 1806 onwards, gave them a qualification for ELT. From the 1860s, students could obtain a higher qualification for teaching in secondary schools. The Dutch universities never engaged in teacher training until the 1950s.

Ideas on foreign language learning and teaching

Very little is known about the ideas on ELL/ELT before 1800. From about 1800 theoretical treatises on learning and teaching foreign languages

began to appear in print. The ideas were expressed in monographs, reports, brochures, articles in teacher journals and so on. The entire corpus of ideas may be regarded as the beginnings of a theoretical framework, although it would go too far to speak of a coherent debate. The ideas in the researched coursebooks appear to bear no relation to the researched treatises. Conversely, none of the treatises contain any references to these coursebooks. Consequently, there seems to have been very little, if any, connection between ‘practice’ in the coursebooks and ‘theory’ in the treatises. The majority of the treatises were not so much concerned with the question what should be taught but rather with how it should be done. In other words, the quest was for ‘the best teaching method’.

Borrowing and ‘authorities’

It appears that there was less blatant borrowing of textbook materials in the nineteenth century than in the period before 1800. Although it is difficult to decide precisely to what extent textbook writers copied, adapted and translated other works, it appears that none of the researched coursebooks had been simply copied from other textbooks, with the exception of Lehman (1805II). If some textbooks were adaptations and/or translations from other textbooks, they at least pointed out what their sources were (e.g. Murray/Van der Pijl 1816II, Stoffel 1881II) or on whom they relied as their ‘authorities’ (e.g. Gerdes 1855II, Günther 1890II, Grasé 1896II).

Judging by the large number of references in the entire corpus of ELT textbooks, it is evident that, in general, textbook writers must have been aware of contemporary ideas about teaching and learning foreign languages. However, the number of explicit references in the researched coursebooks to ‘authorities’ in the field of teaching methodology is rather limited. The ‘authorities’ who are acknowledged are Agron, Seidenstücker and Ahn, and later Gouin, Berlitz and the Reformers, especially Sweet and Viëtor. The number of references to linguistic ‘authorities’ is about as large as that to methodology ‘authorities’. Here the chief names are Walker, Sweet and Viëtor.

Throughout the nineteenth and well into the twentieth century, French was the dominant foreign language in the Netherlands. During the first half of the nineteenth century, innovations affected ELT (and GLT) in the

first place through FrLT, judging by the number of references to French-speaking 'authorities'. The English 'authorities' were primarily cited because of their linguistic knowledge, the German 'authorities' because of their methodological expertise. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the influence of German 'authorities' became predominant.

The production and diversification of textbooks

After 1800 the demand for ELT rose dramatically, judging by the production of ELT textbooks. Whereas between 1500 and 1800 only a few dozen ELT textbooks had been published, in the researched period (1800-1920) some 750 textbooks came out. The study of Breet & Ceton (1982) settled the number of ELT textbooks at 394 (without reprints) for the period 1800-1900. The present investigation has extended and refined these findings, so that the size of the corpus of ELT textbook titles can be established at 754 (without reprints) for the period 1800-1920.

It is clear that in the course of the nineteenth century a further diversification of textbook materials took place. Whereas Loonen (1991) distinguishes three major categories of textbooks ('textbooks', spelling-books and dictionaries), this investigation has shown that it is possible to distinguish between eight types. Loonen's 'textbooks' contain a small number of persistently recurring content elements (grammar, phrases, dialogues, letters) and a number of optional elements. These elements are hardly connected with one another and exercises for specific language practice are lacking. Consequently, these 'textbooks' largely have the character of reference works. They were succeeded by what is referred to here as 'coursebooks'. These nineteenth century coursebooks basically contain the same content elements (phonology, morphology, syntax, vocabulary) and, in addition, exercises. However, because of a more conscious selection and organisation of learning content, these coursebooks show a more coherent structure to suit the needs of (young) learners. The nineteenth century coursebooks, in their turn, became the predecessors to the present-day coursebooks, which have retained the same elements that were present throughout the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The largest category of textbooks is that of practice books; it amounts to 44% of all the textbooks. The second category is that of the coursebooks;

they form 25% of the total production of textbooks. Vocabularies and books of idioms constitute the third largest group (11%). Within the category of practice books, materials to practise reading/translating from English into Dutch (54%) and writing/translating from Dutch into English (32%) form the major subcategories and by far outnumber the practice books for speaking (14%).

The content of the researched coursebooks

As regards the aims of ELT and the selection of learning content ('what was taught of English'), investigation of the researched coursebooks has led to the following conclusions. Most writers of the researched coursebooks were not merely satisfied with teaching language skills. They valued a certain measure of cultural, moral and intellectual baggage, which was to be achieved through reading, especially literary reading. Most courses, therefore, have texts, which are sometimes offered in separate volumes. Most coursebooks offer every-day language as well. Pronunciation was always considered a problem in Dutch ELT. Some coursebooks offer rules; many use 'imitated pronunciation'; two of them have phonetic transcription. Nearly all coursebooks offer explicit grammar rules. All of them organise their grammar content on the basis of word classes, although this happens in a decreasingly rigid manner. From about the middle of the nineteenth century, the distinction between morphology and syntax gradually disappears. From the 1850s, the coursebooks gradually start with a discussion of the verb instead of the noun. Phrases and dialogues, which had been so characteristic of the nineteenth century 'textbooks' before 1800, gradually disappear from the nineteenth century coursebooks.

As regards the organisation and presentation of learning content ('how English was taught'), investigation of the researched coursebooks has led to the following conclusions. In the first half of the nineteenth century, coursebooks are divided in chapters to discuss word classes. Gradually these chapters evolve into units or 'lessons' teaching a broader learning content. In most coursebooks gradation is organised in a linear way, although there are occasional attempts at a more concentric approach.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the deductive grammar approach prevails. Around the middle of the century, in some coursebooks, sample sentences, illustrating grammar points, take the place of

explicit rules. In the second half of the century, in most coursebooks, sample sentences are combined with grammar rules. At the end of the century, the Reformers introduce a purely inductive approach. Except Grisé (1896II), who uses English only, all the researched coursebooks operate on a contrastive basis and offer bilingual word lists.

There were many more productive than receptive exercises, proportionately about 78% versus 22%. The only type of receptive exercises are reading exercises. The most practised skill is writing (72%); next comes reading (22%) and speaking (6%). Listening is not practised as a separate skill. The chief type of exercise throughout the researched period is translating L1-L2; during the first half of the nineteenth century it is even the only learning activity. Reading English texts nearly always imply translating into Dutch. Writing tasks almost invariably consist of Dutch-English translation activities. These findings are consistent with the figures on the subcategories of practice books (see above).

Most learning activities take place at sentence level: 74%; 18% take place at text level and 8% at word level. Nearly all of the speaking and writing activities (98%) aim at reproduction (B exercises); just 2% of the speaking and writing activities are productive C and D exercises. Of the speaking and writing exercises practically all exercises aim at form (97%); a mere 3% focus either on form and meaning or on meaning only.

Teaching methods

The writers of the researched coursebooks, whether they favour the grammar-translation method or the direct method, tend to make use of aspects of both methods and generally have an open mind, as far as teaching methodology is concerned.

The provision of exercises in the researched coursebooks is largely in line with the exercise types associated with the grammar translation method (written, reproductive, bilingual, form-directed exercises at sentence level). The types of exercises associated with the direct method (oral, productive, unilingual and meaning-directed exercises at text level) are relatively few and chiefly occur in the second half of the century.

As most nineteenth century coursebooks adhere to the principles and practices of the grammar-translation method, it must be concluded that

in the researched period Dutch ELT is dominated by this method. However, at the same time we must conclude that there are continual experiments with new method forms, especially in the areas of organisation and presentation of learning content. This variation shows that many English language teachers and textbook writers were willing to experiment with teaching methodology.

One can hardly speak of a Dutch Reform movement in the sense of a coordinated action or a general discourse on teaching methods. There are merely incidental publications of Reform-based textbooks and some opinions, advocating Reform principles, expressed in a number of articles and brochures. It is, therefore, difficult to measure the effect of the international Reform movement on Dutch ELT. However, in retrospect it seems that at least some effects are the following: a contribution to FLT theory, greater emphasis on oral skills in the classroom, the use of phonetic transcription and the use of English texts in coursebooks as starting-points for lessons.

Dutch ELT was hardly ever dogmatic in character. Nineteenth century coursebook writers used to integrate new developments in their coursebook materials. This comes out in the use of pronunciation rules besides learning pronunciation by imitation; the use of grammar rules besides grammatical sample sentences; the use of L1-L2 translations besides other exercises; the refusal of Dutch Reformers to make exclusive use of L2 and ignore L1; their objections to teaching language skills only and to ignoring literature. In this sense Dutch ELT may be said to have been highly eclectic.

Mackey's theory of the "pendulum of fashion" (1965:138) may be said to apply to the researched period, as this period is characterised by a quest for new teaching methods and a rejection of the old ones. However, it must be pointed out that during the nineteenth century new developments originated that had not existed before, i.e. the beginnings of theory building, the introduction of FLT as regular school subjects and the emergence of different categories of textbook materials. Most 19th century coursebooks were obviously designed to suit the needs of (young) learners. The difference between the Reform coursebooks and the other 19th

century coursebooks is that the former were based on a more or less consistent theory. It may be argued that the ideas of the Reform movement laid the foundation for a future scientific discipline – that of learning and teaching foreign languages. In this respect fundamental progress was made in the perspective of history.

EPILOGUE

Reflecting on this dissertation one could first ask in what respects this study has been unique in what was investigated and how it was carried out. It should be noted that the dissertation deliberately linked up with Loonen (1991) as far as the study of textbook materials is concerned. In this respect it may be said to be a sequel to Loonen (1991), in as far as the two books together provide a line of research that covers a period of over 400 years. Like Loonen (1991), this study focuses on socio-cultural matters, language teaching methodology, bibliography and biography. However, what is new in this study, compared to Loonen (1991), is the following: a. it has made a first attempt to map out theoretical treatises on FLT/FLL; b. it has made a systematic investigation of exercises in historical coursebooks; c. it provides a history of a school subject within an educational framework and gives information on the history of teacher training; d. it pays some attention to the historical reception of coursebooks.

This dissertation has investigated ideas on FLT/FLL as they were published in articles, brochures and so on from the beginning of the nineteenth century onwards. This was not the primary object of research, but it gradually presented itself as an obvious field of study. As this field had never been mapped out before, the investigation was carried out tentatively as an inventory and first description. However, further research is necessary, as there are many more 'treatises' waiting to be discovered in various sources. Such a study could focus on the history of ideas in FLT at large and connect them with present-day theories of L2 learning. Also, the dissertation has gone into some depth with regard to the exercises in the selected coursebooks. It has made an exercise typology and used it as an instrument to determine to what extent coursebooks adhered to the grammar-translation method or the direct method. Such research has never before been carried out, as far as historical textbooks are concerned⁶⁹⁸. It sheds light on the way in which learners were expected to master language

⁶⁹⁸ W. Kuiper (1961:106-118) pays some attention to exercises in Meidinger's French-German coursebook *Nouvelle Grammaire Allemande* (c1793) and its Dutch-German adaptations that were published in the Netherlands from 1813.

content in the repetition and exploitation phases of the above language methods and in particular on the types of learning tasks. Finally, the dissertation discusses the reception of coursebooks through a description of book reviews, reports and accounts. This, too, has never been done before.

Secondly, one may ask what new insights this dissertation has yielded which were hitherto (largely) unknown. For a full list of findings the reader is referred to the *Conclusions*. The chief insights relate to the following points:

- the size and nature of the corpus of ELT materials;
- the diversification of ELT materials;
- the developments from ‘textbooks’ to ‘coursebooks’;
- the learners of English;
- the demand for ELT;
- the position of ELT in the educational system;
- theories on ELT/FLT;
- coursebook sources, borrowing and references to ‘authorities’;
- the selection of language content; the coursebook description (Chapter Six) pays systematic attention to what was learnt of the English language, particularly to the exercises;
- the organisation and presentation of coursebook content;
- coursebook reception;
- teaching methods.

Further research would do well to focus on the selection of language content, as the question what was learnt of the English language needs further study. It would be highly interesting to investigate in more depth which phonological, grammatical and lexical items were selected in the historical coursebooks and how these relate to the provision of language content in, for instance, present-day coursebooks. Also coursebook reception deserves further study. Many more reviews and accounts must have been published in general periodicals, newspapers and so on than have been presented here. It might add to our knowledge of FLT in general and ELT in particular if these sources were explored further. Finally, it would be worthwhile to explore other teaching methods than the grammar-translation method in the researched period. In this respect it is noteworthy that some course-

books that leaned towards or represented a more ‘direct method’ form enjoyed a relatively high degree of popularity, e.g. Grasé (1896II). Further research could shed more light on the substream of direct method-related textbooks to reveal the “swing of the pendulum” in ELT.

A third question concerns the choices that were made with regard to the research method of this dissertation. Would this investigation have yielded better results if it had used different methods? The coursebooks were chosen as the main object of research. However, we felt that theories were also needed as a background for ELT. Therefore, we decided to make an inventory and a first description of the treatises that could be found. Thus, we gradually came to employ all the five sources mentioned by Van Els & Knops (1988).

As regards the inventory of the textbooks, we have tried to get a clear picture of what textbook materials existed and to find out which are still available in libraries. This research was primarily based on systematic research of existing bibliographies, catalogues and other written sources, and in part on incidental research in libraries, antiquarian bookshops, book markets and so on⁶⁹⁹. On these grounds we believe that we have been able to collect the titles of nearly all ELT textbooks in the period concerned. A few might still be missing, but it is very unlikely that they had a substantial impact on ELT. In this connection it must be observed that our knowledge of FLT will not be sufficient as long as historical studies on French and German language teaching are not available, including the full bibliographies of historical FrLT and GLT textbooks. It is, therefore, highly desirable that a full-scale monograph on French language teaching should be written in order to explore the historiography of the most important foreign language in the Netherlands between 1500 and 1920. Of course, a similar study would also be welcome for German language teaching.

As it was not our main concern to present a full-length bibliographical study, the bibliography only provides the main data of textbook titles, but

⁶⁹⁹ For instance, the National School Museum in Rotterdam, and in the library of Thieme Publishers, Zutphen.

it is certainly not exhaustive. It does not, for instance, give the full text of the title page(s), nor does it give details of book formats and prices.

As regards the biographical research, we have tried to supply relevant information on the lives of the writers of the selected coursebooks. Besides, wherever possible, we have given data of the lives of others who were somehow involved in ELT; this was done in footnotes and in Chapter Five.

In order to arrive at a representative selection of coursebooks for an in-depth coursebook description and analysis, we have divided the entire research period of 120 years into three shorter periods of 40 years each, the arguments for which were given in 6.1. Such a division is always more or less arbitrary and one may wonder whether different coursebooks would have been selected, if the division of the periods had been different, e.g. four periods of 30 years or two periods of 60 years. However, the circulation tables (Graphs 6.1, 6.2, 6.3) indicate that these alternative divisions would hardly lead to different coursebooks being selected. The circulation tables show that by and large the same coursebooks would show 'peaks' as far as the number of printings was concerned. An alternative division might have included Koning (1814II), Hakbijl (1830II) or Lloyd/Bomhoff (1835II) for the period 1800-1839; Anon. (1863II), Zimmermann/Dingemans (1864II) or Valkhoff (1874II) for the period 1840-1879; and Roorda (1887II) or IJmker/Veldhuysen (1907II) for period 1880-1919. However, it seems unlikely that such a selection would have affected the analysis of the methodological development of ELT coursebooks fundamentally.

Another point is the number of coursebooks per period. We have selected four coursebooks per period of 40 years. We believe that the decision to analyse the relatively large number of twelve courses (fourteen coursebooks), spread over a period of 120 years, has contributed to the reliability of this study. By comparison it should be noted that Loonen (1991) analysed four 'textbooks' from the period 1500-1800, three of which were published in the seventeenth century. In our case, describing and analysing a comparatively large number meant that we could not go into greater detail, for instance as far as the selection of content or possible borrowings were concerned.

As for my criteria of coursebook selection, we chose the coursebooks with the largest number of printings as our first criterion. The question is

what would have happened if we had used another criterion, for instance if we had tried to select titles that included specific references to the 'direct method'. The answer is that such a selection would be impracticable, as the number of titles with references to the 'direct method' is extremely small. It would seem better to devote a special study to a possible undercurrent of ELT on the basis of specific titles with references to what might be regarded as the 'direct method'. It is our conviction that this study has taken the first, necessary step in trying to uncover the mainstream of ELT on the basis of objective criteria.

Basically, we used the same description model for the coursebooks as Loonen (1991) did, which consisted of seven items. However, we felt that this investigation would profit by it, if we included a small biography and bibliography of the coursebook writers as well as specific points on the organisation and presentation of coursebook content. This enabled us to compare the coursebooks on the basis of ten different items. We have devised our own exercise typology because we believe that an in-depth analysis of practice material is an eminent instrument to gain insight into the differences between coursebooks and their underlying methods. As the cycle of presentation, repetition and exploitation is reflected in the teaching and learning activities of any coursebook, it was an obvious choice to research the exercises in the selected courses.

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- 50 jaar Associatie (1991) Stichting Nederlandse Associatie voor Praktijkexamens.
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APPENDIX ONE

TREATISES ON TEACHING AND LEARNING FOREIGN LANGUAGES 1800-1920

1799-1810 NIEMEYER, A.H.

Grondbeginselen van de opvoeding en het onderwijs

Haarlem: François Bohn, 1799-1810.

Note: this six-volume manual was translated and edited by J. Tesseidre l'Ange, an unknown editor (C. Rogge? F.A Bosse? A. van den Ende?) and H. Ewijk.

1825 AREND, J.P.

Voorlezing over het aanbevelenswaardige van de beoefening der Engelsche taal en letterkunde voor den geleerde. Gehouden bij de aanvaarding van het lectoraat in de Hoogduitsche en Engelsche talen en in de beginselen der wiskunde aan de doorluchtige schole der stad Deventer.

Deventer: J. de Lange, 1825

UBL

1826 KINKER, J.

Verslag aangaande de leerwijze van den heer Jacotot, aan het Departement van Binnenlandsche Zaken den 8sten Sept. 1826 ingezonden.

UBN

1826 MEERMAN VAN DER HORST, H.J.

Observations grammaticales, pouvant servir de préliminaires à l'étude de quelques langues vivantes, et principalement à celle de la grammaire hollandaise.

Bois-le-Duc: J.J. Arkesteijn, 1826.

KB

1827 ANON.

Aanmerkingen op de leerwijze van den heer Jacotot en zijne twee werken over het taal-onderwijs; uit het Fransch. Vert. van: Remarques sur la méthode de M. Jacotot et sur ses deux ouvrages concernant l'enseignement de la langue maternelle et celui des langues étrangères.

's Gravenhage: A. Kloots en comp., 1827.

UBA; KB; NB 1993

Note: the Dutch translation was probably made by W.L.F.C. Van Rappard.

1829 RIJNEVELD, J.C. VAN

Opmerkingen betreffende den heer Jacotot, de allesomvattende leerwijze en de militaire normaal-school.

Breda: Broese & Comp., 1829

1829 ROGGEN, C.H.

Nieuwe Leerwijze om vreemde talen, volgens den gang der natuur, werktuigelijk aan te leeren.

's-Gravenhage: J. Immerzeel Junior, 1829

UBA; KB; UBL

Note: see review of C.H. Roggen's *Nieuwe Leerwijze* in the *Vaderlandsche Letteroefeningen* 1829:307-313.

1834 ANON.

“Boekbeoordeelungen”.

Nieuwe Bijdragen 1834:675-681

1842 NASSAU, H.J.

“T lager onderwijs in ons vaderland”. In: *Geschriften van Dr. H.J. Nassau. Verzameld en uitgegeven onder toezigt van dr. H.J. Smidt e.a.*

Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1876-1879 (3 vols.)

UBN

1844 ANON.

“Boekbeoordeelungen”.

Nieuwe Bijdragen 1844:613-622

1845 ANON.

“Mag een kind twee talen te gelijk leeren? (naar het Hoogduitsch)”.

Nieuwe Bijdragen 1845:856-860

1846 J.Y.

“Eenige wenken omtrent het aanvankelijk onderwijs in vreemde talen”.

Nijmeesch Schoolblad voor het Christelijk Onderwijs (Vol. 2) 1846:9-10.

UBN

1851 ANON.

[Without title]

Nieuwe Bijdragen 1851:768-769

1858 BRILL, W.G.

Opmerkingen op het gebied der Engelsche spraakkunst.

Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1858

UBA

1860 VITRINGA, A.J.

Tegenwoordige toestand en plan tot hervorming van het middelbare onderwijs.

Arnhem: D.A. Thieme, 1860

1861 DELFOS, F.C.

“Over het onderwijs in vreemde talen”.

Nieuwe Bijdragen 1861:774-813

1861 J.C. NEURDENBURG

Drie voorlezingen over het taalonderwijs in de lagere school.

Rotterdam: M. Wijt en Zonen, 1861.

Note: Review in *Nieuwe Bijdragen* 1862:1123-1124.

1862 H.G. ROODHUYZEN

Méthode pour enseigner à parler la langue Française.

Amsterdam: L.F.J. Hassels, 1862

UBA

1864 BEER, T.H. DE

“Nouvelle méthode pour l'enseignement de la langue Française”.

Nederlandsch tijdschrift voor de praktische beoefening van de Fransche, de Engelsche en de Hoogduitsche taal 1864:16-30

- 1870 **BRILL, W.G.**
Over de inrichting der Gymnasiën, met het oog op het ontwerp van wet tot regeling van het hooger onderwijs.
 Utrecht: Kemink en Zoon, 1870
 UBA
- 1872 **GELUK, J.**
 "Taalstudie. Vrij naar het Engelsch van R.H. Quick".
Nieuwe Bijdragen 1872:652-661
- 1876 **VITRINGA, A.J**
Fransche school en burgerschool.
 Deventer: A. Ter Gunne, 1876
- 1878 **SIJMONS, B.**
Over de wetenschappelijk beoefening der moderne talen. Toespraak bij de opening zijner lessen, gehouden op vrijdag den 27 september 1878.
 Groningen: Schierbeek, 1878
- 1878 **STOFFEL, C.**
 "De vreemde talen bij het middelbaar onderwijs".
De Schoolbode 1878:1-11; 1878:64-75
- 1879 **BRUGGENCATE, K. TEN**
 "De moderne talen aan de Gymnasia".
De Schoolbode 1879:376-391
- 1879 **DUYL, C.F. VAN**
 "Iets over de examens in de vreemde talen".
De Schoolbode 1879:205-219
- 1879 **STEIN, J.H.**
 "Het onderwijs in vreemde talen".
School en Studie (Vol. 2) 1879:193-197
- 1879 **STOFFEL, C.**
 "Vreemdelingen of Nederlanders voor het onderwijs in vreemde talen?"
De Schoolbode 1879:233-244
- 1886 **BECKERING VINCKERS, J.**
Over de behoefte aan en het nut van meer wetenschappelijke opleiding voor de beoefenaars der Engelsche taal- en letterkunde hier te lande. Redevoering bij de aanvaarding van het hoogleraarsambt aan de Rijksuniversiteit te Groningen op den 14den Januarij 1886.
 Haarlem: de Erven F. Bohn, 1886
- 1889 **VALETTE, T.G.G.**
Het onderwijs in de levende vreemde talen.
 Haarlem: De Erven F. Bohn,
 UBL
 Note: this treatise was in fact the preface to Valette's *Practisch Leerboek der Hoogduitsche taal*, which was first published in 1889. In 1899 a revised, second edition was published.
- 1891 **EIJKMAN, L.P.H.**
 "Eenige wenken over Uitspraak".
De Drie talen (1891)

- 1892 **ESMEIJER, J.**
Het aanleeren van vreemde talen.
 Rotterdam, 1892
 UBA
 Note: see review in *De Wekker* (vol. 49) 1892:51.
- 1894 **EIJKMAN, L.P.H.**
 “Voordracht over het onderwijs in vreemde talen volgens de methode Gouin in de Afdeeling Amsterdam II van het Ned. Onderwijzers-Genootschap, op Woensdag 18 April 1894”.
De Drie Talen 1894:63-93
- 1894 **HORN, M.**
 “Het onderwijs in de nieuwe talen aan onze Hoogere Burgerscholen kan slechts dan geheel aan zijn doel beantwoorden, wanneer het volgens de directe methode wordt gegeven”.
Berichten en Mededeelingen van de Vereeniging van Leeraren aan Inrichtingen. van Middelbaar Onderwijs (7th Series) 1893-1896:243-264
 Note: the article is a written report of a speech held by M. Horn at the annual general meeting of the Secondary School Teachers Association on 25 August 1894.
- 1895 **EIJKMAN, L.P.H.**
Handboek voor den Onderwijzer ten gebruike bij het eerste deeltje van de Handleiding voor de Beoefening der Engelsche Taal ten dienste van eerstbeginnenden en bewerkt volgens de leerwijze van Gouin.
 Amsterdam: Allert de Lange, without year
- 1896 **GRASÉ, J.C.G.**
Directe methode en phonetisch schrift als grondslagen van taalonderwijs.
 Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1896
 Wolters-Noordhoff
- 1900 **PRICK VAN WELY, F.P.H.**
 “Het onderwijs in de moderne talen”.
Tijdschrift voor Onderwijs en Opvoeding (Vol. 3) 1900-1901:97-110
- 1904 **GRASÉ, J.C.G.**
 “Iets over Direkte Methode”.
Handelingen Nederlandsch Philologencongres 1904:142-161
- 1905-1906 **BRUGGENCATE, TEN**
 “Over taalonderwijs”.
Weekblad voor Leeraren aan Inrichtingen voor Middelbaar Onderwijs 1905-1906: 988ff.
- 1912 **NOLST TRENTÉ, G.**
Op Verzoek.
 Haarlem: H.D. Tjeenk Willink, 1912
 Note: this is a printed version of a speech delivered by G. Nolst Trenté during a meeting of the “Vereniging van Leraren in Levende Talen” on 28 May 1912.
- 1913 **SIJMONS, B.**
 “Het Onderwijs in de Moderne Talen”. *Academia Groningana* (MDCXIV-MCMXIV). Groningen: Noordhoff, 1914:416-437.

APPENDIX TWO

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF TEXTBOOKS OF ENGLISH 1800-1920

Introductory note

Appendix Two contains the titles of ELT textbooks published in the Netherlands between 1800 and 1920. Only textbooks containing at least Dutch and English have been included. The bibliography has the character of a short-title catalogue and, taking the large amount of data into account, has no claims to be exhaustive. It is primarily based on other bibliographies, notably Brinkman (1858ff.), Breet & Ceton (1982), Saalmink (1993) and Claes & Bakema (1995). In addition, various other sources have been made use of, such as monographs, periodicals and (education) journals and archives as well as catalogues of libraries, museums, book-sellers and publishers. Obviously, the bibliography leaves enough room for extension. However, its first aim is to provide an inventory of ELT textbooks that may be used for further research. Besides, the corpus of titles contained in the bibliography was used as a basis for a global description of ELT materials in Chapter Five. Thirdly, it served as a basis from which a selection of a limited number of textbooks was made for an in-depth description and analysis in Chapters Six and Seven.

The bibliographical entries

The bibliographical entries have been arranged in chronological order of publication. Each entry contains the following data:

- The first year of publication.
- The author's surname and initial(s) or first name(s). If the author's name is unknown, the term **ANON.** has been used. With a few exceptions, the dates of the lives of the authors are not given.
- A short title. Generally, full titles are not given.
- The place of publication.
- The publisher's name.
- The year of publication (in the case of second or later printings).

- The number of pages, if the information was available. Information on book formats or prices is not provided.
- The location where the book is to be found, e.g. KB (Royal Dutch Library) or, alternatively, the source of reference, e.g. BC (*Brinkman's Catalogus*). Also, the existence of book reviews is recorded here.
- Code letters and numbers referring to catchwords are used to specify the character and content of the book concerned. Thus, first, a code for the category of textbook is given, e.g. A1 (= coursebook). Secondly, a code for the specific content of a textbook is given, e.g. B1 (= reading).
- Subsequent reprints and/or new editions are mentioned if their titles and other data could be traced. In principle, no distinction is made between editions and reprints. Hence, the term 'edition' is used for all printings.
- Occasionally one or more notes are added with additional, relevant information.

The categories of the bibliography

The corpus of textbook materials has been broken down into eight categories to characterize the types of textbooks. A few titles of textbooks do not provide clear enough information about their contents. However, each textbook has been assigned to one category only, even if the title could give rise to different interpretations as to their content. In such cases a decision was made in favour of the most likely content. The categories are the following:

A (categories of textbooks)

1. coursebooks
2. practice books for oral and written skills
3. grammar books
4. manuals for phonetics and phonology
5. vocabularies and books of idioms
6. dictionaries
7. teacher's guides/keys to textbooks
8. examination papers

Each textbook has been given a code number (A1, A2 etc.) to assign it to a particular category. These categories have been subdivided further in order to characterize the learning content of the materials more accurately. Subsequently, each practice book has been given a special code number (B1, B2 etc.) to indicate its specific content. For this purpose the following catchwords have been used:

B (specific content)

1. reading
2. writing
3. listening
4. speaking
5. translating
6. translating L1-L2
7. translating L2-L1
8. translating L2-L3
9. spelling
10. morphology, syntax
11. vocabulary
12. phrases, idioms
13. pronunciation, phonetics
14. letter-writing, (business) correspondence

Abbreviations

The following abbreviations have been used:

- | | |
|-----|---|
| ABD | Stads- of Atheneumbibliotheek Deventer |
| BC | <i>Alphabetische naamlijst van boeken, plaat- en kaartwerken, die gedurende de jaren 1833 tot en met 1849 in Nederland uitgegeven of herdrukt zijn; [...] strekkende ten vervolge op de alphabetische naamlijst van boeken van 1790 tot en met 1832 in Nederland uitgekomen, bewerkt door J. de Jong en uitgegeven bij de Gebr. Van Cleef. Amsterdam: C.L. Brinkman, 1858.</i>
<i>Brinkman's Catalogus der boeken, plaat- en kaartwerken, die gedurende de jaren [...] in Nederland zijn uitgegeven of</i> |

- herdrukt [...]. Amsterdam: C.L. Brinkman, 1850-1882; 1882-1889; 1891-1900; 1901-1910; 1911-1915; 1916-1920.*
- BEF *Bibliographie de l' Empire Français*, (Paris). Tome premier (Novembre) 1811- (Décembre) 1812; Tome deuxième 1813
- B&C Breet, Gemma De & Ceton, Rineke (1982) *Leerboeken Engels, Frans en Spaans in Nederland: 1796-1900. Inventarisatie, bibliografie en aanzet tot beschrijving*. Nijmegen: Instituut voor Toegepaste Taalkunde (unpublished)
- BL British Library, London
- BLC *British Museum, General Catalogue of Printed Books*. London 1959-1966
- Bijdragen* *Bijdragen betreffende den staat en de verbetering van het schoolwezen in het Bataafsch Gemeenebest*. Leyden: D. Du Mortier en zoon, 1801-1809
- Bijdragen ter bevordering van het onderwijs en de opvoeding, voornamelijk met betrekking tot de lagere scholen binnen de Vereenigde Nederlanden*. Leyden: D. Du Mortier en zoon, 1810-1814
- Nieuwe Bijdragen ter bevordering van het onderwijs en de opvoeding voornamelijk met betrekking tot de lagere scholen in de Verenigde Nederlanden*. Leyden: D. Du Mortier en zoon, 1815-1829
- Nieuwe Bijdragen ter bevordering van het onderwijs en de opvoeding, voornamelijk met betrekking tot de lagere scholen in het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden*. Leyden: D. Du Mortier en zoon, 1830-1873
- Cleef 1835 *Alphabetische naamlijst van boeken, welke sedert het jaar 1790 tot en met het jaar 1832, in Noord-Nederland zijn uitgekomen [...]* *Stekkende ten vervolge op het naamregister van Nederduitsche boeken van R. Arrenberg*. In *'s-Gravenhage en te Amsterdam bij De Gebroeders van Cleef, 1835*
- DDT *Tijdschrift De Drie Talen voor hen die zich willen oefenen en verder bekwamen in de Fransche, Duitsche en Engelsche taal*. Amsterdam, C.L. Brinkman/Groningen: P.N. Noordhoff, 1885-1971
- Forum Forum Antiquarian Booksellers *The Children's World of Learning 1480-1880*. Houten: 1994 (Catalogue 100, part I)

GAA	Gemeente Archief Amsterdam
GAD	Gemeentelijk Archief Dordrecht
GBR	Gemeente Bibliotheek Rotterdam
<i>Gids</i>	<i>De Gids: Nieuwe Vaderlandsche Letteroefeningen. Amsterdam: G.J.A. Beijerinck, 1837 - ...</i>
HHB	<i>Heedendaagsche en Hoogere Beoefening der Fransche, Engelsche en Hoogduitsche Talen ten dienste van instituteurs, aankomende onderwijzers, en allen die zich aan het onderwijs of de beoefening der moderne talen hebben toegewijd. Tiel: Wed. D.R. van Wermeskerken, 1854-1857</i>
HIM	Historisch Instituut voor de Marine, Den Haag
KB	Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Den Haag
KMA	Catalogus bibliotheek KMA, Breda: 1865
<i>Kruseman</i>	<i>Kruseman, A.C. Bouwstoffen voor een geschiedenis van den Nederlandsche boekhandel gedurende de halve eeuw 1830-1880. Amsterdam: P.N. Van Kampen & Zoon, 1886</i>
MMR	Maritiem Museum Rotterdam
NB 1993	Saalmink, L. (ed.) <i>Nederlandse Bibliografie 1801-1832</i> (1993) <i>Uitgegeven door de Koninklijke Bibliotheek.</i> 's-Gravenhage. Houten: Bohn, Stafleu, Van Loghum.
NCC	Nederlandse Centrale Catalogus (digital bibliography)
NSM	Nationaal Schoolmuseum, Rotterdam
NTPB	<i>Nederlandsch tijdschrift voor de practische beoefening van de Fransche, de Engelsche en de Hoogduitsche taal etc.</i> (1858-1867)
Picarta	Picarta (digital bibliography)
PBF	Provinciale Bibliotheek Friesland, Leeuwarden
Private collection	Author's private collection
SBA	Stadsbibliotheek Arnhem
Thieme (1,2.)	Thieme Catalogue 1 (1831-1832), Thieme Catalogue 2 (1863), Thieme Catalogue 4 (1908), Thieme Catalogue 4 (1930), Thieme Catalogue 5 (1955)
UBA	Bibliotheek Universiteit van Amsterdam
UBG	Bibliotheek Rijksuniversiteit Groningen
UBL	Bibliotheek Universiteit Leiden
UBM	Bibliotheek Universiteit Maastricht

UBN	Bibliotheek Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen
UBR	Bibliotheek Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam
UBU	Bibliotheek Universiteit Utrecht
UBVU	Bibliotheek Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam
UBT	Bibliotheek Universiteit van Tilburg
VLO	<i>Algemeene vaderlandsche letter-oefeningen</i> [...]. Amsterdam: A. van der Kroe, 1791-1811. <i>Tijdschrift van kunsten en wetenschappen van het Departement der Zuiderzee</i> . Amsterdam: M. de Bruyn etc., 1812-1813 (continued as <i>Vaderlandsche Letteroefeningen</i>). <i>Vaderlandsche Letteroefeningen of tijdschrift van kunsten en wetenschappen</i> [...]. Amsterdam: Leeneman van der Kroe, 1814-1876.
WGG	Wolters Groep Groningen
Wolters	J.B. Wolters Catalogue 1930
ZBM	Zeeuwse Bibliotheek, Middelburg

1798-1810 ANON./F.J. BERTUCH

Nieuw Prentenboek voor Kinderen, behelzende: Onderwerpen uit het Ryk der Natuur, der Wetenschappen, Kunsten en Ambachten naauwkeurig afgebeeld, en in vyf Taalen, bevattelyk, beschreeven.

Neues Bilderbuch für Kinder, enthaltend Gegenstände aus dem Reiche der Natur, der Wissenschaften, der Künste und Handwerke, getreu abgebildet und in fünf Sprachen fasslich beschrieben.

Nouvelle galerie pour les enfans, contenant differens objets pris dans l'histoire naturelle, les sciences, les arts & métiers, dessinés fidèlement, avec une explication facile en cinq langues.

Infant-Accademy, or new Gallery of Figures intended for the use of children Containing interesting subjects from nature, the arts, sciences and handicrafts, all carefully delineated and plainly described in five languages.

Nuovo libro d'immagini, all' uso de' giovanetti, contenente oggetti del regno di natura, delle science, arti, e mestieri, accuratamente rappresentati, ed in cinque Linguaggi chiaramente descritti.

Zutphen: H.C.A. Thieme, 1798

KB; VLO 1799:326-327, 1802:263, 1803:95, 1811:48

A2 B1

Note 1: This illustrated reader was published in ten instalments between 1798 and 1810.

Note 2: According to the exhibition catalogue "*Het Vrolijk Leeren*" (Naarden: Comenius Museum 1993) the reader was a partial adaptation of F.J. Bertuch's *Bilderbuch*.

1801 LOCKE, W.

Spiegel der Engelsche taal behelzende de maatklank, spraakkonst, woordvoeging, enz., of Des students wegwijzer: zijnde een volledig onderwijs in gem. taal, zoo met betrekking tot het zuiver spreken als schrijven van dezelve.

Rotterdam: N. Cornel. J. van Baalen, 1801.

NB 1993

A1

1803 ANON.

Dialogues Français, Hollandais et Anglais, sur des sujets familiers, à l'usage des écoles = Fransche, Nederduitsche en Engelsche samenspraken, over gemeenzame onderwerpen: ten dienste der scholen = French, Dutch and English dialogues on familiar subjects, for the use of schools.

Rotterdam: W. Locke & Comp., 1803

UBA; NB 1993

A2 B1

Dialogues Français, Hollandais et Anglais, sur des sujets familiers, à l'usage des écoles = Fransche, Nederduitsche en Engelsche samenspraken ... Rotterdam: De weduwe J.

Allart, 1829. UBA; NB 1993; Cleef 1835 has: new edition.

Note: See also Loonen (1991:335 and passim).

1803 ANON.

Exercise book for beginners = Engelsch leesboek voor eerstbeginnenden.

Amsterdam: J.R. Poster, 1803

NB 1993; Cleef 1835 has: Rotterdam: J. Hendriksen.

A2 B1

1803 ANON.

Tafel eener Engelsche spraakkonst, waarop gevonden wordt eene compleete lijst van alle de onregelmatige werkwoorden: dienstig voor alle die zich deeze taal spoedig willen eigen maken.
Utrecht: B. Wild: J. Altheer, 1803

NB 1993

A3

c1803 LEY, CHARLES

Precepts calculated to promote the happiness of youth, by pixing in the tender mind of children the seeds of virtue, morality and religion, or Opposition to vice, infidelity and scepticism.

Rotterdam: L. Bennet, printed for the author [1803]

NB 1993

A2 B1

Note: The name does not occur in Alston (1965; 1967) or Michael (1987).

1803 MAVOR, WILLIAM FORDYCE

Mavor's new English spellingbook, na de laatste Engelsche uitg. gedr.

Amsterdam: J.J. Geijler en comp. [1803]

NB 1993; Cleef 1835 has: Zalt-Bommel: J. Noman

A2 B9

Note 1: See Michael 1987:515.

Note 2: GBR owns three copies of English versions dated respectively 1811, 1828 and 1837, all of which were printed in London. GBR also owns an undated English version named "New Edition, carefully revised and improved".

1803 PERRIN, JEAN BAPTISTE

English, German and Dutch Dialogues, a guide to conversation = Englische, deutsche und holländische Gespräche für Anfänger = Engelsche, Hoog- en Nederduitsche samenspraaken, voor eerstbeginnenden/ on the plan of John Perrein; with a collection of idioms.

Amsterdam: W. Holtrop, 1803.

UBA; NB 1993; Cleef 1835.

A2 B4

Note: Cf. Loonen (1990:282); Macht (1986:333); also cf. *British Library Catalogue of Printed Books* for H.E. Lloyd *English and German Dialogues on a plan of J.B. Perrin* (1805 and 1842).

1803 PERRIN, JEAN

Fables Amusantes: avec une Table générale et particulière des Mots, et de leur Signification en Anglois et en Hollandois, selon l'ordre des Fables; pour en rendre la traduction plus facile à l'Ecolier. Dat is: Aangenaame Fabelen; nevens een algemeen en byzonder Register der Woorden, en van derzelver Beteekenisse in 't Engelsch en Hollandsch, volgens de orde der fabelen, tot gemak des Leerlings in het overzetten.

Leiden: A. & J. Honkoop, 1803

UBA; VLO 1803:531; NB 1993

A2 B1

Second edition, Leiden: A. & J. Honkoop, 1808. KB; Cleef 1835; NB 1993

1804 ANON.

Eenvoudige doch zeer dienstige aanmerkingen over de Engelsche spraakkunde.

Dordrecht: N. Van Eijdsen, 1804

Cleef 1835; NB 1993

A3

1804 ANON.

An easy introduction for the Dutch, to learn to speak English in a short time = Eene gemakkelijke inleiding voor Nederlanders, om in korten tijd Engelsch te leeren spreken.

Amsterdam: Johannes Van der Hey, 1804

KB; Cleef 1835 has: J. van der Hey 1805; NB 1993

A2 B4

c1804 ANON.

The First Rudiments of the English Language, for the use of Schools and private instruction. More than a common Spellingbook = De Eerste Beginselen der Engelsche taale, tot School- en Huisonderwijs. Meer dan een gewoon Spelboek.

Amsterdam: W. Holtrop, [1804]

UBA; UBL; NB 1993

A1

Note 1: see Loonen (1991:314-315) for more bibliographical details.

Note 2: cf. Anon. *Eerste beginselen der Engelsche taal*. Amsterdam: Erven H.

Gartman, without year. Cleef 1835. The same book?

1804 SCHILPEROORT, TIELMAN OLIVIER

Principes de la grammaire Anglaise et syntaxe pratique a l'usage de tous ceux qui veulent enseigner ou étudier cette langue, par T.O.S. Dat is: Grondbeginzels der Engelsche Spraakkunst en werkdadige Woordschikkinge; ten dienste van hun, welke in deeze taal onderwijs geeven, of zich in dezelve oefenen. Door T.O.S.

Dordrecht: A. Blussé en zoon, 1804. – 176 pp.

VLO 1804:681-682; Cleef 1835; NB 1993

A3

1805 LEHMAN, G.W.

Engelsche Spraakkonst. Gevolgd naar de leerwijze van Meidinger, volgens de Beginzelen der waare Uitspraak van Sheridan en Walker.

Amsterdam: Johannes Allart, 1805

KB; NB 1993

A1

Note: apart from this edition another one appeared published by J. Radink of Amsterdam in 1805.

Second edition. 's-Gravenhage 1817. UBA; ABD; NB 1993

1807 KAPPELHOFF, A.

Easy phrases very necessary to be translated by beginners: divided in exercises, which contain all sorts of phrases used in common conversation, and what is fittest to be understood by them.

Amsterdam: H. Jansen.

NB 1993

A2 B1

Note: Niemeyer 1808 (V):118 mentions the following title: *Phrases faciles très nécessaires pour faire traduire aux commençants* (Rotterdam: J. Hendriksen 1798). It is quite well possible that Kappelhoff translated this book for his own use, since he is known to have “borrowed” from other people’s works (cf. VLO 1813:85-86).

1807 KAPPELHOFF, A.

Handleiding voor eerstbeginnenden, tot verbuiging der zelfstandige, toevoegelijke en voornaamwoorden, benevens de vervoeging der werkwoorden: met eenige opstellen,

ter vertaling, tot toepassing op dezelve: ten dienste der Engelsche en Nederduitsche scholen.

Amsterdam, J.R. Poster, 1807

A1

KB; NB 1993:971 has [1808]; Saakes 4 (1804-1808):308 has 1807; Cleef 1835 has:

Amsterdam: Schalekamp en Van de Grampel, 1807.

Handleiding voor eerstbeginnenden, tot de verbuiging der zelfstandige, toevoegelijke en voornaamwoorden, benevens de vervoeging der werkwoorden; met eenige opstellen ter vertaling, tot toepassing op dezelve. Ten dienste der Engelsche en Nederduitsche scholen.

Third edition ("nieuwe uitgave"), Amsterdam, J.H. Van Heteren, 1833. UBA

1807 **KAPPELHOFF, A.**

Prayers for children: intended for the English and Dutch schools in our country = Gebeden voor kinderen: ten gebruike der Engelsche en Nederduitsche scholen in ons vaderland.

Amsterdam: J.R. Poster, 1807

NB 1993

A2 B4

1807 **KAPPELHOFF, A.**

Spelling and reading-book, for young beginners.

Amsterdam: J.R. Poster, 1807

NB 1993

A2 B1

1807 **MURRAY, LINDLEY**

A first book for children. 4th ed. enlarged and improved.

York: T. Wilson [etc.]; Rotterdam: W. Locke, 1807

NB 1993

A2 B1

Note: This was a very elementary reader. The first English edition came out around 1805 and was intended to prepare learners for Murray's *English Spelling Book* c1804 (Michael 1987:524).

1807 **WANOSTROCHT, NICOLAS/BRUINING, G.**

Rudimenta der Engelsche tale, of Beknopte inleiding in de Engelsche spraakkunst/ veelal naar den tweeden dr. van het Engelsch van N. Wanostrocht door G. Bruining.

Rotterdam: W. Locke, 1807

NB 1993; Cleef 1835

A3

Note: Wanostrocht's name does not occur in Alston (1965; 1967) or Michael (1987).

1808 **ANON. (J.O.S.)**

*Reading-book for the English language, with an introduction to English Grammar, for the use of schools and private students; (dat is:) Leesboek voor de Engelsche Taal, nevens eene Inleiding tot de Engelsche Spraakkunst, ten dienste der Scholen en van die zichzelve oefenen. "Childhood and Youth engage my pen, – 't is labor lost to talk to Men". door J.O. * * S * *.*

Amsterdam: J.F. Nieman, 1808

KB; NB 1993; VLO 1809:256.

A2 B1

1808 LEHMAN, G.W.

Engelsche chrestomatie, of Verzameling van stukken, getrokken uit de beste Engelsche schrijvers: met de klankteekening van ieder woord, benevens de uitspraak en de verklaring der moeilijkste woorden op elke bladzijde: voor de scholen.

Amsterdam: J. Allart, 1808.

KB; NB 1993

A2 B1

Idem "nieuwe uitgave". Zutphen, H.C.A. Thieme, 1818.

Engelsche chrestomatie, of verzameling van stukken, getrokken uit de beste Engelsche schrijvers, benevens de uitspraak en verklaring der moeilijkste woorden op elke bladzijde; tweede verbeterde en geheel omgewerkte uitgave, door S. Susan.

Kampen, K. van Hulst, 1841. BC; Bijdragen (1845:286) has: 400 pp.

1808 LEY, CHARLES

A new guide to the English language, with a Dutch translation of several thousand most useful words in both languages, interspersed with a great variety of reading lessons, an entire new English grammar explained and illustrated with more examples than are to be found in any other book of this nature, to which is added the beauties of instructive poetry.

Een nieuwe gids voor de Engelsche taal, met eene Nederduitsche vertaling van eenige duizenden van de nuttigste woorden in beider talen: doorvlogten met eene groote verscheidenheid van lees-lessen, waarbij is gevoegd eene gantsch nieuwe Engelsche spraakkunst: opgehelderd en verduidelijkt met meer voorbeelden dan in andere werken van dien aard te vinden zijn, gelijk ook met de sierlijkheden van leerzame poezij.

Rotterdam: W. Locke, 1808.

KB; NB 1993

A1

1809 GEDIKE, FRIEDRICH

Engelsch leesboek voor eerstbeginnende, benevens een woordenboekje, ter verklaring van alle daarin voorkomende woorden; uit het Hoogduitsch.

Zutphen: H.C.A. Thieme, 1809.

NB 1993; VLO 1810:312

A2 B1

Note: Klippel (1994:176) mentions the German source for this translation:

Englisches Lesebuch für Anfänger, nebst Wörterbuch und Sprachlehre (1795).

Engelsch leesboek voor eerstbeginnenden; naar het Hoogduitsch. Third edition.

Zutphen: H.C.A. Thieme, 1820. Cleef 1835

Fourth edition. Groningen: J. Oomkens, 1831. Cleef 1835

Engelsch leesboek voor eerstbeginnenden, benevens een woordenboekje. Naar het

Hoogduitsch door D. Bomhoff. Fifth edition. Deventer: J. de Lange, 1840. Cleef 1835

Sixth edition. Deventer: J. de Lange, 1853. Cleef 1835

1809 SMITH, J.

An English spellingbook of easy and familiar lessons: for young beginners and persons, who have made some progress in the English language.

Amsterdam: J. Allart, 1809.

NB 1993; Cleef 1835 has: Amsterdam: C.L. Schleyer, 1809

A2 B1,8

1810 ANON.

Woordenboekje van de meest in gebruik zijnde benamingen in de Hollandsche, Engelsche en Fransche talen.

Middelburg: H.A. Abrahams, 1810.

NB 1993; Claes 1995:153

A6

Woordenboekje van de meest in gebruik zijnde benamingen in de Hollandsche, Engelsche en Fransche taal, benevens eenige regelen voor de uitspraak der Engelsche taal. Fourth enlarged edition. Middelburg: Gebr. Abrahams, 1849. BC; Claes 1995:153 has 1849 and 1851.

c1810 ANON.

Zakboekje voor de jeugd, of Eerste Onderrichting (voor het kiemend verstand) door aanschouwing(en) van voorwerpen in de natuur, met derzelver benamingen in vier ta(a)len. Amsterdam: (Evert) Maaskamp, [1810]

UBA; *Bijdragen* 1810 II:191; Riemens (1919); Loonen (1991:315)

A5

Note 1: The four languages were Dutch, French, English and German.

Note 2: The title of this booklet is included in the official, state-approved Booklist, which was published in the *Bijdragen* of 1810 and 1811 and which was also published separately.

1811 LANTSHEER, HENDRIK WILLEM

Dictionnaire des termes de marine Français recueillis et traduits en termes techniques Hollandais et en partie en Anglais. A l'usage des bureaux, administrations et directions de la marine en Hollande; ... Woordenboek der Fransche zee-termen, bijeenverzameld en in Hollandsche en gedeeltelijk in Engelsche kunstwoorden overgebracht. Ten gebruike der bureaux, administratiën en directiën van de marine in Holland en in het bijzonder voor de heeren zee-officiëren, zoo tot verstand der zeeboeken, zeetactiek, seinboeken, instructiën en ordres, als voor de dagelijksche manoeuvres.

Amsterdam: Pieter den Hengst en zoon, 1811. – 161 pp.

GBR; KB; MMR; PBF; UBA; UBD; UBL; UBU; UBN. VLO 1812:470-471;

NB 1993. Forum 1994:88

A6

Woordenboek der Fransche zee-termen. Dictionnaire des termes de marine, Français, Hollandais et Anglais.

's-Gravenhage en Amsterdam: Gebr. van Cleef, 1833.

MMR; Cleef 1835 has: 160 pp.

c1811 PIJL, RUDOLPH VAN DER

Engelsche spraakkunst: bevattende eene duidelijke uitlegging van de regelen der woordgronding en woordvoeging der Engelsche taal, benevens een aantal opstellen, tot derzelver beoefening bevorderlijk.

Dordrecht: A. Blussé en zoon, [1811]. 4 vols.

KB; NB 1993

A1

Engelsche Spraakkunst, geschikt om de Engelsche taal op eene geregelde en gemakkelijke wijze grondig te leeren. Voorzien van eene menigte toepasselijke opstellen, om de taalregels in praktijk te brengen, en van de noodige aanwijzingen voor de uitspraak. Tweede veel verbeterde, en geheel omgewerkte uitgave.

Dordrecht: Blussé & Van Braam, 1819. UBN

Engelsche Spraakkunst, bevattende een duidelijke uitlegging en woordvoeging der Engelsche Taal, benevens een aantal Opstellen tot derzelver beoefening bevorderlijk, in vier Deelen; nieuwe uitgave

Dordrecht: Blussé & Van Braam, 1826. Reference in Van der Pijl 1828; Cleef 1835.

R. van der Pijl's Engelsche Spraakkunst, geschikt om de Engelsche taal op eene geregelde en gemakkelijke wijze grondig te leeren. Voorzien van eene menigte toepasselijke opstellen om de taalregels in praktijk te brengen, en van de noodige aanwijzingen voor de uitspraak, door H.L. Schuld. 3e verm. dr.

Dordrecht: Blussé & Van Braam, 1837. GAD; KB

Note: Schotel (1857:236) has 1810 as year of publication.

1812 ANON.

Aanschouwelijk onderricht voor de eerste aandacht der kinderen. In 36 naar het leven gekleurde, en op de letters van het ABC toepasselijke plaatjes: zijnde de letters in verschillende formaten, de benamingen in het Hollandsch, Hoogduitsch, Fransch en Engelsch, ter oefening in die talen, en de getalmerken mede met doelmatige afbeeldingen voorzien.

Amsterdam: E. Maaskamp, 1812. With 36 plates and illustrations

NB 1993

A2 B1,8

1812 KAPPELHOE A.

Nieuwe Engelsche en Hollandsche spraakkunst, ten gebruike der genen, welke de Engelsche taal willen leeren; gevolgd naar de verb. en verm. Fransche spraakkunst van C. Cazelles.

Utrecht: O.J. Van Paddenburg; O.J. van Dyk, c1812.

NB 1993

A1

Note 1: The reference is probably to Charles Cazelles' *Nouvelle méthode familière à l'usage de ceux qui veulent apprendre la langue Française*, corrigée et considérablement augmentée par J. Van Bemmelen (Utrecht, Van Paddenburg et fils, 9th ed. 1809.

UBA; KB; B&C 1982)

Note 2: According to BEF 1812:587 the book was published in an edition of 500 copies.

English and Dutch Grammar. Utrecht: O.J. Van Paddenburg, 1815. Cleef 1835

Nieuwe Engelsche en Nederduitsche spraakkunst. Utrecht: O.J. Van Paddenburg, 1831. Cleef 1835

1812 WAASDIJK, A. VAN

Hollandsche, Fransche en Engelsche woordenlijst, met eene reeks van nieuwe opstellen, over de meest verschillende onderwerpen, ter vertaling uit het Hollandsch, in het Fransch en Engelsch.

Rotterdam: W. Locke, 1812.

NB 1993; BEF 1812:586 has: 1,000 printed copies; VLO 1813:557-559;

A2 B6,10

1813 TWENT, ANTHONY CORNELIS

Zeemans Woordenboek, of Verzameling der meest gebruikelijke Hollandsche zee kunstwoorden en spreekwijzen, in het Fransch en Engelsch overgebragt, tot nut van zeevarenden en amptenaren bij de marine... door A.C. Twent, kapitein en kolonel ter zee. Dictionnaire de marine ou collection de mots et termes techniques Hollandais, traduit en Français et Anglais, à l'usage des marins et employés; par A.C. Twent, capitaine de

vaisseau... Naval dictionary, or collection of Dutch technical words and terms, translated into French and English, for the use of officers and seafaring people ... by A.C. Twent, captain of the navy.

Amsterdam: Pieter den Hengst en zoon, 1813. – IV, 192 pp.

KB; MMR; UBA; UBD; UBL; UBU. VLO 1814: 171-172; NB 1993; Forum 1994:90.

A6

Note 1: Cleef 1835 has: 's-Hage en Amsterdam: P. den Hengst & Zoon en De Gebr. van Cleef 1813.

Note 2: According to BEF 1813 the book was published in an edition of 600 copies.

1814 ANON.

De kunst om in twee maanden de Engelsche taal te leeren verstaan, schrijven en spreken.

Amsterdam: J.R. Poster, 1814.

NB 1993

A1

Note: This book is probably an adaptation of an originally German publication written by C.L.A. Kästner 1806 (2nd ed. 1807). The Dutch version is entitled *De Kunst om in twee maanden de Fransche taal te leeren lezen, verstaan, schrijven en spreken. Naar de 2e uitgave uit het Hoogduitsche vertaald door M.C. Engelman* (Nijmegen: J.C. Vieweg, 1808). Also see VLO 1808:443-446.

1814 ANON.

Handboekje voor Hollanders om de Engelschen goed te verstaan en een gemeenzaam gesprek met hun te houden: zijnde alle de woorden naar de uitspraak in 't Hollandsch gespeld.

Amsterdam: E. Maaskamp, 1814. – 38 pp.

Bijdragen 1815; NB 1993

A2 B4

1814 ANON.

Nieuwe verzameling van Engelsche en Nederduitsche woorden en Zamenspraken, met derzelver uitspraak, om de Engelschen goed te leeren verstaan en een gesprek met hen te voeren.

Haarlem: A. Loosjes Pz., 1814. – 62 pp.

NB; Cleef 1835 has: Amsterdam: Schalekamp & Van de Grampel, 1814

A2 B4

1814 ANON.

The Polite Preceptor, or a Collection of entertaining and instructive essays, selected from the best English writers: published for the use of schools.

Zutphen: H.C.A. Thieme, 1814

NB 1993

A2 B1

1814 ENSELL, GEORGE

A new spellingbook and vocabulary = Een nieuw Spel- en Woordenboekje, geschikt tot het onderwijs der Kinderen, in 't (het) Engelsch en Nederduitsch.

Rotterdam: J. Hendriksen, 1814. – 53 pp.

Bijdragen 1815:87-89; idem 1816: 5-6; NB 1993

A2 B9,11

1814 KAPPELHOFF, A.

Dictionary for the Easy phrases, containing the most difficult words which are found in it.

Amsterdam: J.R. Poster, 1814

NB 1993

A5

Note: This book is a vocabulary belonging to Kappelhoff's *Easy Phrases* 1807.

1814 KAPPELLHOF, A.

English and Dutch vocabulary and dialogues most useful and indispensable for those, that wish to acquire the language.

Amsterdam [etc.]: J.R. Poster [etc.], 1814

NB 1993

Cleef 1835 has: Amsterdam: S. de Grebber

A5

1814 KONING, L.

Korte en gemakkelijke regelen met toepasselijke opstellen, om de Engelsche taal spoedig te leeren lezen, verstaan en gebruiken.

Amsterdam: Schalekamp & Van de Grampel, 1814

UBA; NB 1993

A1

Korte en gemakkelijke regelen met toepasselijke opstellen, om de Engelsche taal spoedig te leeren lezen, verstaan en gebruiken. Verb. en aanmerkelijk verm. druk.

Amsterdam: Schalekamp & Van de Grampel, 1832.

UBA; RUU; NB 1993

1814 PIJL, RUDOLPH VAN DER

Gemeenzame leerwijs, voor degenen, die de Engelsche taal beginnen te leeren. Het Engelsch naar de beroemden Sheridan, en het Hollandsch naar de Heeren Weiland en Siegenbeek.

Dordrecht: A. Blussé & Zoon, 1814. 176 pp.

UBA; NB 1993

A5

Note 1: The title *Gemeenzame Leerwijs* is a literal translation of *Méthode Familère*, which at the time was well-known as the title of a French primer by Pieter Marin.

Note 2: Cleef 1835 mentions another first edition, published by Blussé & Van Braam at Dordrecht in 1826.

Second edition. Dordrecht, Blussé & Van Braam, 1822. 176 pp. UBA

Gemeenzame leerwijs voor degenen die de Engelsche taal beginnen te leeren. Het Engelsch naar den beroemden Walker en het Hollandsch naar de heeren Weiland en Siegenbeek.

3e veel verbeterende uitgave. Dordrecht: Blussé & Van Braam, 1827. – 176 pp. GAD

Fourth edition. Dordrecht: 1833. UBA

Van der Pijl's Gemeenzame leerwijs, voor degenen die de Engelsche taal beginnen te leeren. Het Engelsch naar den beroemden Walker, en het Nederduitsch naar de Heeren Weiland en Siegenbeek, door H.L. Schuld. 10e verb. Druk. Dordrecht: Blussé & Van Braam, 1857. – 192 pp. UBA

Van der Pijl's Gemeenzame leerwijs, voor diegenen die de Engelsche taal beginnen te leeren. Het Engelsch naar Walker, en het Nederduitsch naar Weiland en Siegenbeek, door C. Arent Bz. Eleventh revised ed. Dordrecht: Blussé & Van Braam, 1858. NPTB 1858 (book review).

Idem. Improved edition, 1866. BC

1814 PIJL, R. VAN DER

Engelsch Lees- en Vertaalboekje voor eerstbeginnenden, bevattende, onder anderen, de noodige aanwijzingen, om het Engelsch, op eene gemakkelijke wijs, te leeren uitspreken. Eerste stukje.

Dordrecht: A. Blussé & Zoon, 1814. – IV, 122 pp.

GAD; UBA; NB 1993

A2 B1,6,7,11,13

Second edition 1815. *Bijdragen* 1815.

Third enlarged edition, Blussé & Van Braam, 1822. – IV, 127p. GAD; UBA.

Fourth edition, two vols. 1825. BC

Fifth edition. Dordrecht 1836. UBA

Eighth improved edition, 1846. ABD

Ninth edition edited by H.L. Schuld 1858. UBA

Tenth edition: “*veel vermeerderde druk, opnieuw uitgegeven door H.L. Schuld*”.

Dordrecht: Blussé en Van Braam, 1852. UBU; NB 1993

Eleventh edition: “*veel vermeerderd*”, Blussé en Van Braam, 1856. – IV, 134 pp.

GAD; UBA

Engelsch lees- en vertaalboekje voor eerstbeginnenden. Eerste stukje. Herzien door Willem Valkhoff. Amsterdam: A. Versluys, 1897. BC

Note 1: In the preceding year (1813) a similar reader and translation practice book had been published for French. Dordrecht, Blussé & Zoon, 1813. *Bijdragen* 1813;

2nd ed. 1817. *Bijdragen* 1817; 20th ed. 1866, BC.

1814 PIJL, R. VAN DER

Engelsch Lees- en Vertaalboek voor meergevorderden, bevattende: uittreksels uit de beste Engelsche prozaschrijvers; met eene daarbijgevoegde vertaling der moeilijckste woorden en uitdrukkingen.

Dordrecht, A. Blussé & Zoon, [1814].

Saakes 6, 1814:93; *Bijdragen* 1815:284-287; NB 1993

A2 B1,7,11,12

Second edition 1817. *Bijdragen* 1817

Third revised and improved edition. Dordrecht: Blussé en Van Braam, 1828. GAD;

KB; UBN; NB 1993

1814 POLYGLOT

Nieuwe en doelmatige Engelsche spraakkunst, in 12 lessen; of het aanleeren der Engelsche Tale bespoedigd en gemakkelijk gemaakt. Naar de nieuwe en meer eenvoudige Leerwijze van Vergani. Een beknopt School- en Leerboekje, ook voor den minst ervarenen bevattelijk.

Amsterdam: C. Timmer, 1814

Bijdragen 1815; NB 1993; Cleef 1835 has: Amsterdam, C.L. Schleyer, 1814

A1

1814 VERGANI, ANGELO

English grammar = Engelsche spraakkunst, eenvoudig gemaakt en verkort in XXI lessen, welke de duidelijckste en juiste regelen bevatten: verrijkt met opstellen ter vertaling en toepassing van die regelen. Vertaald naar de vierde vermeerderde en verbeterde uitgave; 2e, verb. dr.

Amsterdam: R.J. Bentrop, 1814

NSC 1814; NB 1993

A1

Note: NB 1993 records that the book is a translation of the *Grammaire anglaise simplifiée* of 1814.

Engelsche spraakkunst, vereenvoudigd en tot 21 lessen gebracht, omgewerkt voor de Hollandsche scholen door J. Olivier Jz. Kampen: K. van Hulst, 1840. – 190 pp. KB; *Bijdragen* 1845

Note: Although this book was presented as a “first edition”, it was probably an adaptation of Vergani’s grammar.

1815 ANON.

Engelsch Spelboekje met Leeslesjes, naar de de vatbaarheid van Kinderen, en tevens voor eerstbeginnenden berekend.

Amsterdam: J. Tiel, 1815. – 31 pp.

Bijdragen 1816:5-6; NB 1993

A2 B1,9

1815 KAPPELHOFF, A.

A familiar method for those, who are desirous of exercising themselves in the knowledge of the English language: designed for the use of schools, according to the French familiar method of Pieter Marin.

Amsterdam: Schalekamp & Van de Grampel, c1815

Bijdragen (1816:281-284) has: 134 pp.; Cleef 1835; NB 1993

A1

New English Grammar, or Familiar method, &c.: according to the enlarged and corrected French grammar of P. Marin. Amsterdam: Schalekamp & Van de Grampel, c1815. Cleef 1835; NB 1993

Note: The above two titles probably refer to the same work.

1815 KIRCHDORFFER, J.S.

English Grammar for the use of schools.

Amsterdam: Schalekamp en Van de Grampel, [1826].

NB 1993

A1

Note: It is not clear if this book is a reprint or new edition of Marin/Kappelhoff’s textbook (see Kappelhoff 1815) or a completely different work

A Familiar Method for those, who are desirous of exercising themselves in the knowledge of the English language, designed for the use of schools, according to the French familiar method of Pieter Marin.

Second edition. Amsterdam: Schalekamp & Van de Grampel, 1828. – 228 pp.

UBA; *Bijdragen* 1830: 735-738; NB 1993. Cleef 1835.

Note 1: In the preface to the 1828 edition Kirchdorffer records that, since the first edition was sold out, it was considered necessary to present a second, corrected and enlarged edition.

Note 2: It is not clear to which edition of Marin’s book is referred here. There were very many editions, one of which was the *Méthode familière pour ceux qui commencent à s’exercer dans la langue François, corrigée par J. Van Bemmelen* (editions 1797, 1811, 1834 in UBA; cf. Loonen 1991:78). Another one was the *Méthode familière, pour ceux qui commencent à étudier la langue Française, corrigée par R. van der Pijl*, published by Blussé & Van Braam (Dordrecht, 1811; BC; Breet & Ceton 1982).

1815 KÖCHLER, JOHANN BEINHARD

Voornaamste grondregels der Engelsche taal, bevattelijk aanwijzende, hoe men die taal, zonder behulp van een' meester, binnen zeer korten tijd, en volmaakt naar den regel, kan leeren uitspreken; uit het Hoogduitsch.

Amsterdam: J.B. Elwe, 1815

UBA; NB 1993

A3

Note: The title of the German original read: *Die Grundsätze der englischen Sprache.*

c1815 KONING, L.

Aangename en leerzame oefeningen tot het leeren lezen en vertalen der Engelsche taal: gedeeltelijk vervaardigd en gedeeltelijk uit geachte schrijvers ontleend.

Amsterdam: Schalekamp & Van de Grampel, [1815]

Bijdragen 1816 has: Amsterdam: Schalekamp & Van de Grampel, 1816; NB 1993

A2 B1,7

Entertaining and instructive exercises to be translated in the Dutch and French language

Amsterdam, Schalekamp & van de Grampel. Cleef 1835 has: 1816

Note: is this the same book as the c1815 edition? It is possible that the English and Dutch texts were published separately.

Entertaining and instructive exercises to be translated into the Dutch language, being most useful and indispensably requisite for beginners, together with a Dictionary, containing the most difficult words to be found in them. Amsterdam: Schalekamp & van der Grampel, 1828. *Bijdragen* 1830:735-738 has: 144 + 82 pp.; Cleef 1835

Note: Cleef 1835 records that the 2nd ed. was published in 1827.

1815 PIJL, R. VAN DER

Engelsch lees- en Vertaalboekje voor eerstbeginnenden. Tweede stukje.

Dordrecht: A. Blussé & Zoon, 1815

NB 1993

A2 B1,6,7,11,12

Second improved edition Dordrecht: Blussé en Van Braam, 1822. – IV, 224 pp. GAD

Eighth improved and enlarged ed. by H.C. Schuld JWZn. Reference in van der Pijl 1856 (11th ed.)

R. van der Pijl's Engelsch Lees- en Vertaalboekje voor eerstbeginnenden. Tweede stukje.

Verbeterd en gewijzigd door H.L. Schuld. Ninth edition. Dordrecht: Blussé & Van Braam, 1858. UBA

Engelsch lees- en vertaalboekje voor eerstbeginnenden. Tweede stukje. Herzien door J.N. Valkhoff.

Eleventh edition. Amsterdam: A. Versluys, 1897. BC

1816 KAPPELHOFF, A.

Miscellany of ancient and modern literature: a collection of easy narratives, allegories and compositions for young people, who desirous of exercising themselves in the English language = Mengelstukken van oude en hedendaagsche letterkunde, of Verzameling van gemakkelijke verhalen, verbloemde en leerzame opstellen, voor jonge lieden, welke verlangen zich zelve in de Engelsche taal te oefenen.

Amsterdam: Schalekamp & van de Grampel, 1816.

NB 1993

A2 B1,5

Note: Cleef 1835 attributes the work to an anonymous author.

1816 MURRAY, LINDLEY/ PIJL, R. VAN DER

Engelsche spraakkunst: naar de zes en twintigste Engelsche uitgave, bewerkt volgens de leerwijze van Agron: ten dienste der scholen, en der genen, die de Engelsche taal, op een spoedige wijze, grondig willen leeren.

Haarlem, F. Bohn, 1816. – 316 pp.

VLO 1817:165-166; NB 1993; Forum 1994:77; Noordegraaf (1996:107-123)

A1

Engelsche spraakkunst naar de zes en twintigste Engelsche uitgave, bewerkt volgens de leerwijze van Agron: ten dienste der scholen, en der geenen, die de Engelsche taal, op een spoedige wijze grondig willen leeren. 2e herz. uitg. Amsterdam: G.J.A. Beijerinck, 1822. NB 1993; Cleef 1835 has: “bewerkt door R. Van der Pijl, volgens de leerwijze van Agron”.

Engelsche spraakkunst, bewerkt volgens de leerwijze van Agron; ten dienste der scholen, en dergenen, die de Engelsche taal, op eene spoedige wijze grondig willen leeren.

Third improved edition Amsterdam, G.J.A. Beijerinck, 1829. – VI + 316 pp. KB; UBA; NB 1993; Forum 1994:77

Fourth revised and improved edition 1837. VI + 311 pp. UBA; UBN

Engelsche spraakkunst, bewerkt volgens de leerwijze van Agron; met toepasselijke opstellen ter vertaling. Ten dienste der scholen, en dergenen, die de Engelsche taal, op eene spoedige wijze, grondig willen leeren. Fifth edition Amsterdam: G.J.A. Beijerinck, 1846. UBA
Engelsche spraakkunst, bewerkt volgens de leerwijze van Agron; met toepasselijke opstellen ter vertaling. Ten dienste der scholen, en dergenen, die de Engelsche taal, op eene spoedige wijze, grondig willen leeren. Nagezien en verbeterd door F.M. Cowan. Sixth edition. Zaltbommel: Joh. Noman & Zoon, 1852. VI + 242 pp. UBA. Note: One or more copies of Cowan's edition were available for learners of English in Japan (Noordegraaf 1996:111).

Engelsche spraakkunst, met toepasselijke opstellen ter vertaling. Ten dienste der scholen en dergenen, die de Engelsche taal op eene spoedige wijze, grondig willen leeren. Verbeterd door A.B. Maatjes. Seventh improved ed. Zaltbommel: Joh. Noman & Zoon, 1860. Note: B&C record this edition referring to *Bijdragen* 1861.

Eighth edition improved by A.B. Maatjes. Zutphen: A.E.C. Van Someren, 1871. BC

1816 OLIVIER Jz., JOHANNES

Engelsch leesboekje, voor beginnenden; geschikt, om door gemakkelijke, trapsgewijze vorderingen, den leerling te gelijk de spelling en de uitspraak te leeren: inzonderheid voor kinderen en scholen.

Amsterdam: Schalekamp & Van de Grampel, 1816.

NB 1993

A2 B1,9,13

1816 OLIVIER Jz., J. & GENT, A.W.N. VAN

Handboek der Engelsche taal, zoo wel ten dienste der onderwijzers als tot onderrigt der leerlingen.

Amsterdam: Schalekamp & Van de Grampel, 1816.

Bijdragen 1816; NB 1993

A1

1816 PIJL, RUDOLPH VAN DER

English Phraseology, or Dictionary of English phrases and Proverbs, with their translation into Dutch, compiled from the best authorities.

's-Gravenhage: J. Allart, 1816

Reference in Van der Pijl 1819; GAD; UBA; KB; NB 1993
A5

1817 ANON.

Engelsch en Hollandsch woordenboekje: bevattende de meest ongemakkelijkste woorden in de Engelsche taal voorkomende, in de volgende werkjes, en onmisbaar tot de vertaling van 1. AEsop's Fables, with instructive morals, by Henry Richardson, &c. &c. 2. Goldsmith's History of England abridged.
Amsterdam: J.R. Poster, 1817
NB 1993; Cleef 1835; Claes 1995:64
A5

1817 ANON.

Engelsche Fabelen, om in het Nederduitsch te vertalen, gevolgd van een uittreksel der Engelsche spraakkunst: een leerboek voor de genen, die zich in deze taal willen oefenen.
Rotterdam: J. Hendriksen, 1817. UBA; NB 1993; Cleef 1835
A2 B1,7,10
Note 1: Cleef 1835 attributes the book to R. van der Pijl, whose edition of Fénelon's book of fables was published in 1813.

1817 KAPPELHOFF, A.

The Beehive or chrestomatic English reader, being a selection of pieces in prose and poetry.
Utrecht, O.J. van Paddenburg, 1817. – 174 pp.
VLO 1817:619-620; Cleef 1835
A2 B1

1817 PIJL, R. VAN DER

Handboek ter beoefening der Engelsche Taal; bevattende: aangename, nuttige en onderhoudende opstellen om uit het Hollandsch in het Engelsch over te zetten; met eene daarbij gevoegde vertaling der moeilijkste woorden en uitdrukkingen, benevens aanwijzingen om dezelve goed uit te spreken.
Dordrecht: A. Blussé & en zoon, [1817]
Saakes 6, 1817:269; NB 1993; Cleef 1835
A2 B6,11,12,13

1818 ANON.

A Series of Commercial Letters, intended to give a general knowledge of business to those young persons, whose views are directed to commerce.
Zutphen: H.C.A. Thieme, 1818. – 205 pp.
UBA; VLO 1819:495-496
A2 B2

1818 PIJL, R. VAN DER

Oorspronkelijke Engelsche koopmans-brieven, ten dienste der jonge lieden, die zich aan den handel wijden: ook ingerigt tot een vertaalboek op de scholen.
Haarlem: F. Bohn, 1818. IV – 240 pp.
UBA; UBL; NB 1993; Cleef 1835 has: Dordrecht, Blussé & Van Braam, 1818.
A2 B2,5,15

1818 PIJL, R. VAN DER

Engelsche lees-oefeningen en vertalingsproeven tot gebruik voor de scholen en het privaat onderwijs: voorzien van een woordenboekje en de noodige aanwijzingen, om het Engelsch spoedig en goed te leeren uitspreken; door de vertaler en omwerker van Murray's Engelsche Spraakkunst.

Haarlem: F. Bohn, 1818. – IV, 240 pp.

A2 B1,5,11,12,13

UBL; Cleef 1835; NB 1993

Note: Cleef 1835 has: Utrecht: J. van Terveen

1819 ANON.

Koopmans handboekje, bevattende in eene alphabetische orde, eene korte, en zakelijke beschrijving van den aard, oorsprong, vervoer, en het gebruik van onderscheidene waren, in den koophandel voorkomende, met de noodige ophelderingen, in de Nederduitsche, Hoogduitsche, Engelsche en Fransche talen, door H.K.

Amsterdam: R.C. Lepper, "voor rekening van de schrijver", 1819

UBA; KB; NB 1993

A5

1819 ANON.

Leerboek der Engelsche taal: ingerigt om op eene gemakkelijke en spoedige wijze de gronden en uitspraak dier taal volkomen magtig te worden.

Rotterdam: B. Schuurring, 1819.

NB 1993; Cleef 1835

A1

1819 TAYLOR, H.

Inleiding tot de Engelsche taal: gevolgd door zamenspraken.

's-Gravenhage: H.C. Susan & Zoon, 1819

NB 1993

A1

1820 ANON.

Diergaarde voor de Nederlandsche jeugd: in drie-en-dertig konstplaten, afbeeldende naar het leven tachtig zogende dieren, visschen, vogelen en tweeslachtige dieren, met derzelver benamingen in het Nederduitsch, Latijn, Fransch, Engelsch en Hoogduitsch.

Haarlem: De Weduwe A. Loosjes Pz., 1820

KB; VLO 1802:44; NB 1993

A2 B1,8,11,12

1822 BOMHOFF Hz., D.

A New Dictionary of the English and Dutch language: to which are added a Catalogue of the most usual proper-names and a list of irregular verbs = Nieuw Woordenboek der Nederduitsche en Engelsche taal: waarbij gevoegd zijn eene lijst van de meest gebruikelijke eigen namen, en eene lijst der onregelmatige en ongelijkvloeiende werkwoorden.

Zutphen: H.C.A. Thieme, 1822. 2 vols.

NB 1993; Claes 1995:61 has: 2 vols., 684 + 1209 pp.

New dictionary of the English and Dutch language: to which are added a catalogue of the most usual propernames [sic!] and a list of the irregular verbs. Eleventh edition

Nijmegen: J.F. Thieme, 1832. Vol.I E-D 684 pp., vol.II D-E 1211 pp. KB; UBL;

UBN; NB 1993; VLO 1833:261-263

A new dictionary of the English and Dutch language; to which is added a Catalogue of the most usual Proper Names and a list of the Irregular Verbs. Carefully revised and augmented third edition. Nieuw woordenboek der Nederduytsche en Engelsche taal; waarbij gevoegd zijn: Eene lijst der meest gebruikelijke Eigennamen en eene lijst van de onregelmatige en ongelijkvloeiende werkwoorden. Derde Uitgave.

Nijmegen: J.F. Thieme, 1848. 2 vols. X + 1055, IV + 1211 pp.

Note 1: Claes 1995:61 mentions 1829, 1851 and 1861 as other years of publication.

Note 2: There is an anonymous review in VLO 1833:261-263, and another one written by J.P. Arend in the *Boekzaal* of July 1849.

1823 **GELLETT, H.**

Varieties consisting of anecdotes historical, personal and literary.

Rotterdam: Arbon & Krap, 1823

ABD; Cleef 1835

A2 B1,7

Varieties consisting of select and interesting anecdotes, historical, personal and literary. To which are added notes, containing a Dutch translation of the most difficult words and phrases. Designed for the use of students of the English language, and as an aid in translating English into Dutch. Second edition revised, enlarged and improved.

Rotterdam: H.G. Arbon & Widow A.H.Krap, 1833

Third ed. revised, enlarged and improved. Rotterdam: printed for Mrs A.H. Krap, 1843. VII and 224 pp. VLO 1845:372.

1823 **PIJL, R. VAN DER**

Goldsmith's History of Greece: abridged for the use of schools: to which is added a pronouncing vocabulary of proper names, with a translation of the most difficult words and phrases.

Dordrecht: J. Pluim de Jager, 1823

GAD; UBM; UBN

A2 B1,11,12,13

Second edition [Leiden?]: Van der Hoek, 1836. – 359 pp. UBN; UBA; GAD.

1824 **LAAR, A.F. VAN DE**

An easy, entertaining, and instructive reading-book, appropriated to the purpose of those, who begin to study the English language.

Amsterdam: 1824.

KB; NB 1993

A2 B1

1824 **OLIVIER, WILLIAM JOHN**

A choice collection of examples and phrases, calculated for teaching foreigners and young people, in a short time, and in an easy manner, to speak correctly and fluently the English language. Verzameling van voorbeelden en spreekwijzen, met welker behulp men op eene gemakkelijke wijze en in weinig tijds de Engelsche taal kan leeren spreken, als moetende dienen tot een vervolg op Van der Pijl's Gemeenzame Leerwijs. Naar den zesden druk van Bougier's Recueil de Phrases uit het Fransch vertaald door W.J. Olivier.

Dordrecht: Blussé & Van Braam, 1824

NB 1993

A2 B4,12

Note 1: For the title of Bougier's work see NB 1993.

1825 **ENGELBERTS GERRITS, G.**

First English reading-book, or Instructive and familiar lessons: adapted to the capacities of those, who begin to study the English language, and provided with the translation of the most difficult words and phrases. Selected from the best authors.

Amsterdam: G. Portielje, 1825.

NB 1993

A2 B1,11,12

Second edition Amsterdam: G. Portielje, 1844. UBA; *Bijdragen* 1845:286 has: 96 pp.

Third edition 1854. UBA

1826 OLIVIER, WILLIAM JOHN

Choice reading pieces for Dutch young learners of the English language: to which are added easy pieces of poetry, a discrimination of synonyms, patterns of English style, a compendious analytic view of English grammar, models of conjugation and a table for the accentuation.

Delft: Widow of John Allart, 1826.

VLO 1828: 220-221; NB 1993

A2 B1,10,11,13

Second edition 1833 Zutphen: W.J. Thieme.

HHB 1856

1826 PIJL, RUDOLPH VAN DER

Goldsmith's History of Rome: abridged for the use of schools, to which is added a pronouncing vocabulary of proper names, and a translation of the most difficult words and phrases.

Dordrecht: Pluim de Jager, 1826. – IV, 352 pp.

BLC; GAD

A2 B1, B7,13

Note: The original edition appeared in 1769; the first English school edition dates from 1772 (see BLC)

1829 HAKBIJL, LODEWIJK

Verzameling van opstellen, om de beoefening der regelen van de Engelsche taal gemakkelijk te maken. Naar de leerwijze van Harmonière.

Amsterdam: de Erven H. Gartman, 1829

Bijdragen 1832 (290 pp.); Cleef 1835

A2 B6

1829 LAAR, A.F. VAN DE

The key to the exercises for the illustration and enforcement of the rules of the English grammar.

Amsterdam: Vermandel & Schmidt; S. de Grebber, 1829

UBA; *Bijdragen* 1832 has:78 pp.; NB 1993

A7

1829 LAAR, A.F. VAN DE

Verzameling van opstellen, ter beoefening der Engelsche taal, in drie afdeelingen: geschikt om op eene aangename en gemakkelijke wijze, in korten tijd, eene grondige kennis dezer taal te verkrijgen.

Amsterdam: Vermandel & Schmidt; S. de Grebber, 1829.

NB 1993

A2 B6

Second improved and enlarged edition Amsterdam 1837. UBA

1829 WILDE, JOHANNES CORNELIS DE

Engelsche lees oefeningen en vertalingsproeven, ten dienste van zulke leerlingen, die met de eerste beginselen der Engelsche taal bekend zijn.

Dordrecht: Blussé en Van Braam, 1829

Cleef 1835; NB 1993. 224 pp.

A2 B1,5

Note: Is this the second edition of ANON. 1818 (Van der Pijl)?

1830 HAKBIJL, LODEWIJK

Handleiding tot het lezen en beoefenen der Engelsche taal, of gemakkelijke leerwijze tot het verkrijgen eener zuivere Engelsche uitspraak, en voorbeelden met hunne beteekenis, aangewezen uit Murray's leeslesjes.

Rotterdam: J.L.C. Jacob, 1830

UBA; *Bijdragen* 1831:773-775; NB 1993. – 44 pp.

A1

Note: In his preface the author states that he used Murray's *Spelling Book* (1804) as his source (cf. Barr 1996:223).

Second improved ed. 1836. UBA

Handleiding tot het lezen en beoefenen der Engelsche taal, of regelen over de uitspraak en spelling van het Engelsch toegepast in voorbeelden met hunne beteekenis, uit Murray's leeslesjes aangewezen. 3e verbeterdere en vermeerderde druk.

Amsterdam: Hendrik Frijlink, 1846. Forum 1994:76; BC

Fourth improved and enlarged edition 1855. UBA

Handleiding tot het lezen en beoefenen der Engelsche taal of regelen over de uitspraak en spelling van het Engelsch, toegepast in voorbeelden met hunne betekenis, uit Murray's leeslesjes aangewezen. Opnieuw nagezien door J. Thomson. Amsterdam: J.H. Laarman, 1872. BC

1830 HAKBIJL, LODEWIJK

Gronden der Engelsche Spraakkunst, in voorbeelden en toepasselijke oefeningen eenvoudig en bevattelijk voorgesteld.

Without place, 1830

A1

Third edition 1847. KB

Fourth improved and enlarged edition 1859. UBL; UBA

Note: From the prefaces of the 3rd and 4th editions it appears that the first edition came out in 1830

1830 JAY, I.

Gemeenzame woorden, spreekwijzen en zamenspraken, om zich in de Engelsche taal te oefenen.

Rotterdam: De Wed. J. Allart, 1830

Cleef 1835

A5

1831 HAKBIJL. LODEWIJK

Grondbeginselen om het Engelsch te leeren spreken of Engelsch leer- en vertaalboek, gedeeltelijk ingerigt naar John Perrin's Elements of English Conversation, en waarbij tevens de wijze, hoe het Engelsch moet worden uitgesproken, is aangetoond.

Amsterdam: de Erven Gartman, 1831.

Bijdragen 1831:773-775 has: 187 pp.; Cleef 1835; NB 1993.

A2 B4,5,13

Second improved edition 1846. KB

Third improved and enlarged edition 1855. UBA

1832 WILDE, J.C. DE (1800-1858)

The English reader, or A collection of pieces in prose and poetry: calculated to facilitate the study of the English language and intended to serve as an introduction to the British classes.

Dordrecht: J. de Vos & Comp., 1832

NB 1993

A2 B1

Note: Cleef 1835 has 1831 as the year of publication.

1832 **WILLIAMS, T.S.**

Engelsch-Nederduitsche gesprekken, over het gebruik en de grondregelen der Engelsche taal. Naar den derden Engelschen druk.

Zutphen: W.J. Thieme, 1832

Bijdragen 1833 has: 215 pp.

A2 B4

Second edition 1837.

Fourth edition 1845. GBR

Engelsch-Nederduitsche gesprekken over het gebruik en de grondregelen der Engelsche taal. Naar het Engelsch bewerkt door D. Bomhoff. Fifth edition. Zutphen:

W.J. Thieme, 1849. KB

Sixth edition. Zutphen: W.J. Thieme, 1854. BC

Engelsch-Nederlandsche gesprekken. Naar het engelsch bewerkt door D. Bomhoff. Vermeerderd en verbeterd door L.J.C. Ludolph. Seventh improved and enlarged edition. Zutphen: W.J. Thieme, 1858. BC

Note: Next to this 7th edition, two other "7th editions" came out, one in 1858 (Rotterdam: P.C. Hoog, GBR, *Bijdragen* 1859) and one in 1865 (Gorinchem: J. Noorduyt & Zoon, BC)

Tenth enlarged and improved edition by L.J.C. Ludolph, Gorinchem, J. Noorduyt & Zn, 1886. BC

1834 **HAKBIJL, LODEWIJK**

Merkwaardigheden over de kennis en levenswijze der volken, benevens belangrijke uittreksels uit de Fabelleer, ter oefening in het vertalen van het Hollandsch, Fransch, Engelsch en Hoogduitsch, met eene ophelderende voorrede van L.H.

Rotterdam ('s-Gravenhage), J.L.C. Jacob, 1834

Cleef 1835

A2 B1,6,8

1834 **MARSHALL, THOMAS**

Handleiding tot het beoefenen der Engelsche taal voor eerstbeginnenden.

Rotterdam: Th. Marshall (en Co.), 1834

Cleef 1835

A1

1835 **LAAR, A.F. VAN DE**

Eerste beginselen der Engelsche taal, of inleiding tot de verzameling van opstellen ter beoefening der Engelsche taal, enz.

Amsterdam: S. de Grebber, 1835

UBA; *Bijdragen* 1837 has: 52 pp.

A1

1835 **LLOYD, HANNIBAL EVANS/BOMHOFF Hz., D.**

Nieuwe Engelsche Spraakkunst. Naar den vierden druk, voor Nederlanders bewerkt door Dirk Bomhoff.

Nijmegen: J.F. Thieme, 1835.

KB; UBA; *Bijdragen* 1839 has: 474 pp.

A1

Second revised and improved edition 1839. UBA

Third edition 1844. – XIV, 446 pp. UBM

Fourth revised edition 1849. UBA

Nieuwe Engelsche Spraakkunst. Naar den negenden druk, voor Nederlanders bewerkt door Dirk Bomhoff. Herzien door M.P. Lindo. Fifth revised edition. Arnhem:

J.F. Thieme, 1855. UBA

Note: Dirk Bomhoff had modelled his textbook on the example of Lloyd's grammar, *Theoretisch-practische englische Sprachlehre für deutsche* (1816), which had initially been written for speakers of German (Macht 1986:44).

1835 MENSING, T.M.

Opstellen ter vertaling in het Engelsch, bevattende voorbeelden tot oefening in de hoofdregelen der Engelsche spraakkunst, met de vertaling der moeilijkste woorden en spreekwijzen en de aanwijzing van derzelver zuivere uitspraak, ten gebruike voor school en bijzonder onderrigt.

Amsterdam: P. Lorie, 1835

BC

A2 B6,10,11,12,13

1835 RUYS, GIJSBR.

De uitspraak en klemtoon der Engelsche taal, in beknopte regelen voorgesteld.

Kampen: K. Van Hulst, 1835

BC

A4

1836 HAKBIJL, LODEWIJK

Verzameling van gemeenzame brieven, uitnodigings- en andere soort van briefjes, koopmansbrieven, wissels, assign. promessen en kwitanties in het Nederduitsch, Fransch en Engelsch

Second improved and considerably enlarged edition

Rotterdam, Van der Meer en Verbruggen, 1836

BC

A2 B2,11,12

1836 OLIVIER, J.

Engelsche spraakkunst, naar de leerwijze van Murray, Grant, en wat de uitspraak betreft, volgens Walker en Sheridan, ter dienste der scholen ingerigt.

Leeuwarden: H.C. Schetsberg, 1836

BC; *Bijdragen* 1838

A1

1836 OUDEMANS, A.C.

Engelsche spraakkunst bevattende de voornaamste regelen der Engelsche taal, uit de meest beroemde taalkundige werken opgezameld en tot een geheel gebragt, voorzien van eene menigte toepasselijke opstellen, zoowel om van het Hollandsch in het Engelsch als van het Engelsch in het Hollandsch over te brengen, benevens de noodige aanwijzingen voor de uitspraak, volgens den beroemden Walker.

Dordrecht: Blussé & Van Braam, 1836

KB *Bijdragen* 1839: has 352 pp.

A1 B6,7,9,13

1837 ANON.

Cacography or orthographical exercises, in prose and verse, consisting in a method of correcting erroneous spelling, designed for such persons, as are desirous of improving themselves in the orthography of the English language.

Leiden: D. du Mortier & Zoon, 1837

Bijdragen 1839 has: 127 pp.

A2 B9

1837 BOMHOFF Hzn, D.

Engelsch leesboek in proza en poëzy. Eerste stukje. Proza.

1837

A2 B1

Second edition 1839.

Third edition 1842. Nijmegen: J.F. Thieme. ABD

Fourth revised edition. Arnhem, J.F. Thieme (Dordrecht, Blussé & van Braam), 1856. BC

1837 LAGERWEIJ Cz., J.

Nieuw Engelsch Lees-, leer- en vertaalboek voor eerstbeginnenden. Dienende ter verkrijging van eene juiste uitspraak, en tevens als inleiding tot de studie der Engelsche letterkunde. Naar een geheel nieuw plan bewerkt door J. Lagerweij Cz., kostschoolhouder te Geertruidenberg.

Dordrecht: H. Lagerweij, 1837.

A1

Nieuw Engelsch Lees-, Leer- en Vertaalboek voor eerstbeginnenden. Dienende ter verkrijging van eene juiste uitspraak, en tevens als inleiding tot de studie der Engelsche Letterkunde. Naar een geheel nieuw plan bewerkt door J. Lagerweij. Second improved and enlarged ed. Dordrecht: H. Lagerweij, 1845. UBA; *Bijdragen* 1846 has: 246 pp.; BC

Third edition 1852. UBA

Nieuw Engelsch Lees-, Leer- en Vertaalboek voor Eerstbeginnenden. Herzien door L.J.C. Ludolph. Fifth improved edition. Gorinchem: J. Noorduyn & Zoon, 1863. BC

1837 REEHORST, K.P. TER

Nieuwe handleiding in de Engelsche taal, hoofdzakelijk voor Nederlanders, bevattende eene beredeneerde Engelsche Spraakkunst, met de uitspraak, nagebootst in drie andere talen, kunstwoorden, regterlijke termen, koopmans-uitdrukkingen, enz.

Amsterdam: K.P. ter Reehorst, 1837

KB; BC

A1

1837 SLUYTER, DIRK

Easy and entertaining English reading-book. Gemakkelijk en onderhoudend engelsch lees- en vertaalboek, bevattende een verzameling van karaktertrekken en merkwaardige voorvallen uit de geschiedenis, ten dienste van mingevoorderden in die taal.

Amsterdam: T.C.L. Houtkoper, 1837.

UBA

A2 B1,7

Another 'first edition': Amsterdam: Weijtingh & Van der Haart 1839. *Bijdragen* 1845 has: 120 pp.

Second edition 1851. BC

1838 ANON.

The key to the English cacography, or to the orthographical exercises in prose and verse consisting in a method of correcting erroneous spelling. Designed for such persons as are desirous of improving themselves in the orthography of the English language.

Leiden: D. du Mortier & Son, 1838

Bijdragen 1839 has: 124 pp.

A7

1838 BOMHOFF Hzn., D.

Beknopte Engelsche spraakkunst, naar de beginselen van H.E. Lloyd of Inleiding tot de Nieuwe Engelsche Spraakkunst van laatstgenoemden.

Nijmegen: J.F. Thieme, 1838.

Bijdragen 1839 has: 203 pp.

A1

Second revised edition 1840. UBN

Fourth revised edition 1848. BC

Fifth edition 1851. BC

Seventh edition. Zutphen: A.E.C. van Someren, 1858. BC

Eighth revised edition 1863. BC

Ninth revised edition 1867. BC

1838 SCHALK, J. VAN DER

Verzameling van woorden, volzinnen en zamenspraken, ten dienste van aanvankelijk gevorderde leerlingen in de Engelsche taal.

Rotterdam: J.A. van Belle, 1838

BC

A5

1839 ANON.

Handwoordenboekje, behoorende bij de Key der Engelsche cacography, of bij het Engelsch lees- en vertaalboekje voor enigszins gevorderde leerlingen.

Leiden, D. du Mortier & Zoon, 1839

BC

A5

c1839 GAILER, J.E./HAKBIJL. L.

Nieuwe Orbis Pictus, of schouwtoneel der natuur, der kunst en des menschelijken levens, in 322 gesteendrukte afbeeldingen, met eene naauwkeurige beschrijving in de Nederduitsche, Fransche, Hoogduitsche en Engelsche talen, enz. Door J. E. Gailer, Leeraar aan het Lyceum te Tübingen. Naar den vierden Hoogduitschen druk in het Hollandsch vertaald door L. Hakbijl. Ie aflevering.

Rotterdam: F. Hartmann, Jr., 1839. – 64 pp. – 26 pictures

VLO 1840:155

A2 B1,11

Note 1: The contemporary German version dated from 1835 (J.C. Mäcken: Reutlingen) and included German, Latin, French and English.

Note 2: Huiskamp (2000:131) mentions 1840 as year of publication.

1840 BOMHOFF Hzn, D.

Complete English-Dutch and Dutch-English Pocket-Dictionary. Volledig Engelsch-Nederduitsch en Nederduitsch-Engelsch zakwoordenboek. Part I. English and Dutch. II. Deel Nederduitsch-Engelsch.

- Zutphen: W.J. Thieme, 1840.
GBR. *De Gids* 1845:710-713 (book review) has: Part I 646 pp., Part II 552 pp.
A6
Volledig Nederlandsch-Engelsch en Engelsch-Nederlandsch zak-woordenboek. 2e verm. en verb. druk.
Arnhem 1857. 2 vols. – 508, 536 pp. UBL
- 1840 **SCHOUWENBERG, J.**
Leerboek der uitspraak van het Engelsch.
Zwolle: W.E.J. Tjeenk Willink, 1840
KB; *Bijdragen* 1845 has: 128 pp.
A4
- 1841 **ANON.**
English reading-lessons, extracted from the words of eminent English writers, designed as an instructive amusement for young persons of both sexes, to improve their language, for schools and private reading, with a complete vocabulary.
Zwolle, H. Aszn. Doyer, 1841
BC
A2 B1,11
- 1841 **SCHOKKER, H.W.**
Zakwoordenboek van Engelsche zeetermen, in het Hollandsch overgebracht door H.W. Schokker
's-Gravenhage and Amsterdam, Gebr. Van Cleef (Amsterdam, G. Theod. Bom), 1841
BC
A6
- 1841 **BOMHOFF Hzn., D.**
Allereerste beginselen der Engelsche spraakkunst.
Nijmegen: J.F. Thieme, 1841
BC
A3
Second edition 1853. BC
- 1841 **REEHORST, K.P. TER**
English exercises or cacography for foreigners.
Amsterdam: C.G. Van de Post, 1841
BC
A2 B9
- 1842 **HAMELBERG, H.A.**
Verzameling van leerzame en onderhoudende stukken, ter vertaling in het Engelsch, met volledige aanwijzingen, om de overbrenging naar behooren te doen, enz. (en een zorgvuldig bewerkt woordenboekje).
Dordrecht: H. Lagerweij, 1842;
UBA, *Bijdragen* 1845 has: XII + 270 pp.
A2 B6,11
Note: VLO mentions 1843 as the year of publication and adds: III parts, XVI and 567 pp.
Second edition 1851. UBA
Verzameling van leerzame en onderhoudende stukken ter vertaling in het Engelsch. Met volledige aanwijzingen, om de overbrenging naar behooren te doen, benevens eene

menigte taalkundige en andere aanmerkingen en een zorgvuldig samengesteld woordenboekje. Ten gebruike op de scholen bij het bijzonder onderwijs en van zelfbeoefenaren bewerkt. Opnieuw herzien door D. Sijberden.

Amsterdam: J.M.E. en G.H. Meijer, fourth revised edition 1876. UBA

1842 MARSHALL, THOMAS

De Engelsche taal, spraakkunst en letterkunde. Eerste Deel. Aanleiding tot de Engelsche taal en Spraakkunst voor eerstbeginnenden; bevattende de grondbeginselen der Engelsche uitspraak, de rededeelen met eene woordenlijst, aanwijzing der rededeelen, voorkomende in gemeenzame korte zinnsneden en zamenspraken, benevens lees- en vertaal oefeningen.

Dordrecht: J. van Houtrijve Jr., 1842

De Gids (1845:718-719) has: 136 pp.; *De Gids* (May) 1847. *Bijdragen* 1848

A1

De Engelsche taal, spraakkunst en letterkunde. Deel 1. Inleiding tot de Engelsche taal en spraakkunst voor eerstbeginnenden; bevattende de grondbeginselen der Engelsche uitspraak, en de beginselen der spraakkunst, eene woordenlijst, gemeenzame korte zinsneden en zamenspraken; benevens lees-en vertaal-oefeningen. Fourth revised edition.

Rotterdam: T. Marshall & Comp., Amsterdam: P.N. Van Kampen, 1849. GBR;

Bijdragen (September) 1848

1842 REEHORST, K.P. TER

New dictionary of technical terms, containing 1. commercial or mercantile terms, in 7 different languages 2. judicial terms, in 6 different languages 3. nautical terms, in 6 different languages 4. denomination of articles, in 8 different languages, and a supplement. All alphabetically digested, compiled, collected and arranged according to the English.

Amsterdam: C.G. van der Post, 1842

BC

A6

1843 HAKBIJL, LODEWIJK

Gemeenzame brieven ter vertaling in het Engelsch.

Amsterdam: J.H. & G. Van Heteren, 1843

UBA; BC has: V + 211 pp.. *De Gids* 1845:716-717 (book review)

A2

1843 BOMHOFF Hzn, D. & SUSAN, S.,

Homonymen der Engelsche taal.

Deventer: M. Ballot (D.J. Wilterdink), 1843

VLO (1845:655-656) has: 85 pp. *De Gids* 1845:716 (book review)

A5

1843 HAMELBERG, H.A.

Aanwijzingen voor de vertaling en gemengde aantekeningen behorende bij de verzameling van leerzame en onderhoudende stukken ter vertaling in het Engelsch enz.

Dordrecht: H. Lagerweij, 1843; BC, *Bijdragen* 1845 has: IV + 250 pp.

Third edition. Amsterdam: J.M.E & G.H. Meijer, 1868. UBA

A7

1843 HAMELBERG, H.A.

Original text of the collection of instructive and amusing pieces, to be translated into English.

Dordrecht: H. Lagerweij, 1843

BC

A2 B1

1843 **HAMELBERG, H.A.**

Woordenboekje, behoorende bij de verzameling van leerzame en onderhoudende stukken ter vertaling in het Engelsch enz.

Dordrecht: H. Lagerweij, 1843; UBA, *Bijdragen* 1845 has: IV + 47 pp.

A5

Second edition 1853. UBA

1843 **HOOIBERG, T.**

Volledig zakwoordenboek voor de Engelse en Nederduitsche talen.

Dordrecht: Blussé & van Braam, 1843. Volume English-Dutch. – IV, 813 pp.

Claes (1995:66)

A6

1843 **MARSHALL, THOMAS**

De Engelsche taal, spraakkunst en letterkunde. Deel 2. Engelsche spraakkunst met lees- en vertaal oefeningen voor mingevoorderden.

Dordrecht: J. van Houtrijve Jr., 1843

Bijdragen 1847 and 1848

A1

Fourth revised edition, Rotterdam: T. Marshall; Amsterdam: P.N. van Kampen, 1849

1843 **PICARD, H.**

A new Pocket Dictionary of the English and Dutch Language, remodelled and corrected from the best authorities. Part I. English-Dutch. Nieuw zakwoordenboek der Nederduitsche en Engelsche talen. Nnaar de beste Woordenboeken bewerkt. II. Deel Nederduitsch-Engelsch.

Zaltbommel, Joh. Noman en Zoon, 1843.

De Gids 1845:719 (book review) has: 551 pp. BC; Claes 1995:69

A6

A new pocket-dictionary of the English-Dutch and Dutch-English languages, remodelled and corrected from the best authorities. 2nd ed., rev. and augm. by A B. Zalt-Bommel, John Noman & Son, 1857. UBL. Note: the initials A B stand for A.B. Maatjes

Third edition by H.J. Vogin, 1862

A new pocket-dictionary of the English-Dutch and Dutch-English languages, remodelled and corrected from [sic!] the best authorities. Second and third edition revised and augmented by A.B. Maatjes and H.J. Vogin. (The Dutch according to the orthography, established by the redactors [sic!] of the Woordenboek der Nederlandsche taal door M.M. de Vries en te Winkel). Fourth edition entirely reviewed. Gouda: G.B. van Goor, 1871. – XVI + 714 pp. Note: Posthumus (1996) notes that the fourth edition was edited by F.N. te R. (I.R.F. Nievergelt of Rotterdam)

Fifth edition reviewed and enlarged by A.B. Maatjes and H.J. Vogin. Gouda, G.B. van Goor Zn, 1878. BC. Note: Posthumus (1996) has: 1877, instead of 1878, and F.N., instead of Maatjes and Vogin.

6th edition edited by J. Loogman Jz., 1882

A pocket-dictionary of the English-Dutch and Dutch-English languages. Remodelled and corrected from the best authors. 7th ed. thoroughly revised and enlarged by J.H. Van der Voort. Gouda, G.B. Van Goor Zn, 1885. BC

1843 TAYLOR, EDWARD

Anderson's mercantile Correspondence. A collection of real Letters of Business, with an Appendix explanatory of mercantile Technicalities, revised and enlarged by Edward Taylor. Voorbeelden van koopmansbrievenstijl, ten gebruike van meer gevorderden in de Engelsche Taal.

Amsterdam: P.N. Van Kampen, 1843

De Gids 1845:717-718 (book review) has: 148 pp.

A2 B14

Second edition 1851. *HHB* 1856 (book review)

1843 WILLIAMS, T.S./BOMHOFF Hzn., D.

Nieuwe Engelsche spraakkunst. Naar den derden druk voor Nederlanders bewerkt door D. Bomhoff.

Zutphen: W.J. Thieme, 1843; UBA, *Bijdragen* 1845 has: X and 304 pp. *De Gids* 1845:713-716 (book review). *VLO* 1845:655-656 (book review)

A1

Nieuwe Engelsche spraakkunst. Naar den vierden druk, voor Nederlanders bewerkt door D. Bomhoff Hz., Bewerker van het volledig engelsch-nederduitsch en nederduitsch-engelsch Zakwoordenboek, enz.

Second edition. Rotterdam: P.C. Hoog & Hendrik Altmann, 1857. XVI and 300 pp. *HHB* 1857 (book review)

Note: This coursebook was probably based on T.S. Williams' *Theoretisch-practische englische Schul-Grammatik oder vollständiger Unterricht in der englischen Sprache mit Beispielen und Übungen zur Anwendung der Reglen* (Hamburg 1836).

1844 ANON.

Aanwijzing der veranderingen aan welke de Engelsche woorden door verbuiging, vervoeging enz. onderworpen zijn; ten gebruike van zelfoefenaars en eerstbeginnenden.

Amsterdam: G. Portielje, 1844

UBA; *Bijdragen* 1845, *HHB* 1856

A3

Note: the author is possibly D. Bomhoff (1792-1860)

1844 ENGELBERTS GERRITS, G.

Second English reading-book ... adapted to the use of schools ... selected, arranged and compiled from the best authors.

Second edition. Amsterdam: G. Portielje, 1844; *Bijdragen* 1845:286

A2

1844 MELFORD, H.M./Bomhoff Hzn., D.

Engelsch leesboek, naar den tweede druk, bewerkt door D. Bomhoff Hz. Eerste stuk.

Deventer, A. ter Gunne, 1844

A2 B1

Another edition *naar den derden druk bewerkt door D. Bomhoff*: Deventer:

A. ter Gunne, 1850. 108 pp. BC, *Bijdragen* 1851.

Third revised and enlarged edition 1859. BC; *NTPB* 1860.

1844 MELFORD, H.M. (1787-1864)// Bomhoff Hzn. D.

Engelsch leesboek, naar den tweede druk, bewerkt door D. Bomhoff Hz. Tweede stuk.

Deventer, A. ter Gunne, 1844. 318 pp.

Bijdragen 1851

A2 B1

Idem *naar den derden druk bewerkt door D. Bomhoff*. Deventer: A. ter Gunne, 1853.
316 pp. NTPB 1860

1845 **HAMELBERG, H.A.**

Beknopte Engelsche spraakkunst, bevattende de hoofdregelen der Engelsche taal, opgehelderd door voorbeelden en gevolgd van een aantal opstellen ter toepassing in het Engelsch en Nederduitsch.

Dordrecht: H. Lagerweij, 1845

Bijdragen 1846 has: 202 pp.

A1

1845 **HOOIBERG, T.**

Volledig zakwoordenboek voor de Engelse en Nederduitsche talen.

Dordrecht: Blussé & van Braam, 1845. Volume Dutch-English. – IV, 734 pp.

Claes 1995:66

A6

1845 **REEHORST, K. TER**

Dictionnaire Français-Hollandais des termes techniques employés dans la marine à voiles et à vapeur, dans l'architecture navale et le commettage; Dictionary of nautical, steam and shipbuilding terms, in the English and Dutch; Woordenboek der Zee-, stoom- en scheepsbouwkundige termen, in de Hollandsche, Fransche en Engelsche talen.

Amsterdam: Hulst van Keulen, 1845. 3 vols.

MMR; HIM; UBL; GAA

A6

1845 **REIMERINGER, H.G.**

Nieuw vocabulaire der Nederlandsche, Fransche, Deutsche en Engelsche taal, bevattende de in het gemeenzame leven meest voorkomende woorden, als van kunsten, wetenschappen, handwerken enz., volgens de spelling van Siegenbeek.

Haarlem: J.B. Van Loghem (C. Zwaardemaker), 1845

BC; Claes 1995:157

A6

1846 **BOMHOFF Hzn, D.**

Anecdoten en vertellingen ter vertaling in het Engelsch.

Nijmegen, J.F. Thieme, 1846

BC

A2 B1,6

Second revised edition, Nijmegen, J.F. Thieme (Dordrecht, Blussé & van Braam), 1852. BC

Fourth edition 1868. BC

1846 **HAKBIJL, LODEWIJK**

Verzameling van koopmans-brieven ter verkrijging van eenen zuiver Engelschen koopmansstijl, naar Hodgkin's Commercial Letters bearbeid

Amsterdam: H. Frijlink, 1846

BC

A2 B2,14

1846 **LEDEBOER, J.L.**

Handboek voor de rechte uitspraak en spelling, of orthoëpie en orthographie der Engelsche taal; benevens eenige lees oefeningen over de klinkers enz., gevolgd door eene keur van uittrekselen uit de beste Engelsche proza-schrijvers en dichters.

Amsterdam: P.M. van Cleef, 1846.

KB; UBA; *Bijdragen* 1847 has: 310 pp.; *De Gids* 1847:580 (book review)

A4

c1846 MARSHALL, THOMAS

De Engelsche taal, spraakkunst en letterkunde. Deel 3 De Engelsche syntaxis of woordvoeging, bevattende de hoofdregels der Engelsche woordvoeging met voorbeelden, opstellen met fouten ter verbetering, en opstellen om uit het Hollandsch in het Engelsch over te zetten, toepasselijk op den voorafgaanden regel.

Rotterdam: T. Marshall & Comp. [1846]

Bijdragen 1848; Thomas Marshall *The Dutch Grammar* 1854

A1

c1846 MARSHALL, THOMAS

Key to Marshall's English Syntax. Eene letterlijke vertaling der oefeningen en eene verbetering der exercises in het derde deel der Engelsche taal of syntaxis voorkomende, voor onderwijzers en eigenbeoefenaars ingerigt.

Reference in: Thomas Marshall *The Dutch Grammar* 1854

A7

c1846 MARSHALL, THOMAS

De Engelsche taal, spraakkunst en letterkunde. Deel 4 Engelsche lees oefeningen, meestal stukken uit voorname Engelsche schrijvers getrokken, met aantekeningen en opheldering van de betekenis der min voorkomende woorden en taaleigenheden; alsmede aanmerkingen over de schoonheden der taal- en dichtkunst, met voorbeelden uit voorname Engelsche dichters getrokken.

Rotterdam: T. Marshall & Co., 1842

Bijdragen 1848; Thomas Marshall *The Dutch Grammar* 1854

A2 B1,11

Note: The book review in the *Bijdragen* notes that the four volumes of Marshall's course contained 780 pages together.

1846 WILLEMSSEN, R.

Neue Gespraechen in vier Sprachen, Französisch, Englisch, Hoch- und Niederdeutsch, nach J. Perrin, und H.E. Lloyd, in fünf Abtheilungen, wovon die vierte enthält Englische Spracheigenheiten, besonders in Beziehung auf die Schwierigkeiten im Gebrauche der Englischen Vor- und Bindewörter den drey andern Sprachen gegenüber. Für Studierende, Sprachfreunde, und Reisende. Von neuem durchgesehen, verbessert, vermehrt und für die vier Sprachen eingerichtet.

Nouvelles conversations en quatre langues, Français, Anglais, Allemand et Hollandais, selon J. Perrin, et H.E. Lloyd, en cinq parties, dont la quatrième comprend des Idioms de la langue Anglaise, surtout par rapport aux difficultés dans l'usage des Prépositions et Conjonctions Anglaises vis-à-vis les trois autres langues. Pour des Étudiants, Amateurs de langues, et voyageurs. Revues, corrigées, augmentées et arrangées pour les quatre langues. New conversations in four languages, French, English, German, and Dutch, according to J. Perrin, and H.E. Lloyd, in five parts, the fourth of which comprehends English Idioms, particularly in reference to the difficulties in the use of English Prepositions and Conjunctions over against the other three languages. For students, lovers of languages, and travellers. Revised, corrected, augmented, and arranged for the four languages.

Nieuwe zamenspraken in 4 talen: Fransch, Engelsch, Hoogduitsch en Nederduitsch naar J. Perrin, en H.E. Lloyd, in vijf afdeelingen, waarvan de vierde bevat Engelsche Taal-

eigenheden, vooral met betrekking tot de moeilijkheden in het gebruik der Engelsche Voorzetsels en Voegwoorden tegenover de drie andere talen. Voor studerenden, taalvrienden, en reizigers. Weder overgezien, verbeterd, vermeerderd, en ingericht voor de vier talen door R. Willemsen, Phil.Theor. et Litt.Hum.Cand.

Rotterdam, in des stellers boekhandel. Parijs, bij Julius Renouard & Comp. Rue de Tournon 6. Ments, bij Floriaan Kupferberg. 1846.

BC; private collection

A2 B4,11,12

1847 ANON.

Nieuw Volledig woordenboek der Nederduitsche, Fransche, Engelsche en Hoogduitsche talen. Naar de nieuwste bronnen bewerkt door eene vereeniging van taalkundigen.

's Gravenhage, K. Fuhri (Haarlem, A.C. Kruseman), 1847. 4 vols.

Kruseman 1886; Claes 1995:156

A6

Nieuw Woordenboek der Nederduitsche, fransche, hoogduitsche en engelsche talen 2e druk, verbeterd en vermeerderd door N.S. Calisch. Vol. I: Dutch – French – German – English. – VIII + 950 pp; Vol. II French-Dutch, 283 pp., German – Dutch 328 pp., English – Dutch 471 pp. 's-Gravenhage: K. Fuhri, 1854 and 1855. HHB 1857 (book review); Kruseman (1886); Claes 1995:154

Nieuw woordenboek der Nederlandsche, Fransche, Hoogduitsche en Engelsche talen, revised, improved and augmented by I. M. Calisch and N.S. Calisch. Third edition. Leiden, A.W. Sijthoff (Nijmegen-Arnhem, Gebr. E. and M. Cohen), 1878-82, 2 vols. – XII + 936 pp. BC; Kruseman 1886; Claes 1995:154

Note: Calisch is the surname of Isaac Marcus (1808-1884) and of Nathan Salomon (1818-1891).

1847 CLAIRMONT, K.G.

Handboek tot Engelsche gesprekken, bevattende de meest gebruikelijke uitdrukkingen, welke in den dagelijkschen omgang voorkomen. Vrij bewerkt naar het Hoogduitsch en Engelsch Handboek van H.G. Clairmont.

Amsterdam: C.J. Borleffs, 1847

BC, *Bijdragen* 1848 has: 200 pp.

A2 B4,12 H.G. Clairmont

Do you speak English? Handboek om spoedig en gemakkelijk Engelsch te leeren spreken, bevattende de meest gebruikelijke uitdrukkingen, welke in den dagelijkschen omgang voorkomen. Herzien en verbeterd door C.H. Gunn.

Second revised and improved edition. Amsterdam: Joh. G. Stemler Cz., without year. UBL. Second revised and improved edition 1861. Amsterdam: G.Th. Bom. BC

1847 COWAN, F.M.

English reading book for beginners; consisting of several amusing and instructive stories, to which is appended a vocabulary.

Leiden: H.W. Hazenberg and Co., 1847

UBA

A2 B1,11

1847 FLEISCHMANN, P.C.

Vade Mecum of Gids om op eene aangename en gemakkelijke wijze tot de kennis der Engelsche taal te geraken.

Amsterdam, Hellevoetsluis: Weijtingh & Van de Haart, 1847

UBA

A1

1847 **PICARD, H.**

The little American. Handleiding voor hen die naar N-Amerika vertrekken, om in korten tijd zooveel van de Engelsche taal te leeren, als noodig is om zich verstaanbaar uit te drukken.

Amsterdam: Hoogkamer & Co., 1847

BC

A1

Fourth edition 1854. BC

1848 **GUNN, C.H.**

A new English grammar and delectus, part one.

Rotterdam: S. Van Reyn Snoeck and Utrecht: J.G. Broese, 1848

BC; Plug 1997

A1

1848 **HAKBIJL, LODEWIJK**

Verzameling van Engelsche gesprekken over de voornaamste onderwerpen der zamenleving, met aanwijzing der juiste uitspraak, voor eigen oefening.

Amsterdam: H. Frijlink, 1848.

UBA; BC

A2 B4,13

Verzameling van Engelsche gesprekken over de voornaamste onderwerpen der zamenleving, met aanwijzing der juiste uitspraak, zoo voor schoolgebruik als voor eigene oefening. Second improved edition. Amsterdam: H. Frijlink, 1857. UBA; BC

1848 **HILLEBRANDS, ANESUS J.**

Woordenboekje voor landverhuizers of eerste beginselen om het Engelsch te leeren spreken.

Groningen: J. Oomkens, Jz., second edition 1848

BC

A5

Note: UBA has: *Woordenboekje om het Engelsch te leeren spreken: hoofdzakelijk voor de goede uitspraak.* Second edition. Amsterdam: Bom, without date. The same book?

1848 **SANDERS, S. FARNCOMBE**

The Rudiments of English Grammar and a sketch of English Literature, with Extracts of approved authors, for the use of the cadets of all the branches of the service.

Breda: J.H. & H.W. Nys, 1848

UBA

A1

Second edition 1861. KMA Catalogue 1865.

1848 **VOGIN, H.J.**

Practische handleiding voor de uitspraak der Engelsche taal.

Delft: H. Koster, 1848

Bijdragen 1849, *VLO* 1849:361 has: VI + 12 + 129 pp.

A4

1848 **WILKE, D.**

Handleiding voor hen, die in korten tijd de Engelsche taal willen leeren spreken en schrijven. Naar het oorspronkelijke (van D. Wilke) door D. Bomhoff.

Fourth ed. Nijmegen: J.F. Thieme, 1848

BC

A1

Fifth ed. 1852, Arnhem: J.F. Thieme. BC

Sixth ed. 1857, Arnhem: J.F. Thieme. UBA

Seventh ed. 1864. Groningen: H. Geertsema Jr. BC

Seventh ed. (new title) Amsterdam: G.L. Funke, 1869. BC

Eighth ed. Sneek: Van Druten & Bleeker, 1872, BC

1849 REEHORST, K.P. TER

Gids of handboek voor kooplieden, reizigers, zeelieden, landverhuizers, enz. enz. in zes talen: Hollandsch, Engelsch, Duitsch, Fransch, italiaansch, Spaansch, met wisselkoersen enz.

Amsterdam: J.M.E. Meijer, 1849

BC

A5

1849 REEHORST, K.P. TER

The merchant's friend, or polyglot assistant and technical dictionary, of nearly 300 commercial or mercantile expressions in 10 different languages, English, Dutch, German, Danish, Swedish, French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese and Russian. With an explanatory key to the pronunciation of all these languages and a list containing the value and proportion of coins, of weights and measures of seaport towns.

Amsterdam: C.F. Stemler and J.M.E. Meijer, 1849

KB; UBR; UBU; BC

A6

Note: the UBL owns a second edition, with a slightly different title, published in London in 1865

1850 ANDRIESEN, P.J.

Gids tot het leeren schrijven van zuiver Engelsch.

Amsterdam: J.D. Sybrandi, 1850

KB; UBA

A2 B2

1850 ANON.

Inductive Grammar, being a simple and easy introduction to a knowledge of the English language, etc. (E-H).

Amsterdam: W.H. Kirberger, 1850

BC

A3

1850 ANON.

Do you speak English? (Spreekt gij Engelsch?) of de nuttigste en noodzakelijkste engelsch-nederduitsche gesprekken en spreekwijzen; benevens eene vertaling der meest gebruikelijke woorden in de samenleving.

Amsterdam: M.H. Binger & Zn., 1850

BC

A2 B4,7,11,12

Second revised ed. 1857. NTPB 1860

Note: J. Thomson (1866) and Servaas de Bruin (1889) used the same title for their works

1850 ANON.

De nieuwe volmaakte Engelsche en Amerikaansche tolk, of beknopt en toch voor de behoefte volledig en zeer gemakkelijk onderrigt in de Engelsche taal voor allen, die dezelve, ook zonder les nemen, willen aanleeren: vooral ook dienstig voor naar Amerika verhuizende Hollanders, bevattende ... eene uitgebreide woordenlijst; alles in kleinen omvang bijeen.

Amsterdam: van der Hey, 1850 – VIII, 314 p.

NCC

A1

1850 BEEK, J. VAN DER

Handleiding ter beoefening der Engelsche taal, ten gebruike der scholen en zelfoefenaars ingerigt. Voor het Engelsch onder medewerking van F.M. Cowan. Eerste Afdeeling. Spraakkunst.

Utrecht: Dannenfelser & Doorman, 1850.

BC; *Bijdragen* (1851:774) has: 146 pp.

A3

Note: The reviewer of the *Bijdragen* (1851:774) notes that this book was an adaptation of Vergani's *Grammaire Anglaise, simplifiée et reduite à vingt-une leçons*.

1850 BEEK, J. VAN DER

Handleiding ter beoefening der Engelsche taal, ten gebruike der scholen en zelfoefenaars ingerigt. Voor het Engelsch onder medewerking van F.M. Cowan. Tweede Afdeeling. Opstellen.

Utrecht: Dannenfelser & Doorman, 1850;

Bijdragen (1851:774) has: 133 pp.

A2 B6

Third ed. 1860; BC

Fourth ed. 1860; BC

1850 BEEK, J. VAN DER

Handleiding ter beoefening der Engelsche taal, ten gebruike der scholen en zelfoefenaars ingerigt. Voor het Engelsch onder medewerking van F.M. Cowan. Derde stukje. Leesboek.

Utrecht: Dannenfelser & Doorman, 1850;

Bijdragen (1850:774)

A2 B1

Third ed. 1861. BC

1850 CALBET, C., MILLARD, F.J., GLASER, J.

Guide de la conversation en Français, Hollandais, Anglais et Allemand en dialogues.

Nijmegen: C.A. Vieweg, 1850

BC

A2 B4,12

1850 GUNN, C.H.

Selection of English reading-lessons in prose and poetry, being a practical introduction to English composition. With copious exercises for translation and reconstruction according to given rules and idioms.

Rotterdam, H.A. Kramers (Culemborg: Blom & Olivierse), 1850

BC; *Bijdragen* 1851 has; XXVIII + 208 pp.; Plug 1997

A2 B1,2,5,10,12

c1850 GUNN, C.H.

A Selection of synonyms adapted to the exercises on synonyms

Amsterdam, W.H. Kirberger, without year

BC; Plug 1997

A5 B12

1850 HOLLANDER, J.J. DE

Handleiding bij de beoefening der Engelsche taal, vooral ook ten dienste van hen, die zich tot de lessen aan de Koninklijke Militaire Akademie voor de zee- en landmagt wenschen voor te bereiden. Door Dr. J.J. de Hollander, Leeraar aan genoemde Akademie. Eerste afdeeling: Spraakkunst.

Breda: Broese & Co., 1850

Bijdragen 1852

A3

Third improved and enlarged ed., Dordrecht: Blussé & Van Braam, 1857. *NTPB* 1858

Fifth improved and enlarged ed. 1866. BC

Sixth enlarged ed. 1867. UBA

Seventh ed. 1871. BC

1850 MAATJES, A.B.

A selection of English words and dialogues, for the use of schools and persons desiring to become acquainted with the words and expressions, most generally used in conversation. Verzameling van Engelsche woorden en zamenspraken, ten gebruike der scholen en van hen, die de in den omgang meest voorkomende woorden en uitdrukkingen wenschen te leeren kennen.

Leyden, Amsterdam: J.H. Gebhard & Co 1850. – 92 pp.

BC; *Bijdragen* 1851 (book review)

A5

Second ed. 1853. BC

Third enlarged ed. 1856 – fl. 0,60. *HHB* 1856 (book review)

Fourth enlarged ed. 1859. BC

Fifth enlarged ed. 1862. BC

Sixth enlarged ed. 1866. BC

Seventh enlarged ed. 1869. BC

Eighth revised and enlarged ed. 1874. Amsterdam: P.N. van Kampen & Zoon. BC

Ninth revised and enlarged ed. 1883. UBN

1850 VINK, K.H.

Het Engelsch lezen en vertalen gemakkelijk gemaakt.

Amsterdam: J.D. Sybrandi, 1850

Bijdragen 1853

A2 B1,7

1850 WILDE, A.L.V.

Handleiding tot het leeren der Engelsche taal.

's-Gravenhage: Gebr. J. & H. van Langenhuysen, 1850

BC

A1

1851 ANDERSON

Anderson's mercantile Correspondence. A collection of real Letters of Business, with an Appendix explanatory of mercantile Technicalities, revised and enlarged by Edward Taylor. Second Edition.

Voorbeelden van koopmansbrievenstijl, enz.

2e druk. Amsterdam: P.N. Van Kampen, 1851. *HHB* 1856 (book review)

A2 B14

Fourth revised and enlarged ed. by Henry F. Vogin. Without year. *DDT* 1896

1851 ANON

Easy and entertaining English reading-book. Gemakkelijk en onderhoudend Engelsch lees- en vertaalboek, enz. enz.

Second ed., Amsterdam, Weytingh & van der Haart, 1851

BC

A2 B1,7

1851 CHARLTON, S.

Engelsche Spraakkunst voor eerstbeginnenden. Uit het Engelsch.

Nijmegen: J.F. Thieme, 1851

BC

A3

1851 GERDES, E.

Handleiding tot het spoedig leeren der engelsche taal.

Amsterdam: P.N. van Kampen, 1851.

UBA; *Bijdragen* 1851; *HHB* 1856

A1

Second edition 1866. BC

1851 GOSLER, J.C.E.

Leerboekje der Engelsche taal, enz. bevattende eene verzameling van gemakkelijk opklimmende uitdrukkingen en spreekwijzen, toegepast op der regelen dier taal. Eerste stukje.

Bergen op Zoom: J.C. Verkouteren, 1851

Bijdragen 1853 (book review); BC

A5

1851 HOLLANDER, J.J. DE

Handleiding bij de beoefening der Engelsche taal, vooral ook ten dienste van hen, die zich tot de lessen aan de Koninklijke Militaire Akademie wenschen voor te bereiden.

Tweede afdeeling: Leesboek in proza.

Breda: Broese & Co., 1851

UBA

A2 B1

Second edition 1854. *NTPB* 1858

Third edition 1857. BC

Sixth enlarged edition Dordrecht: Blussé & van Braam, 1867. BC

Eighth revised edition Schoonhoven: S.E. van Nooten & Zoon, 1880. UBA

Handleiding bij de beoefening der Engelsche taal. Tweede afdeeling: Leesboek in proza.

Herzien door A.S. Kok. Schoonhoven: S.E. van Nooten & Zoon. Ninth revised ed. 1888. UBA

1851 SCHMITZ, B./BOMHOFF Hzn., D.

Uitspraak der Engelsche taal, naar Sheridan, Walker, Knowles en Smart. Eene handleiding voor hen die zich eene goede uitspraak willen eigen maken. Voor Nederland bewerkt door D. Bomhoff.

Nijmegen: J.F. Thieme, 1851

BC

A4 B13

Note: Once again Bomhoff revised an originally German publication for ELT in the Netherlands: *Englisches Elementarbuch mit durchgängiger Bezeichnung der Aussprache* (1850) (cf. Macht 1986: passim; Klippel 1994: passim).

1852 GUNN, C.H.

English Idiomatic Phraseology.

The Hague: Belinfante Brothers, 1852

UBA; KB

A5 B12

1852 KNUIVERS, T. & TSJERKEMA, L.A. VAN DE

Beknopte orthoëpie of uitspraakleer der Engelsche taal, met toepasselijke lees- en vertaaloefeningen, meerendeels aan de schrijvers in die taal zelve ontleend, tot zelf-oefening en ten gebruike op Gymnasia en Instituten.

Amsterdam: G. Portielje en Zn., 1852

Bijdragen 1852; *Bijdragen* 1854 (book review)

A4

1853 BROEDELET, O.C.

Oefeningen op Murray's English spellingbook.

Rotterdam: M. Wijt en Zn., 1853

BC

A2 B9

1853 FRERICHS, W.D.

Verzameling van opstellen ter vertaling in het Engelsch, met de noodige spraakkunstige aanwijzingen en ophelderingen. Eerste gedeelte.

's-Gravenhage: Wed. L.J. Verhoeven (en Co.), 1853,

BC

A2 B6,10

Second revised ed. 1858. UBA

Fourth edition revised by L. Dekker Kz. And W. Middelveld Viersen. Sneek:

Van Druten en Bleeker, 1868. BC

Fifth revised ed. 1872. BC

Sixth revised ed. 1882. BC

Note: Brinkman also records: fifth revised ed. 1876

1853 FRERICHS, W.D.

Verzameling van opstellen ter vertaling in het Engelsch, met de noodige spraakkunstige aanwijzingen en ophelderingen. Tweede gedeelte.

's-Gravenhage: Wed. L.J. Verhoeven (and Co.), 1853,

BC

A2 B6,10

Third edition revised by L. Dekker Kz. and W. Middelveld Viersen). Sneek:

Van Druten en Bleeker, 1869. BC

Fourth revised ed. 1876. BC

Fifth edition revised by L. Dekker Kz. 1884. BC

1853 FRERICHS, W.D.

Verzameling van opstellen ter vertaling in het Engelsch, met de noodige spraakkunstige aanwijzingen en ophelderingen. Derde gedeelte.

- 's-Gravenhage: Wed. L.J. Verhoeven (and Co.), 1853
BC
A2 B6,10
Second edition revised by L. Dekker Kz. and W. Middelveld Viersen). Sneek:
Van Druten en Bleeker, 1869. BC
- 1853 **HOLLANDER, J.J. DE**
Handleiding bij de beoefening der Engelsche taal, vooral ook ten dienste van hen, die zich tot de lessen aan de Koninklijke militaire Akademie wenschen voor te bereiden. Derde afdeeling: Leesboek in poëzij.
Breda: Broese & Co., 1853
UBA, NTPB 1858
A2 B1
Second ed. 1863. BC
- 1853 **LOCK, W.**
Lock's Engelsch Leerboek, naar de beginselen van H.G. Ollendorff. Ten gebruike van school- en huisonderwijs. Eerste stuk.
Dordrecht: Blussé & Van Braam, 1853
BC
A1
- 1853 **TEMPELAAR, T.P.**
Het gemakkelijke boek voor de kleine beoefenaars der Engelsche taal. Eerste stuk.
Arnhem: W.H. Stenfert Kroese, 1853
BC
A1
- 1854 **ANON.**
De nieuwe volmaakte Engelsche en Amerikaansche tolk of beknopt en toch voor de behoefte volledig en zeer gemakkelijk onderrigt in de Engelsche taal, voor allen, die dezelve, ook zonder les nemen, willen aanleeren.
Amsterdam: J.H. Gebhard en Comp., 1854
BC
A1
- 1854 **ANON.**
Engelsche koopmans-correspondentie, bevattende eene verzameling van 170 modelbrieven enz.
Leyden, D. Noothoven van Goor ('s-Gravenhage, Charles Ewings), 1854
HHB 1856; BC
A2 B2,14
Engelsche koopmans-correspondentie, eene verzameling van 170 op de meest moeilijke in de verschillende takken van handel voorkomende gevallen toepasselijke modelbrieven, waarvan de vorm en de bewoordingen aan het werkelijke handelsverkeer zijn ontleend.
Second edition. Leyden: D. Noothoven van Goor, 1858. – 136 pp. Forum 1994
Fourth edition 1875. BC
Engelsche koopmans-correspondentie bevattende eene in vorm en beantwoordingen aan het werkelijk handelsverkeer ontleende verzameling van 170 modelbrieven, toepasselijk op de meest moeilijke zoowel als op de gewone gevallen, die in de verschillende takken van handel voorkomen. Fifth edition. Rotterdam: D. Bolle, 1890. BC

- 1854 **BARTLETT, JOHN RUSSEL & KEIJZER, M.**
Woordenboek van Americanismen
 Gorinchem: J. Noorduyn en Zn 1854. – XXX + 96 pp.
 Claes 1995
 A6
- 1854 **COWAN, F.M., & MAATJES, A.B.**
Leercursus ter beoefening der Engelsche taal. Eerste gedeelte. Practische Inleiding.
 Amsterdam: J.H. Gebhard en Comp., 1854. – 84 pp.
 HHB 1857 (book review), BC
 A1
 Second ed. 1858. UBA
 Third ed. 1861. UBA
 Fourth ed. 1866. UBA
 Fifth ed. 1869. UBA
 Sixth ed. 1871. UBA
 Seventh ed. 1874. UBA
 Eighth ed. 1877. UBA; UBL. Amsterdam: P.N. van Kampen en Zoon
 Ninth ed. 1882. UBA (book review in *De Wekker* 1882-10)
 Twelfth ed. revised by A. Caland 1898. BC
 Thirteenth ed. 1916. BC
- 1854 **THOMSON, H.**
A Vocabulary of Dutch and English words and expressions, likewise the approximative value of English money, weights and measures with those in Holland, for the use of schools and private students.
 Amsterdam: Wed. G. Goossens, 1854
 BC
 A5
- 1854 **VINK, K.H.**
Foutieve opstellen ter toepassing van de regels der Engelsche taal.
 Amsterdam: J.D. Sybrandi, 1854
 UBA
 A2 B10
- 1854 **VINK, K.H.,**
Verbeteringen der: Foutieve opstellen ter toepassing van de regels der Engelsche taal.
 Amsterdam: J.D. Sybrandi, 1854
 BC
 A7 B10
- 1855 **GERDES, E.**
Nieuwe Leerwijze der Engelsche taal. Eerste cursus.
 Amsterdam: P.N. van Kampen, 1855
 UBA; HHB 1857
 A1
 Second ed. 1858. UBA
 Third ed. 1863. UBA
 Fourth ed. 1868. BC
 Fifth ed. 1873. UBA
 Sixth ed. 1883. BC

- 1855 GUNN, C.H.
The English delectus, part one.
 Rotterdam: Van Gogh & Oldenzeel (H. Altmann), 1855
 BC
 A2 B1
- 1855 GUNN, C.H.
Examination Questions on the English delectus.
 Rotterdam: Van Gogh & Oldenzeel (H. Altmann), 1855
 BC
 A8
- 1855 LINDO, MARK PRAGER
Grondbeginselen der Engelsche Spraakleer.
 Arnhem: D.A. Thieme, 1855.
 KB; UBA
 A3
 “Nieuwe Uitgave”, Zwolle: W.E.J. Tjeenk Willink, 1874. BC
 Second ed. revised by J. Beckering Vinckers, 1880. BC
- 1855 PEEL, E.
Nieuwe practische en gemakkelijke leerwijze ter beoefening der Engelsche taal, bevattende eene uitgebreide verzameling van opstellen over de etymologie, den syntaxis en de idiomen, ten gebruike van gymnasiën en instituten en tot zelfoefening ingerigt; benevens een aanhangsel van lees-vertaallessen. Eerste deel.
 Utrecht: J.G. Broese, 1855
Bijdragen 1856
 A1
 Second improved and enlarged ed. 1861. BC
 Third ed. 1871. BC
 Fourth ed. 1886. BC
- 1855 ROORDA VAN EYSINGA, J.C.W.
Alphabetisch Nederduitsch-Fransch-Engelsch-Hoogduitsch handboek der meest gebruikelijke zelfstandige naamwoorden, in hoofdstukken afgedeeld.
 Enkhuizen: H. de Ringh/Rotterdam: J.F.K. Schwaebe, 1855
 BC; Claes 1995: 157
 A5
- 1856 ANON.
Engelsche spraakwendingen. Eigenaardige en uitgezochte zegswijzen der Engelsche taal, uit de beste schrijvers der laatste jaren verzameld en van eene Nederduitsche vertaling voorzien, door den bewerker van Prof. Bisschofs Fransche Spraakwendingen.
 Zutphen: A.E.C. van Someren, 1856
HHB 1856; UBA
 A5
- 1856 COWAN, F.M.
The English student's companion: A dictionary of verbs, substantives and adjectives with the prepositions they govern, according to the authority of the best English classics; principally followed from Melford's phraseology dictionary.
 Amsterdam: M.H. Binger and Sons, 1856
 UBA

- A5
 Second ed. 1858. *NTPB* 1859
 Another second ed. Zalt-Bommel: Joh. Noman en Zoon, 1861. UBA
- 1856 COWAN, F.M. & MAATJES, A.B.
Leercursus ter beoefening der Engelsche taal. Tweede gedeelte. Theoretisch-praktische Spraakkunst.
 Amsterdam: J.H. Gebhard en Comp. 1856. – 168 pp.
 UBA; KB; *HHB* 1857
- A3
 Second ed. 1861. BC
 Third ed. 1864. BC
 Fourth ed. 1868. UBA
 Fifth ed. 1871. UBA
 Sixth ed. 1873. BC
 Seventh ed. 1877. UBA
 Eighth revised ed., Amsterdam: P.N. van Kampen en Zoon, 1881. UBA
 Ninth revised ed. 1887. BC
 Tenth ed. revised by A. Caland 1897. BC
- 1856 ENGELBERTS GERRITS, G.
Third English reading-book, or instructive and familiar lessons, adapted to the use of schools and gymnasia, and provided with the translation of the most difficult words and phrases. Selected, arranged and compiled from the best authors.
 Amsterdam: G. Portielje and Son, 1856
 UBA
 A2 B1,7
- 1856 GERDES, E.
Engelsch leesboek voor de scholen. Twee stukken.
 Amsterdam: F.C. Bührmann, 1856
 UBA
 A2 B1
- 1856 GERDES, E.
Nieuwe Leerwijze der Engelsche taal. Tweede cursus.
 Amsterdam: P.N. van Kampen, 1856.
 UBA; *NTPB* 1857
- A1
 Second edition 1862. UBA
- c1856 GUNN, C.H.
De Engelsche taalmeester. Handleiding om in vijftig lessen de Engelsche taal grondig te leeren kennen.
 Second edition. Rotterdam: Oldenzeel, 1859
Bijdragen 1859.
 A1
 Third improved ed. Amsterdam: G. Theod. Bom, 1862. UBA
 Fourth improved ed. 1864. UBA
 Note: it is not known when the first edition came out.

c1856 MUNDE, CARL

Verzameling van Brieven ter Vertaling in het Engelsch, ten gebruike voor enigzins gevorderde Leerlingen, naar het Hoogduitsch van Dr. Carl Munde.

Tiel: A. Van Loon, without date

HHB 1856

A2 B6

1856 PEEL, E.

Nieuwe practische en gemakkelijke leerwijze ter beoefening der Engelsche taal, bevattende eene uitgebreide verzameling van opstellen over de etymologie, den syntaxis en de idiomen, ten gebruike van gymnasiën en instituten en tot zelfoefening ingerigt; benevens een aanhangsel van lees- en vertaallessen. Tweede deel.

Utrecht: J.G. Broese, 1856

BC

A1

Second improved ed. 1861. BC

1856 SLATER, JOHN HUDDLESTON

A Concise Grammar of the English Language, for the use of Dutch students.

Utrecht: Post Uiterweer en Co., 1856

BC

A3

Second ed. Rotterdam: Altmann en Roosenburg, 1871. BC

Third ed. Rotterdam: P.H. Roosenburg, 1872. UBA

Fourth ed. 1877. UBA; GBR

Fifth ed. 1885, UBA (book review in *De Wekker* 1884-11)

1856 ZEEGERS, L.Th.

Selections from British authors. A classbook, to facilitate the study of the English language, and to serve as an introduction to English literature.

Amsterdam, H.A. Frijlink, 1856

HHB 1857 has: VIII + 162 pp.

A2 B1

New Edition, with a vocabulary containing the most difficult words in this book.

Amsterdam: G.L. Funke (C.L. Brinkman), 1869. BC

1856 ZEEGERS, L.Th.

Vocabulary containing a collection of the most difficult words to be found in the Selections from British authors.

Amsterdam: H.A. Frijlink (G.L.Funke), 1856

HHB 1857 has: 43 pp.

A5

1857 ANON

Verzameling van Koopmans-brieven, ter verkrijging van een zuiver Engelschen koopmansstijl.

Second edition revised by A. van Otterloo and J. Thomson. Amsterdam, H. Frijlink, 1857

A2 B2,14

Fourth edition revised by A. van Otterloo, Leiden: D. Noothoven van Goor ('s-Hage, Charles Ewings), 1879. BC

- 1857 COWAN, F.M. & MAATJES, A.B.
Leercursus ter beoefening der Engelsche taal. Derde gedeelte. Engelsch Lees- en vertaalboek voor eerstbeginnenden; eene verzameling van stukken in Proza en Poëzy, Eerste stuk.
 Amsterdam: J.H. Gebhard en Comp., 1857. – 112 pp.
 HHB 1857; BC
 A2 B1,5
 Second ed. 1862. UBA
 Third ed. 1867. UBA
 Fourth ed. 1872. UBA
 Sixth ed. revised by A. Caland. Amsterdam: P.N. van Kampen en Zoon, 1890. BC
- 1857 ENGELBERTS GERRITS, G.
English Spelling-book adapted to the capacities of children.
 Amsterdam: G. Portielje and Son, 1857
 BC
 A2 B9
- 1857 JACKSON, HENRY & LANGE, JAN DE
Gids in de Engelsche zamenleving of eene uitgezochte Verzameling van dagelijks te pas komende Gesprekken, Engelsch en Hollandsch, waarbij gelet is op het eigenaardig en veelzijdig gebruik, inzonderheid der Werkwoorden, met duidelijke aanwijzing, tevens van de klemtoon.
 Leyden: D. Noothoven van Goor, 1857.
 NPTB 1861 (X +155 pp.)
 A5
- 1857 RIJNENBERG, L.
A day well spent. Eene bijdrage tot de kennis der Engelsche volkstaal, met vele ophelderingen, geschikt tot vertaalboekje voor de middelbare scholen enz., door L. Rijnenberg, Privaat-Onderwijzer te Dordrecht. Met aanbeveling van den zoo gunstig bekenden schrijver J. Kramers Jz. 64 pp., prijs f 0,35.
 Dordrecht: J.P. Revers, 1857
 NTPB 1858 (book review), *Bijdragen* 1863 (book review)
 A2 B1,5
- 1858 ATWELL, H.
A Lesson in English. First and Second Series.
 Leyden: P.H. van den Heuvel (Amsterdam: H.J. van Kesteren), 1858
 NTPB 1858
 A1
- 1858 GERDES, E.
Engelsche leesboek voor de scholen. Tweede stuk.
 Amsterdam, P.N. van Kampen, 1858
 UBA; NPTB 1858 has: F.C. Buhrmann
 A2 B1
- 1858 KEIJZER, M.
A Handbook of the English Language. Handboek voor de Engelsche taal.
 Schiedam: H.A.M. Roelants, 1858
 BC
 A1

- 1858 **MULLER, M.**
De Engelsche taal in drie maanden tijds te leeren lezen, schrijven en spreken. Voor Nederlanders bewerkt.
 Amsterdam: J. Salis, 1858
 BC
 A1
- 1859 **COWAN, F.M. & MAATJES, A.B.**
Leercursus ter beoefening der Engelsche taal. Vierde gedeelte. Lees- en vertaalboek. Tweede stuk.
 Amsterdam: J.H. Gebhard en Comp., 1859
 BC
 A2 B1,5
 Second ed. 1867. UBA
- 1859 **GUNN, C.H.**
The historical reader and translator.
 Rotterdam: Oldenzeel. London: G.J. Palmer, 1859
 Plug 1997
 A2 B1,7
- 1859 **JAEGER, A. (J. Kramer Jzn.)**
A new pocket-dictionary of the English-Dutch and Dutch-English languages; containing also a vocabulary of proper names and a catalogue of the irregular verbs
 Gouda: G.B. van Goor Zn, 1859. – 701pp.
 BC; Posthumus 1993; Claes 1995:66
 A6
 Second edition 1864. – 702 pp. Claes 1995:66
New pocket-dictionary of the English-Dutch and Dutch-English languages, projected by A. Jaeger. Third edition. Gouda: G.B. van Goor Zn, 1876. – 714 pp. BC; Kruseman 1886; Claes 1995:66.
 Fourth edition 1880. – 724pp. Claes 1995:66
A new pocket-dictionary of the English-Dutch and Dutch-English languages; containing also in the first part after every word the declaration of the pronunciation, likewise a vocabulary of proper names, geographical and historical. Fifth edition. Gouda: G.B. van Goor Zn, 1887. – 752 pp. BC; Claes 1995:66
Pocket dictionary of the English-Dutch and Dutch-English languages, containing also: in the first part after every word the pronunciation, likewise a vocabulary of proper names, geographical and historical, by J.H.
 Van der Voort. Sixth edition. Gouda: G.B. Van Goor Zonen, 1906. – 701 pp. BC; Claes 1995:66
Kramers' Engelsch woordenboek Engelsch – Nederlandsch en Nederlandsch – Engelsch. Seventh revised and enlarged ed. by J.H. Van der Voort. Gouda: G.B. Van Goor Zonen, 1910. – X + 1065 pp. Claes 1995:66
Kramers' Nieuw Engelsch woordenboek. Eighth ed. edited by F.P.H. Prick van Wely and J.H. Van der Voort. Gouda: G.B. Van Goor Zonen, 1917-1919. BC; Claes 1995:66. Note: Claes (1995:66) has: 2 vols., X + 900 pp., VI + 995 pp. For later editions see Claes 1995.

1859 LUDOLPH, L.J.C.

Engelsch leerboekje voor eerstbeginnenden.

Rotterdam: Hoog & Trénité, 1859,

BC

A5

Second ed. Gorinchem: J. Noorduyt en Zoon, 1863. BC

Sixth ed. 1879, UBT

Ninth ed. 1895. BC

Note: Ludolph had a similar textbook published for French in 1872 (Rotterdam: W.L. Stoeller) (see B&C 1982).

1859 VOS, J.G.R.

English Grammar, for the use of the Cadets of the Royal Naval College at Willemsoord.

Nieuwediep: J.C. de Buissonjé, 1859

BC

A3

Second revised and enlarged ed. 1872. UBA

Third revised and enlarged ed. 1879. BC

1860 ERDBRINK, D.R.

Engelsch vertaalboek voor zeelieden, om die taal in korten tijd te leeren. Bevatende een verzameling van taalkundige opstellen met benamingen, termen, uitdrukkingen en volzinnen betreffende zeevaart, zeezaken enz. doelmatig voor zeevaartkundige scholen. Met een woordenboek.

Amsterdam: C.F. Stemler, 1860.

BC

A2 B5,12

Engelsch vertaalboek voor zeelieden, om die taal in korten tijd te leeren. Bevatende eene verzameling van taalkundige opstellen met benamingen, termen, uitdrukkingen en volzinnen betreffende zeevaart, zeezaken, enz. (Met een woordenboekje). Herzien door H.F. Ewers.

Second revised ed. Amsterdam: C.F. Stemler, 1896. BC

1860 MEESTERS, GEB. SCHILPEROORT, A.B. VAN

First Dutch and English vocabulary for young beginners; followed by dialogues of three children. Nederlandsch en Engelsch woordenboek voor eerstbeginnenden.

Arnhem: J.F. Thieme (Amsterdam, G. Theod. Bom), 1860

UBA; BC

A5

1860 PLANTENGA BZ, P.

Eene reis naar Londen, in twaalf lessen, gevolgd door eenige lees- en vertaaloefeningen en een aantal brieven. Eenvoudige handleiding om Engelsch te leeren spreken, ook zonder onderwijzer. Zutphen: (W.J.Thieme & Co.), 1860

BC; Thic2

A1

c1860 ROBERTSON/WAGENAAR

Robertson's nieuw-methodische practische Inleiding tot de Engelsche Taal, voor Nederlanders bewerkt.

Amsterdam: Schalekamp, van de Grampel en Bakker, without year. – 430 pp.

NPTB 1860 (book review)

A1

1861 BRUIN, SERVAAS DE

Nieuw Engelsch woordenboek in twee deelen. I Engelsch-Hollandsch; II Hollandsch-Engelsch, waarbij in deel I achter ieder woord aanschouwelijk de uitspraak, grootendeels Webster gevolgd; vooral met het oog op de behoeften van hen, die de Engelsche taal aanleeren, en van hen die het Engelsch gebruiken in het practische leven, naar de beste bronnen bewerkt.

Leiden, D.Noothoven van Goor ('s-Hage, Joh.IJkema), 1861. – 2 vols. vol. E-D VI + 832 pp., vol. D-E VIII + 424 pp.

BC; Thie2; Claes 1995:62

A6

Second revised and enlarged ed., two volumes. Leiden, D.Noothoven van Goor, without year. – VIII + 988 pp., VIII + 626 pp. BC; Thieme2; Claes 1995:62

Third ed. 's-Gravenhage, Joh. IJkema, 1882-1883. BC; Thieme2; Claes 1995:62

Fourth ed. without year. Zutphen: Thieme c1896. DDT; Thieme2; Claes (1995:62) has: VIII + 988 pp., VIII + 608 pp. and 1898 as year of publication.

1861 DEGENHARDT, RUDOLPH/K.H. VINK

Practisch Leerboek tot het spoedig en grondig leeren der Engelsche Taal, door Dr. Rudolph Degenhardt. Naar de Hoogduitsche uitgave voor Nederlanders bewerkt door K.H. Vink, onderwijzer in de Engelsche taal te Amsterdam.

Amsterdam: Johannes Müller, 1861

UBA; *Bijdragen* 1862; *NTPB* 1861. – VII + 248 pp.

A1

Third edition 1873. BC

Note: See Klippel (1994:314) on Rudolph Degenhardt.

1861 HEINTZ, C.A.

Gronden der Engelsche Spraakkunst, met oefeningen ter toepassing der regels, voor enigszins gevorderden, vrij bewerkt naar W. Lennie, Principles of English Grammar.

Leijden: P. Engels, 1861

Bijdragen 1862 (book review)

A3

1861 HOFFMANN, J.

Winkelgesprekken in het Engelsch, Hollandsch en Japansch. Bewerkt en met voorkennis van Z. Exc. de Minister van Koloniën J.P. Cornets de Groot van Kraaijenburg uitgegeven.

's-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1861

UB Maastricht; BC

A2 B4,10

1861 JACOBI, P.

De uitspraak der Engelsche taal toegelicht.

Zutphen: W. Thieme (Amsterdam, G.D.Bom), 1861

BC

A4

1861 PEEL, E.

A handbook of English, French and Dutch conversation especially arranged for the use of schools and self-instructors.

Utrecht: Nolet and Son, 1861.

UBA; BC

A2 B4,10

1862 BEEK, J. VAN DER

Verzameling van stukken om in het Engelsch te vertalen; ten gebruike van meer-gevorderden.

's-Hertogenbosch, W.C. van Heusden, 1862

NTPB 1862. – 215 pp.

A2 B6

Third ed. 1877. BC

1862 CRÜGER, CARL/ BRINK, A.J. TEN

English readingbook. Engelsch leesboek ten gebruike van den Nederlandschen leerling, bezorgd door A.J. Ten Brink.

Utrecht: C. van der Post, 1862

BC

A2 B1 Crüger

1862 MAATJES, A.B.

Engelsche Vertaal oefeningen, ten vervolge op de Theoretisch-Praktische Spraakkunst der Engelsche taal door F.M. Cowan en A.B. Maatjes.

Amsterdam: J.H. Gebhard en Comp., 1862

UBA

A2 B5

Second edition 1868. BC

Third edition 1873. UBL; BC has: third edition. Amsterdam: J.H. Gebhard en Comp. 1877

Fourth edition. Amsterdam: P.N. van Kampen en Zoon, 1887. BC

1862 MAATJES, A.B.

Key to the English translation-exercises (Engelsche vertaal oefeningen).

Amsterdam: J.H. Gebhard en Co., 1862,

BC

A7

Second edition 1871. UBL

1862 MEIJER, J.H.

Inleiding tot de beoefening der Engelsche taal, met een overzicht van de regels der uitspraak. Eerste stukje.

Deventer: A.J. van den Sigtenhorst, 1862

BC

A1

Second revised and enlarged ed. 1869. BC

1863 ANON.

De vlugge Engelschman of handleiding om zonder onderwijzer in korten tijd Engelsch te leeren lezen, spreken en schrijven. Door den schrijver van "de vlugge Franschman". Naar den 5den Hoogduitschen druk bewerkt.

Kampen: K. van Hulst (G.Ph. Zalsman), 1863

BC; *Bijdragen* 1863 (book review)

A1

Third revised ed. 1868. BC

Fourth improved ed. 1873. BC

Fifth ed. 1879. BC

Sixth ed. 1883. BC

Seventh ed. 1889. BC

Thirteenth ed. 1905. BC

Fourteenth ed. 1908. BC

Note 1: The Dutch editor of this successful multi-lingual series is unknown. Possibly it was S. de Bruin or B. Dingemans.

Note 2: The Brinkman Catalogue 1850-1882 index mentions B. Dingemans as the author of "De vlugge Engelschman" and "De kleine Engelschman". However, this information is not confirmed by the entry "Dingemans, B." in the catalogue itself.

1863 BEEK, J. VAN DER

Opgave der moeilijkste woorden en uitdrukkingen ter vertaling in het Engelsch van de verzameling van stukken ten gebruike van meergevorderden.

's-Hertogenbosch, W.C. Van Heusden, 1863

BC

A5

1863 BRUIN, SERVAAS DE

De Engelsche Meester, een gemakkelijke leiddraad voor onderwijzers om aan hunne leerlingen spoedig en goed Engelsch te leeren; en tevens een snelwerkend en veilig hulpboek tot eigen oefening.

Utrecht: C. van der Post, 1863

UBA

A1

Second ed. 1868. BC

Third ed. 1874. BC

Fifth ed. 1890. BC

Sixth ed. 1898. BC

Note 1: Servaas de Bruin notes in his preface to the first edition that his work was an adaptation of Carl Crüger's *Lehrbuch der Englischen Sprache* (Kiel 1861) (see Macht 1986:206).

1863 BRUIN, SERVAAS DE

Homonymy in English. A key to correctness in spelling. Transcribed and explained for the use of students.

The Hague, P.J. Kraft (Amsterdam, G.D.Bom), 1863

BC

A5

1863 CRUMP, WILLIAM

English as it is spoken; being a series of familiar dialogues on various subjects. Adapted for the use of Dutch students and schools.

Leiden: Van den Heuvel en Van Santen, 1863

BC

A2 B4,12

Second ed. 1865. KB

Third ed. 1867. BC

Fourth revised ed. 1872. BC

Fifth revised ed. Leiden: P. Van Santen, 1877. BC

Seventh ed. revised by Servaas de Bruin. Utrecht: Gebr. van der Post, 1893. BC

1863 GUNN, C.H.

Key to the exercises in C.H. Gunn's Engelsche Taalmeester. Exclusively for the use of teachers.

Amsterdam: G. Theod. Bom, 1863.

UBA

A7

1863 LUDOLPH, L.J.C.

Oefeningen in het schrijven en spreken der Engelsche taal. Eerste gedeelte.

Rotterdam: W.L. Stoeller, 1863

GBR

A2 B2,4 Munde

Second ed. 1870. UBA

Third ed. Gorinchem: J. Noorduy en Zoon, 1875. BC

Note: According to the preface this book is partially based on Carl Munde's coursebook *Erster Unterricht im Englischen* (1844) (see Klippel 1994:338).

1863 MEIJER, J.H.

Manual of letter-writing, containing an number of models on familiar and commercial subjects, cards, notes, and various exercises on epistolary composition etc.

Deventer, A.J. van den Sigtenhorst (Amsterdam, G.Theod. Bom), 1863

BC

A2 B2,14

1864 ANON.

Algemeen woordenboek der Engelsche en Nederlandsche talen, in 2 delen. Volgens de beste bronnen bewerkt door eenige taalkundigen.

Gorinchem: J. Noorduy en Zn., 1864

Claes 1995:60

A6

Algemeen woordenboek der Engelsche en Nederlandsche taal. Twee delen.

Leiden: D. Noothoven van Goor (Rotterdam, D. Bolle), 1876. BC; Claes 1995:60

Fifth revised edition. Gouda, G.B. van Goor Zn, 1887. BC

1864 DINGEMANS, B.

Beknopte Engelsche Spraakkunst. Hoofdzakelijk bewerkt naar Walter M'Leod's Explanatory English Grammar.

Zutphen: J.A. Willemsen 1864

BC; Thieme2; Plug 1997

A3

Second ed. Zutphen: W.J. Thieme & Cie. 1869. UBA; Thieme2; Plug 1997

1864 DINGEMANS, B.

Practische oefeningen ten gebruike bij het onderwijs in de Engelsche taal. Voor inrichtingen van lager en middelbaar onderwijs, naar het Engelsch bewerkt.

Zutphen: W.J. Thieme & Cie., 1864

UBA; Thieme2

A2

1864 GEUS, H. DE

The principal rules of the English language, and their application elucidated by examples in a practical manner.

Amsterdam: C.L. Brinkman, 1864

BC

A3

1864 **JACOBI, P.**

Het gebruik der Engelsche werkwoorden, gevolgd van voorzetsels, opgehelderd door voorbeelden. (compleet in circa 8 afleveringen)

Doesborgh: W. Beeking, 1864-1867

BC; *Bijdragen* 1865 (book review)

A5

Het gebruik der Engelsche werkwoorden, opgehelderd door voorbeelden, voortgezet door Servaas de Bruin. Negende aflevering. Zutphen: W.J. Thieme en Co., 1878. BC

Het gebruik der Engelsche werkwoorden gevolgd van voorzetsels, opgehelderd met voorbeelden. Na zijnen dood voltooid door Servaas de Bruin. Zutphen: W.J. Thieme en Co., 1879. KB; book review in *Wekker* 1879-6

1864 **MARONIER, P.**

Zamenspraken in vier talen (Hollandsch, Fransch, Engelsch en Hoogduitsch).

Ten gebruike bij school- en huisonderwijs.

's-Hertogenbosch: W.C. Van Heusden, 1864

BC

A2 B4,10

1864 **SLATER, J.H. & SLOOT, A.J.H.**

Practical lessons and exercises in English, for beginners.

Rotterdam: Hendrik Altmann, 1864

UBA

A1

1864 **VOGIN, H.J.**

Leercursus der Engelsche taal in drie deelen. Eerste deel. Lees- en vertaalboek met regels voor de uitspraak en spelling.

Tiel: A. van Loon, 1864,

BC

A2 B1,5,8,13

Third ed. 1873. UBA

Note: From the preface to the third edition it appears that the second edition came out in 1867.

1864 **VOGIN, H.J.**

Leercursus der Engelsche taal in drie deelen. Tweede deel. Woordvorming en woordbuiging met opstellen tot oefening.

Tiel: A. van Loon, 1864

BC

A1

Second ed. 1868. Reference in preface to 3rd ed. (1880)

Third ed. 1880. UBA

1864 **ZIMMERMANN, WILHELM/DINGEMANS, B.**

Zimmermann's Korte Engelsche lees- en vertaal oefeningen. Voor de Nederlandsche scholen in inrigtingen van onderwijs (uit het Hoogduitsch) bewerkt door B. Dingemans.

Sneek: Van Druten en Bleeker, 1864

BC; *Bijdragen* 1865 (book review); Plug 1997

A2 B1,5

Second revised ed. 1869. BC
Third ed. Sneek: J.F. van Druten, 1877. BC
Fourth revised ed. 1884. BC
Sixth revised ed. 1902. PBF

1864 **ZIMMERMANN, WILHELM/B. DINGEMANS**

W. Zimmermann's Engelsche spraakkunst. Een leer-, lees- en vertaalboek. Naar den achtste druk uit het Hoogduitsch bewerkt door B. Dingemans.

Sneek: Van Druten en Bleeker (J.F. van Druten), 1864

UBA; Plug 1997.

A1

Engelsche spraakkunst. Opnieuw bewerkt naar den 15en Hoogduitschen druk, door P.H. van Moerkerken. Second ed. 1871, Sneek: Van Druten en Bleeker. BC

W. Zimmermann's Engelsche spraakkunst. Naar den 14en Hoogduitschen druk bewerkt door P.H. van Moerkerken. Third ed. Sneek: J.F. van Druten, 1875. UBA

Fourth ed. revised by P.H. van Moerkerken 1880. BC

Fifth revised ed. 1883. KB

Sixth ed. 1887. BC

1865 **ANON.**

Spraakboek voor reizenden, in vier talen: Engelsch, Fransch, Duitsch en Hollandsch. Met woordenlijst, vragen, gesprekken enz.

Deventer: A. ter Gunne, 1865

BC

A2 B4,10,11,12

1865 **ANON.**

Taalgids voor reizigers, tot het voeren van gesprekken in de Hollandsche, Fransche, Duitsche en Engelsche talen, woordenlijsten, korte vragen, zamenspraken, brieven, alsmede tafels van de betrekkelijke waarde van Hollandsch, Fransch, Duitsch en Engelsch geld. Naar de beste bronnen, hoofdzakelijk naar Baedekers "Manuel", voor Nederlanders bewerkt.

Zutphen: P.B. Plantenga, 1865

BC

A2 B4,10,11

Note: the editor of these language guidebooks might well have been Servaas de Bruin, for Thieme published a number of *Taalgidsen* for French, German, English, Spanish and Italian, all edited by De Bruin (cf. Thieme2).

1865 **ANON.**

Woorden en zamenspraken in de Hollandsche, Fransche, Duitsche en Engelsche talen. Leiddraad voor degenen, welke die talen grondig en gemakkelijk willen leeren spreken en schrijven.

Zutphen: P.B. Plantenga, 1865

BC

A2 B2,4,10,11,12

1865 **KNIGHT, G./HOFMAN, C.A.**

The new London Echo, eene verzameling van Engelsche spreekwijzen, in geregelde gesprekken, zooals zij in de samenleving in London dagelijks gehoord kunnen worden. Naar de derde vermeerderde en verbeterde uitgave. Voor Nederlanders bewerkt, en van eene volledige woordenlijst ter vertaling voorzien door C.A. Hofman.

Amsterdam: C.L. Brinkman, 1865

UBA

A5

The New London Echo, eene verzameling van Engelsche spreekwijzen, in gesprekken, zoals zij in de samenleving in Londen dagelijks gehoord worden. 2e druk voor Nederlanders bewerkt en van eene volledige woordenlijst ter vertaling voorzien door C.A. Hofman.

Zutphen, W.J. Thieme & Co., 1884. BC

1865 **SADLER, W.**

Rules for the pronunciation & orthography of the English language; designed as an appendix to the existing English courses.

Leiden: Gebr. van der Hoek, 1865

BC

A4

1866 **ANON.**

English Reading Lessons. Extracted from the works of eminent English writers, designed as an instructive amusement for young persons of both sexes to improve their language. for schools and private learning. With a complete vocabulary.

Zwolle, E.E.J. Tjeenk Willink, 1866

BC

A2 B1,11,12

1866 **ANON.**

First English readingbook for young students of the English language.

Amsterdam: Schalekamp, van de Grampel and Bakker, 1866

BC

A2 B1

c1866 **KRAMER Jzn, J.**

Technologische woordentolk in vier talen, waarin de technische termen van het Fransch, Engelsch en Hoogduitsch, naar alphabetische volgorde niet alleen in het Nederlandsch, maar ook in de vreemde talen vertolkt of verklaard worden.

Gouda, G.B. van Goor Zonen, 1866-1874

BC

A6

1866 **PAK, TIELEMAN**

Campagne's schoolwoordenboek der Engelsche en Nederlandsche talen, naar de beste bronnen bewerkt door Tieleman Pak

Tiel, H.C.A. Campagne (& Zn), 1866

BC; Posthumus 1993; Claes 1995:68

A6

Second revised edition by B. Wijnhoff, 1877. BC

Third revised edition. Tiel. H.C.A. Campagne & Zn., 1889. – VII +710 pp. BC;

Claes 1995:68

Campagne's woordenboek der Engelsche en Nederlandsche talen. Fourth edition revised and enlarged by R. van Duinen. Amsterdam: H.C.A. Campagne & Zn., 1904 – VIII + 968 pp. Claes 1995:68. Note: The scope of Tieleman Pak's *Schoolwoordenboek* of 1866 was widened into a more general dictionary after it had been revised by R. Van Duinen to become the fourth edition.

Fifth edition revised and enlarged 1908. – VII + 1070 pp. Claes 1995:68
 Sixth edition revised and considerably enlarged by R. van Duinen. Amsterdam:
 H.C.A. Campagne & Zn., 1914. – IX + 1248 pp. Claes 1995:68
 Seventh edition revised and enlarged c1923. BC
 Eighth edition revised and enlarged 1924. – VIII + 1427 pp. 's-Hertogenbosch:
 L.C.G. Malmberg 1924. BC; Claes 1995:68
 Note: For later editions see Claes 1995:68.

1866 PLAYTER, H.F.

*The English primer or first elements of the English language, for the use of beginners both
 in schools and in private study rooms.*

Amsterdam: L. Van Bakkenes en Co., 1866

UBA

A1

1866 STEVENS, J.

*Leerboek der Engelsche taal naar Ollendorff's methode, voor Nederlanders bewerkt.
 Eerste stukje.*

Amsterdam: Schalekamp, van de Grampel en Bakker, 1866

BC

A1 Ollendorff

1866 THOMSON, J.

*Do you speak English? Spreekt gij Engelsch? Eene keur van woorden die het meest in
 gebruik zijn, benevens eene verzaameling van gesprekken in het Engelsch en Hollandsch
 over verschillende onderwerpen. Ingerigt naar de behoefte van den tegenwoordigen tijd.*

Amsterdam: G. Theod. Bom, 3rd revised ed. 1866

UBA

A5

Note: this book may well be the third edition of Anon. 1850. In its turn, the 1866
 edition was the basis for Poutsma (1893).

1866 VOGIN, H.J.

English syntax and exercises, being the third part of Leercursus der Engelsche Taal.

Tiel: A. van Loon, 1866, preface to 3rd ed. 1872;

A3

Second edition 1868. Reference in preface to 3rd ed. 1872

Third edition 1872. UBA

1867 ANON./RIJNENBERG, L.

*De kleine Engelschman. Praktische aanleiding tot het verkrijgen eener goede uitspraak
 der Engelsche taal, tevens geschikt als vertaalboekje voor eerstbeginnenden, door den
 bewerker van "A Day well spent".*

Amsterdam: H. de Hoogh, 1867

BC

A1

Note 1: A "new" edition appeared in 1875 (Zutphen: A.E.C. van Someren)

Note 2: The textbook "A day well spent" was written by L. Rijnenberg.

1868 ANON. (R.)

*Reisvriend naar Amerika. Een tolk voor Nederlandsche landverhuizers. Beknopte hand-
 leiding tot zelfonderricht, om de Engelsche taal vlug en gemakkelijk te leeren spreken en
 verstaan. Bevattende tevens eenige practische wenken omtrent den overtocht naar Amerika.*

Groningen: G.J. Reits, 1868

BC

A1

1868 BEEK, J. VAN DER

Oefeningen ter vertaling in het Fransch, Engelsch en Hoogduitsch bestemd voor enigszins gevorderde leerlingen in die talen.

's-Hertogenbosch, W.C. van Heusden, 1868

BC

A2 B6

Second edition 1873. BC

1868 CHESTERFIELD, PHILIP DORMER STANHOPE, EARL OF

Chesterfield's Advice to his Son. Vertaalstudie, ten gebruike zoowel bij school- en huis-onderwijs als bij eigen oefening zonder leermeester, voor Nederlanders bewerkt door Servaas de Bruin.

Utrecht: C. van der Post Jr., 1868

BC

A2 B7

1868 LANGENSCHIEDT, G.

Volledige leercursus in 18 brieven (les 1-36) om zonder onderwijzer, uitsluitend door eigen oefening gemakkelijk en spoedig de Engelsche taal volgens de regelen der spraakkunst en den beschaafden omgangstoon te leeren schrijven en spreken. Naar den 10en druk der methode van Dalen-Lloyd-Langenscheidt, voor Nederlanders bewerkt door Servaas de Bruin.

Zutphen: P. Plantenga 1868

KB

A1

Volledige leercursus in 18 brieven (les 1-36) om zonder onderwijzer, uitsluitend door eigen oefening, gemakkelijk en spoedig de Engelsche taal, volgens de regelen der spraakkunst en den beschaafden omgangstoon te leeren schrijven en spreken. Naar de methode Langenscheidt voor Nederlanders bewerkt door Servaas de Bruin. Third edition.

Zutphen: P. Plantenga, 1873. UBA; UBN

Volledige leercursus in 18 brieven (les 1-36) om zonder onderwijzer, uitsluitend door eigen oefening, gemakkelijk en spoedig de Engelsche taal te leeren schrijven en spreken.

Volgens de methode Toussaint-Langenscheidt, voor Nederlanders bewerkt door Servaas de Bruin. Fourth edition. Zutphen: P. Plantenga, 1880. BC

Volledige leercursus in 18 brieven (les 1-36) om zonder onderwijzer uitsluitend door eigen oefening gemakkelijk en spoedig de Engelsche taal volgens de regelen der spraakkunst en den beschaafden omgangstoon te leeren schrijven en spreken. Naar den 10en druk der methode Langenscheidt voor Nederlanders bewerkt.

Zutphen: W.J. Thieme en Cie. 1896. BC

Volledige leercursus om zonder onderwijzer uitsluitend door eigen oefening gemakkelijk en spoedig de Engelsche taal volgens de regelen der spraakkunst en den beschaafden omgangstoon grondig aan te leeren door Servaas de Bruin. Seventh and eighth editions.

Zutphen: W.J. Thieme & Cie. without year.

Thieme; private collection.

Note: Servaas de Bruin edited and adapted the Langenscheidt courses for a great number of languages, both modern and classical. The lessons were published in

instalments and could be bought separately. The courses appeared for various languages and were intended for private study.

1868 **PESCH, P.F. VAN**

Inleiding tot de Engelsche Spraakkunst.

Amsterdam: J.D. Sybrandi, 1868

BC

A3

1868 **VALKHOFF, J.N.**

Verzameling van stukken ter vertaling in het Engelsch.

Rotterdam: H. Nijgh, 1868

BC; *Bijdragen* 1868 (book review)

A2 B6

1868 **VINK, K.H.**

Oefeningen ter toepassing van de regels der Engelsche taal.

Haarlem: Erven F. Bohn, 1868,

BC; *Bijdragen* 1870 (book review)

Second revised edition 1872. UBA

A2

1869 **HERRIG, LUDWIG**

First English readingbook. Engelsch leesboek voor instituten, gymnasiën en hogere burgerscholen. Met Nederlandsche woordenlijst.

Arnhem: J. Voltelen, 1869

BC

A2 B1

Note 1: Apart from this edition there seems to have been another “first edition” (Amsterdam: J.C.A. Sulpke, 1870. BC).

Note 2: This book is an adaptation of a publication by Herrig 1864. Herrig was well-known for his literary anthology *The British Classical Authors*, which was first published in 1849 (see Klippel 1994:313).

1869 **HOOGENDAM, J.**

Engelsche conversatie. Woorden, spreekwijzen en samenspraken.

Kampen: S. Van Velsen Jr., 1869

BC

A2 B4,11,12

1869 **SUSAN, S.**

Oefeningen ter vertaling in het Fransch, Hoogduitsch en Engelsch. Ten gebruike der hogere klassen van de middelbare scholen en gymnasiën. Met een woordenlijstje, afzonderlijk verkrijgbaar.

Deventer, W. Hulscher G. Jz., 1869

A2 B6,11

Fourth ed. 1881. BC

1869 **TEDING VAN BERKHOUT, B.L.**

Zakwoordenboekje Engelsch-Hollandsch

Arnhem, D.A. Thieme (Amsterdam, J. Vlieger), 1869. – IV + 636 pp.

BC; Claes 1995:71

A6

1869 WICHERS, P.J.

De voornaamste regels der Engelsche taal, benevens eenige losse stukken uit beroemde schrijvers, en een aantal opgaven voor instituten en burgerscholen.

Amsterdam, Henny Koster, 1869

BC

A3

1869 WHATELY, E

A selection of English synonyms, edited by Archbishop Whately

Sixth revised edition. Arnhem: J. Voltelen, 1869

BC

A5

1870 ANON.

Principles of English grammar.

Breda: P.B. Nieuwenhuys, 1870

BC

A3

1870 BRUIN, SERVAAS DE

De Engelse tekst van het te Londen verschenen werkje: A Dutchman's difficulties with the English language, voor Nederlanders verklaard en toegelicht

Zutphen, P. Plantenga Bzn (W.J.Thieme & Co.), 1870

Fourth edition. Zutphen, W.J. Thieme & Cie., 1904. UBL; BC

A2 B1

1870 BRUIN, SERVAAS DE

Volledige leercursus om zonder onderwijzer, uitsluitend door eigen oefening, gemakkelijk en spoedig de Engelsche taal te leeren schrijven en spreken. Volgens de methode Toussaint-Langenscheidt, voor Nederlanders bewerkt door Servaas de Bruin. (eindcursus; 36 lessen)

Zutphen: P. Plantenga 1870, THIE².

A1

Second edition. Zutphen: W.J. Thieme & Cie. 1885, Thieme²

c1870 LUDOLPH, L.J.C.

Oefeningen in het schrijven en spreken der Engelsche taal. Tweede gedeelte.

Gorinchem: J. Noorduyn & Zn., [1870]

A2 B2,4

Second edition 1875. *Bijdragen* 1876 (book review)

1870 MEIJER, J.H.

English grammar adapted for the use of Dutch students. With numerous examples taken from the English and American classical authors and a few exercises.

Deventer: A.J. van den Sigtenhorst, 1870

BC

A3

1870 MILLARD, FREDERICK JOHN

English as it is written. Hollandsche brieven ter vertaling in het Engels

Alphen, W. Cambier van Nooten, 1870

BC

A2 B6,14

Second edition. 1884. BC

1870 **MILLARD, FREDERICK JOHN**

English as it is written. Key to the Dutch letters or reading-book provided with the tonic accent.

Alphen, W. Cambier van Nooten, 1870

BC

A7

Second edition. W. Cambier van Nooten, 1884. BC

1870 **VALKHOFF, J.N.**

Engelsch leesboek met spreek- en vertaal oefeningen.

Purmerend: J. Schuitemaker, 1870

Bijdragen 1870 (book review)

A2 B1,4,5

1871 **CALISCH, J.M., GAUTHIER, P., KUNZE, J. & COWAN, F.M.**

De Handels-correspondent in vier talen (Nederlandsch, Fransch, Hoogduitsch en Engelsch). Revised and enlarged edition by J. Bos Jzn.

Amsterdam: Jan D. Brouwer (Leiden, A.W. Sijthoff), 1871

BC

A2 B14

De Handelscorrespondent in vier talen (Nederlandsch, Fransch, Hoogduitsch, Engelsch). Omgewerkt en vermeerderd met verschillende handelsbrieven, handelsformulieren, eene lijst van in den handel voorkomende woorden en uitdrukkingen enz. door J. Bos Jz.

Fourth edition. Leiden: A.W. Sijthoff. BC

Note: the initials of J.M. Calisch stand for I.M. (Posthumus 1993:44-45)

1871 **CALISCH, I.M.**

New complete dictionary of the English and Dutch languages = Nieuw volledig Engelsch-Nederlandsch en Nederlandsch-Engelsch Woordenboek

Tiel, H.C.A. Campagne & Zn. Vol. 1, English-Dutch, VIII + 919 pp.

BC; Claes 1995:62-63

A6

Second edition revised by N.S. Calisch. Tiel, H.C.A. Campagne & Zn, 1890. BC; Claes 1995:62-63.

Note: The preface to the second edition of the English-Dutch volume dates from November 1890.

Nieuw Woordenboek Nederlandsch-Engelsch en Engelsch-Nederlandsch. fourth ed. revised, improved and enlarged by N.S. Calisch. Leiden: A.W. Sijthoff (Nijmegen-Arnhem: Gebr. E. and M. Cohen), 1890. BC; Claes 1995:63

Nieuw Engelsch Woordenboek. Engelsch-Nederlandsch en Nederlandsch-Engelsch. Sixth ed. improved and enlarged. Arnhem-Nijmegen, Gebr. E. en M. Cohen, 1893. BC; Claes 1995:63

Another edition. Arnhem-Nijmegen, Gebr. E. en M. Cohen, 1901. BC has: tenth improved and enlarged edition

1871 **DEENIK, A.A.**

Thieme's Viertalig zakwoordenboekje, Hollandsch-Fransch-Duitsch-Engelsch

Arnhem, D.A. Thieme (Amsterdam, J. Vlieger), 1871

BC; Claes 1995:154

A6

- 1871 **MERTENS, A.J.**
Complete English grammar for Dutch learners, including numerous examples, exercises [sic!] etc.
 Groningen: J.B. Wolters.
 Second edition 1884. KB; book reviews in *Wekker* 1885-2, 1885-3); WGG
 A3
- 1871 **TIEL, C. VAN**
Voorbereidende cursus tot de beoefening der Engelsche taal, met de noodige taalregels en taalkundige ophelderingen.
 Leiden: J. van der Schouw, 1871
 BC
 A1
 Second improved edition 1876. BC
 Third edition 1880. BC; *Taalstudie* 1880 (book review by C. Stoffel)
 Eighth edition, without year, by J.J. Helsdon Rix. BC
- 1871 **VALKHOFF, J.N.**
The First English Reader. Allereerst Engelsch lees- en vertaalboekje.
 Zaltbommel: H.J. van Garde (Utrecht, C. van Bentum), 1871
 BC
 A2 B1,5
- 1871 **WILLEMSON, S.**
De Engelschman. Eenvoudigste weg tot aanleering van de Engelsche taal.
 Zutphen: P. Plantenga, 1871
 BC
 A1
- 1872 **ANON.**
Conversatieboek. Hollandsch, Fransch, Duitsch en Engelsch.
 Zutphen: P. Plantenga Bzn., 1872
 BC
 A2 B4,10
- 1872 **PEEL, E.**
Handboek tot zelfonderricht in het spreken der Engelsche, Fransche en Nederlandsche talen.
 Amsterdam: G.L. Funke, 1872
 BC
 A2 B4,10
- 1872 **THOMSON, R.**
Orthographical and elliptical exercises on English paronyms and pseudo-synonyms. For the use of schools and private tuition, adapted to the advanced state of education of the day.
 Amsterdam, Gebr. Kraay (J. Vlieger), 1872
 BC
 A2 B9,11,12
- 1872 **VALKHOFF, J.N.**
The Young Teacher. Allereerst Engelsch Lesboekje, naar 't Engelsch bewerkt.
 Groningen: P. Noordhoff en M. Smit, 1872
 UBA

A1

Second edition 1877. BC

Third edition 1880. BC

Fourth edition 1884. BC

Fifth edition. Groningen: P. Noordhoff, 1890. BC

Sixth edition 1897. UBA

Seventh revised edition 1907. BC

Note: In the same year Valkhoff published a similar textbook for French: *Le Petit Précepteur; allereerst Fransch Lesboekje* (cf. B&C 1982). It had been adapted from the French *Le Petit Précepteur* by Grandineau and was first published around 1832 (cf. *British Library Catalogue*).

1872 **VALKHOFF, J.N.**

Vocabulary, containing such words and familiar phrases, as are often used in conversation.

Groningen: P. Noordhoff en M. Smit, 1872.

BC

A5

Second, revised and enlarged edition 1877. BC

Third, revised and enlarged edition 1883. Groningen: P. Noordhoff. – fl 0.80. *DDT* 1890

Fourth, revised and enlarged edition 1892. Book review in *Wekker* 1892-10

Fifth, revised and enlarged edition 1902. UBA

Sixth, revised and considerably enlarged edition 1912. BC

Seventh edition 1923. BC

1872 **VOS, J.G.R.**

Engelsch in den conversatie-stijl, woorden en samenspraken.

Nieuwediep: J.C. de Buissonjé, 1872

BC

A5

Engelsch in den conversatiestijl. Woorden en samenspraken, bestemd voor allen die de Engelsche taal wenschen te leeren spreken en schrijven. 2e druk, geheel herzien, verbeterd en vermeerderd door H.K. van der Woerd. Utrecht, W. Leydenroth (Van Boekhoven), 1906. BC

c1873 **DEENIK, A.A.**

Thieme's Zakwoordenboekje, Hollandsch-Engelsch.

Arnhem, D.A. Thieme (Amsterdam, J. Vlieger), without year – IV+ 704 pp.

BC; Claes 1995:63

A6

c1873 **ESHUIJS, E.C.C.**

Daily Gossip by Jane.

Haarlem: W.C. de Graaff, c1873

Review in *De Schoolbode* 1874:495-496

A2 B1

1873 **ROBINSON, J.**

An English reading book for junior classes.

Utrecht: W. Dannenfelser, 1873,

BC

A2 B1

Third edition. Zwolle: W.E.J. Tjeenk Willink, 1890. BC

Fourth edition 1895. BC

Fifth edition 1902. BC

1873 **TIEL, C. VAN**

English grammar for schools and for self-teaching; with numerous examples and sets of exercises for translation.

Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1873

UBA; UBL

A1

Second, revised and enlarged edition 1878. UBA

Third edition 1880. BC

Fourth edition c1896. DDT 1896

Fifth edition 1902. Private collection

1873 **VALKHOFF, J.N.**

Materials for English Composition.

Zutphen: A.E.C. van Someren, 1873

BC

A2 B2

1874 **BRUIN, SERVAAS DE**

De Engelsche Tolk.

Zutphen: P. Plantenga 1874, Thieme²; Zutphen: P. Plantenga (Amsterdam, G. Theod. Bom) 1878

BC

A1

1874 **KOSTER, B.**

De uitspraak van het Engelsch, in hare beginselen behandeld voor Nederlandsche jongelieden.

's-Gravenhage: Gebr. van Cleef, 1874

BC

A4

1874 **VALKHOFF, J.N.**

The English Reader. A companion to the Manuel de lecture et de conversation. A choice miscellany of tales, narratives, historical pieces, fables, etc. etc. selected from the best modern authors and periodicals. Accompanied with questions for exercise and Dutch notes, adapted for the use of schools as well as for private study.

Groningen: P. Noordhoff en M. Smit, 1874

UBA; book review in *Bijdragen* 1874

A2 B1,4

Second edition 1876. UBA

Third edition 1879. UBA

Fourth edition 1883. BC

Fifth edition. Groningen: P. Noordhoff, 1888. BC

Sixth edition 1894. UBA

Seventh edition 1903. NSM

1874 **VALKHOFF, J.N.**

Volledige Leercursus der Engelsche taal. Eerste stukje. (De voornaamste regels der Spraakkunst en de belangrijkste en meest voorkomende vormen en wendingen der taal).

Groningen: P. Noordhoff en M. Smit, 1874
BC; *Schoolbode* 1874:493-495 (book review)

A1

Second edition 1876. UBA

Third enlarged edition 1878, UBA

Fourth enlarged edition 1880. UBA

Fifth enlarged edition 1882, Groningen: P. Noordhoff. BC; *Wekker* 1882-12
(book review)

Seventh enlarged edition 1888. BC

Eighth enlarged edition 1890. BC

Ninth enlarged edition 1893. BC

Eleventh revised edition 1899. UBA

Twelfth revised edition 1903. BC

Thirteenth revised edition 1908. BC

Fourteenth revised edition 1914. WGG

Note: this English coursebook was probably a near copy of the successful French coursebook *Volledige leercursus der Fransche taal* by the same author. The three consecutive volumes of the French version were published in 1873.

1874 **VEENENDAAL, E.J. & VERMAAT, J.**

Engelsch lees- en vertaalboek. Eerste deel.

Amsterdam: Höveker en Zoon, 1874

BC

A2 B1,5

1875 **BECKERING VINCKERS, J.**

Engelsche spraakkunst. Eerste stuk: uitspraak.

Haarlem: Erven F. Bohn, 1875

KB, *Bijdragen* 1875 (book review by C.A. Hofman)

A4

1875 **CALISCH, I.M.**

Nieuw Volledig Nederlandsch Engelsch woordenboek.

Tiel, H.C.A. Campagne & Zn. VIII + 815 pp.

BC; Claes 1995:63

A6

Second edition revised by N.S. Calisch. Tiel, H.C.A. Campagne & Zn, 1892. BC;
Claes 1995:63 has: vol. D-E (1892) VIII + 822 pp. The preface to the second edition of the Dutch-English volume dates from July 1892.

1875 **HOEVEN, A. VAN DER**

Vergelijkende Nederlandsche, Duitse, Fransche en Engelsche spraakleer, ten gebruike bij inrichtingen van middelbaar onderwijs.

Amsterdam: J.M.E. en G.H. Meijer, 1875

A3

1875 **ROODHUYZEN, H.G.**

Introduction to the use of The English Language.

Amsterdam: G. Van Tyen en Zonen, 1875

UBA

A1

- 1875 **ROODHUYZEN, H.G.**
Vocabulary, belonging to H.G. Roodhuyzen's Introduction to the Use of the English Language.
 Amsterdam: G. Van Tyen en Zonen, 1875
 UBA
 A5
- 1875 **VALKHOFF, J.N.**
Vertaalboek. Een honderdtal gemakkelijke stukjes, waarvan 50 in het Nederlandsch ter vertaling in het Fransch, Duitsch en Engelsch, en de overige om van de eene vreemde taal in de andere te vertalen. Met woordenlijst.
 Groningen: P. Noordhoff en M. Smit, 1875, BC; *Bijdragen* 1876 (book review)
 A2 B6,8
 Second edition 1884; BC
- 1875 **VALKHOFF, J.N.**
Volledige Leercursus der Engelsche taal. Tweede stukje. (Uitbreiding van het geleerde in 't voorgaande stukje. De Spraakkunst in haren geheelen omvang. Uitzonderingen. Nieuwe vormen en taalwendingen).
 Groningen: P. Noordhoff en M. Smit, 1875,
 BC; *Bijdragen* 1876 (book review)
 A1
 Second, enlarged edition 1877. BC
 Third, enlarged edition 1880. BC
 Fourth enlarged edition 1883. BC
 Fifth enlarged edition 1887. Private collection
 Sixth enlarged edition 1892. BC
 Seventh enlarged edition 1897. BC
 Eighth enlarged edition 1904. BC; WGG
- 1876 **BRUIN, SERVAAS DE**
The pleasant companion. A book for readers of both sexes of every class and age. Chips from various English periodicals, with an appendix for the use of Dutch students not very conversant with the niceties of the English language.
 Alkmaar: P. Kluitman, 1876
Bijdragen 1876 (book review)
 A2 B1
- 1876-1877 **CALISCH, I.M.**
Proverbes et locutions familières en quatre langues (Français-Anglais-Allemand-Hollandais), avec une liste alphabétique pour chaque langue séparément.
 La Haye: Belinfante Frères, 1876/1877
Bijdragen 1877 (book review)
 A5
 Note: "Livraison 1-2" appeared in 1876; "livraison" 3-8 in 1877.
- 1876 **DEWALD, H.P.**
Klassikale oefeningen voor de uitspraak der Engelsche taal, ten gebruike als voorloper bij ieder leerboek voor het onderwijs in genoemde taal.
 Gouda: G.B. Van Goor Zonen, 1876
 BC
 A2 B13

1876 STEVENS, P.

Leerboek der Engelsche taal, bewerkt naar den 35en druk van Plate's Vollständiger Lehrgang zur leichten, schnellen und gründlichen Erlernung der Englischen Sprache. Erste deel.

Amsterdam: C.L. Brinkman, 1876

Bijdragen 1876 (book review)

A1

1876 VALKHOFF, J.N.

First English reading-book, being an introduction to The English Reader.

Groningen: P. Noordhoff en M. Smit, 1876

UBA

A2 B1

Second edition 1878. UBA

Third edition 1881. BC

Fourth edition 1884. Groningen: Noordhoff & Smit (P. Noordhoff). BC

Fifth edition 1888. BC

Sixth edition 1889. BC

Seventh edition 1892. BC

Ninth edition 1898. UBA

Tenth edition 1903. BC

Eleventh edition 1911. NSM

Twelfth edition revised by A.C. Stehouwer. Groningen: P. Noordhoff, 1923. BC

1877 ANON.

Henry's Childhood. A reading- and translating book for the use of schools. Translated from the French by P. Vasseur jr.

Utrecht: Gebr. van der Post, 1877

BC

A2 B1,5

1877 BRUIN, SERVAAS DE

Help u zelf op reis met Engelsch. Een handboek voor hen die Engelsch moeten of willen spreken.

Utrecht, Gebr. v.d. Post, 1877

Harvard University Cambridge USA (Dongelmans 1994:44); BC

A1

Second edition 1888. New York Public Library USA (Dongelmans 1994:44); BC

Third edition 1891. BC

Fourth edition 1895. BC

Eighth edition adapted by P. van Rossum. Amsterdam: Joh. Müller 1920 (Dongelmans 1994:44)

Note: The French version of this phrasebook first appeared in 1877 and the fourth edition in 1895. The Spanish version came out in 1892 (B&C 1982).

1877 GOMM, F.S.

Elementary word and phrase-book.

Rotterdam: P.H. Roosenburg, 1877, Groningen: J.B. Wolters

BC; *Bijdragen* 1877 (book review)

A5

Fourth revised edition 1896. Bc

Sixth revised edition 1901. UBA
Seventh revised edition 1907. BC
Eighth revised edition 1912. BC
Ninth revised edition 1916. BC
Tenth revised edition 1917. Private collection
Eleventh revised edition 1920. BC
Twelfth revised edition 1922. BC

Note: The fourth edition and following were revised by A. Picnot and Iz. Gorter.

1877 **RAESKIN, H.**

Eerste Engelsche leesboek voor de lagere klassen der hoogere burgerscholen en andere inrichtingen van onderwijs.

Amsterdam: F.H.J. Bekker, 1877

BC

A2 B1

1877 **TIEL, C. VAN**

Course of translation from Dutch into English. Part One. With a vocabulary, notes on grammar, idioms, synonyms, and hints on translation.

Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1877

UBA; UBL; BC

A2 B6

Second ed. 1881. UBA; UBL

Third ed. 1889. UBA; DDT 1890

Fourth ed. 1893. UBL

Fifth ed. 1902. BC

Sixth ed. 1909. BC

1877 **VOS, J.G.R.**

Verhalen, gesprekken en brieven ter vertaling in het Engelsch, met de verklaring der meest voorkomende synoniemen en andere taalkundige opmerkingen.

Nieuwediep: J.C. de Buissonjé, 1877

BC

A2 B6,12,14

1878 **BRUGGENCATE, K. TEN**

Introduction to English conversation, for the use of hoogere burgerscholen en uitgebreid lagere scholen.

A2 B4

Groningen: W. Versluys, 1878.) *De Wekker* 1878-3 (book review)

Second edition 1880. BC

1878 **RAESKIN, H.**

Tweede Engelsch leesboek voor meer gevorderden

Amsterdam, F.H.G. Bekker, 1878

BC

A2 B1

1878 **TIEL, C. VAN**

Course of translation from Dutch into English. Part Two. With a vocabulary of idioms and phrases, synonyms and hints on translation.

Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1878,

UBA; UBL

- A2
 Second edition 1882. UBA; UBL
 Third edition 1892. UBA
 Fourth edition 1913. BC
 Sixth edition revised by M.G. van Neck, 1908. Private collection
- 1878 **VALKHOFF, J.N.**
Volledige Leercursus der Engelsche taal. Derde stukje.
 Groningen: P. Noordhoff en M. Smit, 1878
 UBA
 A1
 Second edition 1883. BC; WGG
 Third, improved edition 1895. BC
- 1878 **VOS, J.G.R.**
English grammar, for the use of schools. Part I.
 Nieuwediep: J.C. de Buissonjé, 1878
 BC
 A3
 Third revised and enlarged edition 1880. *Taalstudie* 1880 (book review)
- 1878 **VOS, J.G.R.**
Exercises adapted to the English Grammar, for the use of schools. Part II.
 Nieuwediep: J.C. de Buissonjé, 1878
 BC
 A2 B10
- 1879 **BRUIN, SERVAAS DE**
Engelsch door zelfonderricht in 20 lessen.
 Zutphen, P. Plantenga Bz (W.J.Thieme & Co.), 1879/1880
 BC
 A1
 Note: these lessons appeared in instalments: 1-5 in 1879 and 6-20 in 1880. There is a clear parallel with the Langenscheidt course in 18 letters (36 lessons), which was published by the same author and firm from 1868 onwards.
- 1879 **LINGEN, G.H. VAN**
Engelsch lees- en vertaalboek, ten dienste van eenigszins gevorderde leerlingen voor school- en huisonderwijs en voor zelfoefening.
 Gorinchem: C. Schook, 1879
 BC
 A2 B1,5
- 1879 **MERTENS, A.J.**
Engelsche Spraakkunst benevens Vertaal-, Spreek-, Lees oefeningen, etc. Voor Gymnasia, HB Scholen en zelfonderricht. Eerste deeltje: De Uitspraak van het Engelsch onder regels gebracht.
 Nijmegen: W. Fellingina, 1879.
 KB
 A1
 Second improved and enlarged edition 1883. UBA
 Third edition 1889. UBA; WGG

- 1879 **MERTENS, A.J.**
Engelsche Spraakkunst benevens Vertaal-, Spreek- en Lees oefeningen, voor Gymnasia, HB Scholen en zelfonderricht. Tweede Deeltje: Practisch-theoretisch Gedeelte.
 Groningen: J.B. Wolters.
 BC
 A1
 Second improved and enlarged edition 1883; BC
 Third edition 1889. UBA; WGG
- 1879 **MERTENS, A.J.**
Engelsche Spraakkunst benevens Vertaal-, Spreek- en Lees oefeningen, voor Gymnasia, HB Scholen en zelfonderricht. Derde Deeltje: Theoretisch-practisch Gedeelte.
 Groningen: J.B. Wolters
 BC
 A1
 Second improved and enlarged edition 1883. BC
 Third revised edition 1889. UBA. WGG
- 1879 **VALKHOFF, J.N.**
De laatste vertaal oefeningen, ten dienste van het onderwijs in de vreemde talen (woorden in hunne verschillende betekenissen)
 Groningen, Noordhoff & Smit, 1879
 BC
 A2 B5,11
- 1879 **VALKHOFF, J.N.**
The traveller's companion, naar Plötz' Sprachführer.
 Groningen: P. Noordhoff en M. Smit, 1879.
 BC
 Second improved edition 1902. *Taalstudie* 1, 1879 (book review)
 A2 Ploetz
- 1879 **WIJNHOF**
Tales and Stories. First English Reading-book.
 Tiel, H.C.A. Campagne (& Zn), 1879
 BC
 A2 B1
 Second edition 1884. BC
 Third edition 1889. BC
- 1880 **BRUGGENCATE, K. TEN**
Introduction to the English Language for the use of Hoogere Burgerscholen and Uitgebreid Lagere Scholen.
 Groningen: W. Versluys
 UBA
 A1
 Second, revised and enlarged edition 1880. BC
- 1880 **REGT, C. DE**
Inleiding ter beoefening der Engelsche taal, eenigszins in verband met de uitspraak.
 's-Gravenhage: Joh. Ykema, 1880.
 BC; *Taalstudie* 1880 (review by C. Stoffel)
 A1

1880 **STOFFEL, C.**

Handleiding bij het onderwijs in het Engelsch. Deel I. Uitspraak; Lees- en Vertaalboek.

Amsterdam: C.L. Brinkman, 1880,

UBA; *Taalstudie* 1880:244-245 (review by P.H. van Moerkerken)

A1

Second revised edition 1883. Deventer: W. Hulscher. UBA

Fourth revised edition 1891. UBA

Fifth edition 1895. BC

Sixth edition 1899. 3 vols. *DDT* 1890

Seventh edition revised by A.E.H. Swaen 1909. Amsterdam: J.H. & G. Van Heteren

Eighth edition revised by A.E.H. Swaen 1919. NSM

1881 **BRUIN, SERVAAS DE**

De Engelsche Meester. Een gemakkelijke leiddraad voor onderwijzers, om aan hunne leerlingen spoedig en goed Engelsch te leeren; en tevens een snelwerkend en veilig hulpboek tot eigen oefening. Tweede of laatste cursus (1e helft).

Utrecht: Gebr. van der Post, 1881

BC

A1

Note: the first part of this series was originally published in 1863 and went through at least 6 reprints up to 1898. The last part came out in 1882.

1881 **STOFFEL, C.**

Handleiding bij het onderwijs in het Engelsch. Deel II. Inleiding; de voornaamste eigenaardigheden der Engelsch taal.

Amsterdam: C.L. Brinkman, 1881. Deventer: W. Hulscher

BC

A1

Second revised edition 1883. UBA

Third edition 1887. UBA, *DDT* 1887

Eighth edition 1895. BC

Tenth edition 1899. Amsterdam: J.H. & G. Van Heteren

Twelfth revised edition, without year. NSM

Thirteenth revised edition, without year. UBA

Fourteenth edition revised by A.E.H. Swaen 1913. UBA

Fifteenth edition revised by A.E.H. Swaen 1917. BC

Sixteenth edition 1924. BC

Seventeenth edition, without year. J.M. Meulenhoff, Amsterdam. Private collection

1882 **ANON./DRAGT, A.J. VAN**

Comparative Idioms, Engelsch-Hollandsche samenspraken, bewerkt door A.J. Van Dragt.

Amsterdam: Allert de Lange, 1882

Wekker 1882-6 (book review)

A5

Second edition revised by L.P.H. Eijkman, R. Dijkstra and C.A. Hofman. *DDT*

1890; *Taalstudie* 1890:79 (review by K. ten Bruggencate)

1882 **BRUIN, SERVAAS DE**

De Engelsche Meester. Een gemakkelijke leiddraad voor onderwijzers, om aan hunne leerlingen spoedig en goed Engelsch te leeren, en tevens een snelwerkend en veilig hulpboek tot eigen oefening. Tweede of laatste cursus (2e helft).

- Utrecht: Gebr. van der Post, 1882
BC; private collection
A1
Note: The first volume was published in 1863, the second volume, first part, in 1881.
- 1883 **IRVING, ELIZABETH JANE**
Practical grammar of the English tongue. Adapted to the requirements of Dutch students. With explanatory notes.
Amsterdam: M.M. Olivier, 1883
BC; review by B.C. Brennan in *Taalstudie* 1883:361-362
A3
- 1883 **ROBINSON, J.**
The advanced reader
Utrecht, W.F. Dannenfelser (Zwolle, W.E.J. Tjeenk Willink), 1883
BC
A2 B1
- 1883 **STOFFEL, C.**
Handleiding bij het onderwijs in het Engelsch. Deel III. Voortzetting der vergelijking van het Engelsch met het Nederlandsch.
Deventer: W. Hulscher, 1883
UBA
A1
Third revised edition. Amsterdam: J.H. & G. Van Heteren, 1894. BC
Fifth edition revised by A.E.H. Swaen 1914. UBA
Sixth edition revised by A.E.H. Swaen 1924. NSM
- 1884 **ANON. (A.V.N.)**
Onregelmatige Engelsche werkwoorden voor school- en kantoorgebruik. Bezorgd door A. v. N.
Purmerend: J. Muusses en Co., 1884
A3
- 1884 **DUINEN, P. VAN**
Op allerlei gebied. Oefeningen ter vertaling in het Fransch, Hoogduitsch en Engelsch.
Rotterdam: Nijgh en Van Ditmar, 1884
BC
A2 B6,10
- 1884 **ROBINSON, J.S./ KOSTER, B.**
De Beginselen van het Engelsch in gemakkelijke Lees- en Vertaaloefeningen voor Leerlingen van H.B. Scholen en Gymnasiën.
Gouda: G.B. Van Goor Zonen, 1884
BC
A2 B1,5
Second edition 1888. UBA
Third edition 1893. BC
Fourth edition 1900. BC
- 1884 **TIEL, C. VAN**
English grammar for Dutch schools with numerous examples and sets of exercises for translation.
Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1884
KB; UBA; UBU; UBT

- A1
 Second edition 1888. fl. 1.50. DDT 1890; BC
 Third edition 1892. UBU
 Fourth edition 1896. UBU
 Fifth edition 1902. Private collection
 Sixth edition 1911. Private collection
 Seventh edition 1919. BC
- 1885 **MERTENS, A.J.**
Beknopte Spraakkunst der Engelsche taal.
 Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1885
 UBA; WGG
 A3
- 1885 **MERTENS, A.J.**
Engelsche Spreekoefeningen en Brieven benevens Taalkundige Opmerkingen.
 Groningen, J.B. Wolters, 1885
 UBA; WGG
 A2 B4,10,14
- 1885 **MERTENS, A.J.**
Inleiding tot de Engelsche taal voor eerstbeginnenden.
 Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1885
 UBA
 A1
- 1885 **ROSENDAAL, S.**
English grammar and exercises. First part.
 's-Hertogenbosch: Gebr. Muller, 1885
 BC
 A3
- 1885 **TIEL, C. VAN**
First Lessons in Reading and Translation.
 Amsterdam: A. Akkeringa, 1885
 UBA
 A2 B1,5
- 1886 **BRUGGENCATE, K. TEN**
De hoofdzaken der Engelsche grammatica, ten gebruike van gymnasia en hogere burgerscholen.
 Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1886.
 PBF; private collection; *Taalstudie* 1887 (review by C. Grondhoud)
 A3
 Second improved edition 1890. BC
 Third improved edition 1893. BC
 Fourth edition 1901. BC
 Fifth edition 1904. BC
 Sixth improved edition 1909. Private collection
 Note: This book forms one course together with *De uitspraak van het Engelsch* 1887.
- 1886 **HOFMAN, C.A.**
Practisch leerboek der Engelsche taal. Eerste gedeelte.
 's-Gravenhage: Joh. Ykema, 1886

BC

A1

Second edition 1890. BC

Third edition 3e druk 1894. BC

Fourth edition 1899. BC

Fifth edition 1904. BC

Sixth edition 1910. BC

1886 **ROORDA, P.**

Engelsche Spraakkunst voor Schoolgebruik. Deel 1.

Groningen: Noordhoff & Smit, 1886

BC

A1

Second revised edition 1892. Groningen: P. Noordhoff. UBL

Fourth revised edition 1896. UBA. – VII, 200 pp.

Fifth revised edition 1897. BC

Seventh revised edition 1899. Private collection

Eighth revised edition 1900. UBA. VII, 199 pp.

Tenth edition 1902. UBA. VII, 199 pp.

Eleventh edition 1902. UBG – VII, 199 pp.

Fifteenth edition 1905, author's private collection. – VII, 199 pp.

Nineteenth and twentieth editions 1907. BC

Twenty-fourth edition 1909. UBT – VIII, 199 pp.

Twenty-seventh edition 1910. BC

Thirty-fourth edition 1912. BC

Thirty-fifth and thirty-sixth editions 1913. BC

Thirty-ninth edition 1915. Private collection

Fortieth edition 1915. BC

Forty-second edition 1916. Private collection

Forty-fourth edition 1917. BC

Forty-ninth and fiftieth editions 1920. NSM

Fifty-first edition 1920. Private collection

Fifty-third to fifty-eighth editions 1921-1924. BC

Fifty-ninth edition 1926. UBA. 202 pp.

Fifty-ninth and sixtieth editions 1926-1930. BC – VIII, 203

Sixty-second edition 1929. ZBM; PBF

Sixty-third revised edition 1930, NSM/Private collection

Sixty-first to sixty-fifth editions 1931-1935. BC – XV, 247 pp.

Sixty-fourth edition 1932. Picarta. XVI, 247 pp.

Sixty-sixth and sixty-seventh editions 1937-1940. BC – VIII, 248 pp.

Sixty-eighth edition 1943. BC – VIII, 248 pp.

Seventieth to seventy-second editions 1946-1949. BC – VIII, 248 pp.

Seventy-first edition 1947. Picarta

Seventy-second edition 1949. fl. 3.50/4.24. Private collection

Seventy-third edition 1951. KB. 256 pp.

Seventy-fourth edition 1956. BC. IV, 256 pp.

Seventy-fifth edition 1962. NSM; BC. 256 pp.

1886 TIEL, C. VAN

The school reader.

Amsterdam, 1886. – VIII, 203 pp.

UBA; PBF

A2 B1

1887 BRUGGENCATE, K. TEN

De uitspraak van het Engelsch. Met lees oefeningen, volgens eene geheel nieuwe methode en vertaal oefeningen, behoorende bij De Hoofdzaken der Engelsche Grammatica.

Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1887

UBM; *Taalstudie* 1887:104-106 (review by C. Grondhoud)

A2 B13

Second revised edition 1890. BC

Third revised edition 1893. GBR.

Fourth edition 1896. BC

Note: This book was written for beginners, making up one course together with *De hoofdzaken der Engelsche grammatica* 1886. The course was revised in 1899 and received the new title of *Leerboek voor het Engelsch ten dienste van het voortgezet onderwijs*.

1887 HOFMAN, C.A.

Practisch leerboek der Engelsche taal. Tweede gedeelte.

's-Gravenhage: Joh. Ykema, 1887

UBN

A1

Second edition 1894. NSM

Third edition 1902. BC

1887 NECK, M.G. VAN

Easy English prose for class-reading

Groningen, J.B. Wolters, 1887

BC

A2 B1

Second edition revised and improved 1892. BC

Third edition 1899. BC

1887 ROORDA, P.

Engelsche Spraakkunst voor Schoolgebruik. Deel 2.

Groningen: Noordhoff & Smit, 1887. – VIII, 181 pp.

UBT

A1

Second revised edition Groningen: P. Noordhoff, 1894. UBL

Third revised edition 1897. UBT. – VIII, 222 pp.

Fourth revised edition 1900. BC

Fifth edition 1903. Sixth edition, without year. NSM

Seventh edition 1909. BC

Ninth edition 1914. BC

Tenth edition 1916. Private collection

Eleventh edition 1918. NSM

Twelfth edition, without year

Thirteenth edition 1924. UBA. – VI, 223 pp.

- Fourteenth edition 1929. BC – VIII, 223 pp.
 Fifteenth revised edition 1939. BC – VII, 328 pp.
- 1887 **TEDING VAN BERKHOUT, B.L.**
Stories and songs for reading and translation in schools and colleges.
 The Hague, Joh. IJkema, 1887
 BC
 A2 B1,7
- 1888 **BRUGGENCATE, K. TEN**
De examen-opgaven voor het Engelsch; Lager Onderwijs in 1887.
Voor den druk bezorgd door K. ten Bruggencate.
 Kuilenburg, Blom & Olivierse, 1888
 BC; *Taalstudie* 1988:233-234 (review by C. Grondhoud)
 A8
- 1888 **HELDER, J.M. & J.J.H.H.**
Technisch Woordenboek. Engelsch-Hollandsch en Hollandsch-Engelsch. Verzameling van technische woorden, ten dienste van de machinist
 H.A. Staderman (P. Spruit Jr.), 1888
 BC
 A6
- 1888 **SPRUYT, H.C.**
English without a Master (Het Engelsch zonder Meester). Practische en gemakkelijke Methode om zonder onderwijzer, alleen door zelfoefening, in korten tijd de Engelsche taal te leeren lezen, spreken en schrijven.
 Groningen: P. Noordhoff, 1888
 BC
 A1
- 1888 **VALETTE, T.G.G.**
Verzameling van spreekwoorden en spreekwoordelijke uitdrukkingen in vier talen (Nederlandsch, Fransch, Hoogduitsch en Engelsch). Met een alphabetisch woordenregister voor de vreemde talen.
 Haarlem, Erven F. Bohn, 1888
 BC
 A5
- 1889 **BRUIN, SERVAAS DE**
Do you speak English? Eenvoudige leidraad om zonder meester Engelsch te leeren.
 Zutphen: W.J. Thieme & Co. 1889
 BC; Thieme2
 A1
De Engelsche Gids voor thuis en op reis. Eenvoudige leiddraad om zonder meester Engelsch te leeren (met gesprekken). Third edition. Zutphen: W.J. Thieme & Cie., without year. Private collection
 Note: *De Engelsche Gids* was probably an adapted version of the 1889 publication
- 1889 **DEWALD, H.P.**
A handbook for students of the English language, being a vocabulary of substantives, adjectives and especially verbs, daily occurring in reading and conversation, with the prepositions they govern; besides an appendix giving other useful information.
 Vught: Bogaert's printing company limited, 1889

BC

A5

1889 **NECK, M.G. VAN**

Nederlandsch-Engelsche klank- en zinverwante woorden

Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1889. – fl. 1.25

GBR; *DDT* 1889 (book review); Claes 1995:68

A5

Second edition 1903. Claes 1995:68

Third edition 1911. Private collection

Sixth edition 1946. Private collection. VI + 296 pp.

Note: The 1946 publication was edited by his daughter M. Theunisz-Van Neck (also see Stuurman 1993:12).

1889 **NECK, M.G. VAN**

Preparatory English prose. An introductory reader to Easy English Prose

Groningen, J.B. Wolters, 1889

BC

A2 B1

Third edition 1896. BC

Fourth edition 1900. BC

Fifteenth revised edition 1919. BC

1889 **LANDMANN, F./RITTNER BOS, E.**

The Times. Handleiding tot het verstaan van de hedendaagse Engelsche taal, zooals die in het dagelijks leven gesproken en geschreven wordt. Naar de Duitse uitgave voor Nederlanders bewerkt en aangevuld door E. Rittner Bos. Met een woord van aanbeveling van C. Grondhout.

Amsterdam, M.M. Olivier, 1889

BC

A1

1890 **CALISCH, I.M. & CALISCH, N.S.**

Nieuw Woordenboek Nederlandsch-Engelsch en Engelsch-Nederlandsch

Leiden: A.W. Sijthoff (Nijmegen-Arnhem: Gebr. E. and M. Cohen), 1890. BC;

Claes 1995:63

Nieuw Engelsch Woordenboek. Engelsch-Nederlandsch en Nederlandsch-Engelsch. Sixth

edition improved and enlarged. Arnhem-Nijmegen, Gebr. E. en M. Cohen, 1893.

BC; Claes 1995:63. Claes 1995:63 has: VIII + 16 + 417 + 499 pp.

A6

Another edition. Arnhem-Nijmegen, Gebr. E. en M. Cohen, 1901. BC has: tenth edition, improved and enlarged.

1890 **DUINEN, R. VAN**

A course of English reading-lessons, selected and annotated.

Amsterdam: P.N. van Kampen & Zn, 1890-91. Three vols.

BC; *Taalstudie* 1890:115-117 (book review); *Wekker* 1890-11 (book review).

A2 B1

1890 **GÜNTHER, J.H.A.**

Leerboek der Engelsche taal voor eerstbeginnenden.

Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1890

WGG; BC

A1

- Second revised edition 1892. BC
 Fourth edition 1899. BC
 Fifth revised edition 1902. NSM
 Sixth edition 1905. BC
 Ninth edition 1910. UBA
 Twelfth edition 1915. BC
 Thirteenth edition 1917. BC
 Fifteenth edition 1920. BC
- 1890 **HOOG Azn, W. DE**
Hints and questions for the use of candidates, lower instruction English
 Dordrecht, J.P. Revers, 1890
 BC
 A8
- 1890 **MERTENS, A.J.**
Engelsch leesboek. Met alphabetische woordenlijst, opmerkingen en een beschouwing over taalonderwijs.
 Nijmegen: W. Felling, 1890
 BC
 A2 B1
- 1890 **ROBINSON, J.**
An English reading-book for junior classes
 Third edition. Zwolle, W.E.J. Tjeenk Willink, 1890
 NSM
 A2 B1
- c1890 **STOFFEL, C.**
Engelsch leesboek. I en II. Moderne prozastukken bijeenverzameld en toegelicht door C. Stoffel.
 Zutphen: W.J. Thieme & Co., without year
Taalstudie 1890:78-79 (review by K. ten Bruggencate)
 A2 B1
- 1891 **BRUGGENCATE, K. TEN**
De volledige opgaven voor het schriftelijk examen in het Engelsch. Lager Onderwijs, 1888-1891. Voor den druk bezorgd door K. ten Bruggencate.
 Kuilenburg, Blom & Olivierse 1891.
 BC
 A8
- 1891 **BRUIN, SERVAAS DE**
Engelsch koopmans-brievenboek (English commercial correspondence). Eene verzameling van 307 koopmansbrieven. Voorzien van vele noten en ophelderingen; bewerkt naar het Hollandsch koopmans-brievenboek.
 Gouda, G.B. Van Goor Zonen, 1891
 BC
 A2 B14
Engelsche handelsbrieven (English commercial correspondence). Een verzameling van ruim 300 brieven voorzien van vele aantekeningen, bewerkt naar de Nederlandsche handelsbrieven. Nieuwe, verbeterde uitgave, bewerkt door R. Volbeda. Gouda, G.B. Van Goor Zonen, 1906. BC

- 1891 **DUINEN, R. VAN**
Examination in spelling and dictation, adapted for the use of schools and study of the English language.
 Hoorn, A.C. Boldingh, 1891
 BC
 A8
- 1891 **FIJN VAN DRAAT, P.**
In Engeland. Opstellen ter vertaling van 't Hollandsch in 't Engelsch.
 Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1891.
 UBA
 A2 B2,6
 Second edition 1894. BC
 Third edition 1903. BC
 Fourth edition 1908. Private collection
 Fifth edition 1912. Private collection
 Sixth edition 1916. NSM
 Seventh edition 1920. BC
 Eighth edition 1924. BC
- 1891 **GÜNTHER, J.H.A.**
A Handbook of the English Language for the use of schools.
 Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1891
Wekker 1891-6 (book review); WGG
 A1
 Second edition 1896. BC
 Third edition 1900. UBA
 Fourth edition 1906. BC
 Fifth edition 1911. Private collection
 Sixth edition 1920. BC
- 1891 **JONG Jzn, S. DE**
Engelsche vertaal oefeningen van akte-examens voor onderwijzers en onderwijzeressen
 Haarlem, W.H.G. van Nooten, 1891
 BC
 A8
- 1891 **LANGERVELDT, J.C.**
English taught in English. A New Method of teaching the English Language. I Introduction: Rules of Pronunciation, Exercises in Conversation, Reading-book, Grammar and exercises.
 Amsterdam: Uitgevers-Maatschappij Elsevier
De Wekker 1892-4 (book review by C.Stoffel)
 A1 B1,4,9,13
- 1891 **MOESVELD, P.T.N.**
Inleiding tot de Engelsche taal. Leer- en leesboek voor eerstbeginnenden.
 's-Gravenhage: M. van der Beek, 1891
 BC
 A1,2 B1
- 1891 **NECK, M.G. VAN**
Advanced English prose for class-reading.
 Groningen, J.B. Wolters, 1891

- BC
A2 B1
- 1892 **HOOG, Azn. W. DE**
English grammar.
Dordrecht: J.P. Revers, 1892
BC
A3
Second edition 1904. BC
- 1892 **LANGERVELDT, J.C.**
English taught in English. A New Method of teaching the English Language. II Readings in English prose and poetry with notes, Exercises in English Composition, Grammar with Exercises.
Amsterdam: Uitgevers-Maatschappij Elsevier, 1892
BC
A1
- 1892 **LAZET, T.H.**
Engelsche woorden en zinnen, die dagelijks gehoord woorden, voor leerlingen van scholen met uitgebreid leerplan
Purmerend, J. Muusses, 1892
BC
A5
- 1892 **NECK, M.G. VAN**
Conversational English for Dutch students.
Gorinchem: J. Noorduynd and Son, 1892
GBR; UBN
A2 B4
Fourth edition 1900. BC
Sixth edition 1907. CBR
Seventh edition 1910. BC
Eighth edition 1913. BC
Ninth edition 1916. BC
Tenth edition 1920. BC
Eleventh edition 1924. BC
- 1892 **ROORDA, P.**
Dutch and English compared, with an appendix containing the rules of English Grammar. Part I (Grammatical).
Groningen: P. Noordhoff, 1892
UBL
A2 B5,10
Second edition 1897. Private collection. – 256 pp.
Third edition 1911. UBA
Fourth edition 1926. UBA – IV, 324
- 1892 **VOS, J.G.R.**
Engelsch-Nederlandsche idiomatische uitdrukkingen en spreekwoorden.
's-Gravenhage, Joh. IJkema, 1892
BC
A5

- 1893 **BERRINGTON, B.S.**
Peculiar English expressions explained and exemplified for foreign students.
 The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1893
 BC
 A5
- 1893 **KLEINBENTINK, S.F. & DISSEL, A. VAN**
Engelsche vertaal oefeningen behoorende bij en met verwijzingen naar An English School-Grammar.
 Tiel: D. Mijs, 1893
 BC
 A2 B5,10
 Second edition 1900. UBA
 Third edition 1911. BC
- 1893 **KLEINBENTINK, S.F. & DISSEL, A. VAN**
An English school-grammar.
 Tiel: D. Mijs, 1893
 BC
 A3
 Second edition 1899. BC
 Fourth edition 1911. BC
 Fifth revised edition 1916. NSM
 Sixth edition 1922. BC
- 1893 **KLEINBENTINK, S.F. & DISSEL, A. VAN**
Practisch vertaalboek ten dienste van het onderwijs in de moderne talen. 3 deeltjes; derde deeltje: Engelsche brieven.
 Tiel: D. Mijs, 1893
 BC
 A2 B5,14
- 1893 **LANGERVELDT, J.C.**
English taught in English. A New Method of teaching the English Language. III A primer of English Literature with readings in English prose and poetry, Exercises in English Composition, Grammar.
 Amsterdam: Uitgevers-Maatschappij Elsevier, 1893
 BC
 A1
- 1893 **POUTSMA, H.**
Do you speak English? Engelsche woorden en uitdrukkingen, verzameld, gegroepeerd en van aantekeningen voorzien.
 Amsterdam: Joh. G. Stemler Cz, 1893
 NSM
 A5
 Second improved and enlarged edition 1899. BC
 Third improved and enlarged edition 1902. NSM
 Fourth improved and enlarged edition 1910. Bussum: S.M. Gastra. BC
 Fifth improved and enlarged edition 1916. UBA
 Sixth improved and enlarged edition 1921. NSM; UBA
 Seventh improved and enlarged edition 1930. UBA

Note 1: This book was a free adaptation of J. Thomson's *Do you speak English*, whose 3rd edition appeared in 1866. According to Poutsma (1893), the book was quite obsolete and almost forgotten by the time he set out to bring it up to date. In the preface to the 2nd edition (1899) Poutsma notes that the publisher left him a free hand to modernise the book, but did not permit him to change the title.

Note 2: Perhaps the 1866 (3rd) edition was a sequel to an anonymous original entitled *Do you speak English*, published in 1850.

1893 **REGT, C. DE**

Het eerste Engelsche boekje. Eenvoudige leerwijze zonder thema's.

Rotterdam: C. de Regt.

BC

A1

Second edition 1893. BC

1893 **ROORDA, P.**

Dutch and English compared. Part II (Free Translations).

Groningen: P. Noordhoff, 1893

UBL

A2 B5

Second edition 1897. Private collection

Third edition 1906. UBA

Fourth edition 1918. UBA

1893 **STOFFEL, C.**

Engelsch leesboek voor aanvangsklassen, met volledige woordenlijst. I.

Zutphen: W.J. Thieme en Cie. 1893

BC; Thieme2

A2 B1

Second edition 1898. UBA

1893 **STOFFEL, C.**

Engelsch leesboek voor aanvangsklassen, met volledige woordenlijst. II.

Zutphen: W.J. Thieme en Cie. 1893

UBA; *De Wekker* 1890-11 (book review)

A2 B1

1893 **STOFFEL, C.**

Engelsch leesboek voor aanvangsklassen, met volledige woordenlijst. III.

Zutphen: W.J. Thieme en Cie., 1893

BC

A2 B1

Second edition 1902. UBA; Thieme2

1894 **ANON.**

Mijs' schoolwoordenboek ten behoeve van het onderwijs in de Engelsche taal.

Nederlandsch-Engelsch; Engelsch-Nederlandsch

Tiel: D. Mijs, 1894

BC; Claes 1995:68

A6

Note: Claes (1995:68) has: another edition 1917.

1894 **BARENTZ, M.E.**

De Engelsche Taal (Groote leercursus voor zelfonderricht).

Amsterdam, S.L. Van Looy, 1894

UBN

A1

Second edition 1899. BC

Third improved edition Amsterdam: Cohen Zonen, 1911. BC

Fourth improved edition 1917. BC

Note: This publication was part of a series of four modern languages volumes: Dutch, French, English and German. The French textbook appeared in 1893, written by C.A. Hofman; the German version was published in 1895, written by T.G.G. Valette.

1894 **BRUGGENCATE, K. TEN**

Engelsch Woordenboek, Deel 1: Engelsch-Nederlandsch

Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1894. – VIII + 554 pp.

BC; Claes 1995:62

A6

Second edition 1898 – VIII + 576 pp.

Third edition 1903 – VIII + 624 pp.

Fourth edition L. van der Wal 1907 – VIII + 632 pp.

Fifth edition L. van der Wal 1910 – VIII + 644 pp.

Sixth edition L. van der Wal 1913 – VIII + 658 pp.

Seventh edition K. ten Bruggencate 1916 – VIII + 688 pp.

Eighth edition K. ten Bruggencate 1919 – VII + 710 pp.

Ninthe edition K. ten Bruggencate 1921 – VI + 754 pp.

Note: This well-known dictionary has been used by Dutch learners and students of English up to the present day and is still one of the leading English dictionaries used in the Netherlands. It has gone through a great number of editions and has been edited by various scholars in succession, i.e. L. van der Wal, A. Broers, P. Schut, R. Zandvoort, J. Gerritsen, J. Osselton. For a short bibliographical history of the dictionary see Claes (1995:62).

1894 **BRUIN, SERVAAS DE**

Engelsch voor kooplieden. Handelskursus in het Engelsche kantoorwerk. Voor zelfonderricht. (Alle takken van koophandel en nijverheid). Eene practische oefenschool om zich zonder meester, uitsluitend door zelfonderricht te bekwamen in al het Engelsche kantoorwerk, t.w. de correspondentie, het enkel en dubbel boekhouden, den telegrammenstijl, den advertentiestijl, de leer der gewichten, maten, muntspeciën, enz. enz.

Zutphen, W.J. Thieme & Cie., 1894. – 10 instalments.

BC

A1

1894 **EIJKMAN, L.P.H.**

Handboek voor den onderwijzer ten gebruike bij het eerste deeltje van de Handleiding voor de Beoefening der Engelsche Taal ten dienste van eerstbeginnenden en bewerkt volgens de leerwijze van Gouin.

Amsterdam: Allert de Lange (Groningen, P. Noordhoff), 1894

BC, WGG

A8

Note: The *Handboek* was published in three instalments, intended for each of the three volumes of *Handleiding voor de beoefening der Engelsche taal*. In 1895 the entire course was published in one volume at a price of fl. 1.80.

1894 **EIJKMAN, L.P.H.**

Handleiding voor de beoefening der Engelsche taal. Compleete leerwijze Engelsch. Drie Delen.

Amsterdam: Allert de Lange (Groningen, P. Noordhoff), 1894-1896

BC

A1

Second revised edition (of first volume) 1902. BC

Note: Similar publications appeared for French (C.A. Hofman) and German (J.J.A.A. Frantzen). Amsterdam: Allert de Lange (Groningen, P. Noordhoff), 1894-1896.

1894 **HARTE, G.J. VAN**

The English Language. Part I. The Beginner: Plain Tales and Stories.

Purmerend: J. Muusses, 1894.

UBA

A1 B1 (B5 from the 6th ed. onwards; cf. preface part Ib 1916)

Second edition. BC

Third edition 1900. BC

Fourth edition 1903. BC

Sixth edition 1907. Reference in preface to 8th ed.

Seventh edition 1908. Reference in preface to 8th ed.

Eighth edition 1909. UBA

Ninth edition 1911. BC

Tenth edition 1913. GBR

Eleventh edition 1916. NSM

Twelfth edition 1919. BC

1894 **HARTE, G.J. VAN**

The English Language. Part II. First Steps in Grammar.

Purmerend: J. Muusses, 1894

BC; *Weekblad voor Gymnasiaal en Middelbaar Onderwijs* 1904-1905:357 (book review)

A1

Second edition 1899. UBA

Third edition 1901. BC

Fifth edition 1908. BC

Sixth edition 1912. UBA; GBR

Seventh edition 1916. NSM

1894 **HARTE, G.J. VAN**

Word and Rule. For the use of the higher classes of the HBS and of those who wish to pass their examination for English (LO)

Purmerend: J. Muusses, 1894

GBR

A1

- 1894 **HOFMAN, C.A.**
Practisch leerboek der Engelsche taal. Eerste leesboek.
 's-Gravenhage: Joh. Ykema, 1894
 NSM
 A2 B1
 Second edition 1908. BC
- 1894 **STOFFEL, C.**
Studies in English written and spoken. For the use of continental students. First Series.
 Zutphen: W.J. Thieme en Cie., 1894
 BC
 A5
- 1894 **VOORT, J.H. VAN DER**
Hedendaagsche Amerikanismen = Dictionary of Americanisms
 Gouda: G.B. van Goor Zn, 1894. – VI + 150 pp.
 Claes 1995:72
 A6
- 1895 **BENSE, J.F.**
De hoofdvormen der Engelsche taal.
 Arnhem: G.W. Van der Wiel en Co., 1895
 BC
 A3
 Second edition 1899. BC
 Third edition 1904. BC
 Fourth edition 1911. BC
 Fifth edition 1921. BC
- 1895 **BENSE, J.F.**
Opstellen ter vertaling in het Engelsch, met verklarende woordenlijst.
 Arnhem: G.W. Van der Wiel en Co., 1895
 BC
 A2 B6,11
 Third edition 1900. BC
 Fourth edition 1902. BC
 Sixth edition 1909. BC
 Seventh edition 1918. BC
 Eighth edition 1926. NSM
- 1895 **BERRINGTON, B.S.**
English as it is spoken, or instructive and amusing dialogues. With a Dutch translation by a Dutchman.
 The Hague: Haagsche Boekhandel- en Uitgeversmij., 1895
 BC
 A2 B4
 Note: This English book originally came out in a French version: J.M. Reinders 1879 (cf. B&C 1982).
- 1895 **BERRINGTON, B.S.**
Practisch Engelsch leerboek voor scholen en eigen studie.
 's-Gravenhage: Haagsche Boekhandel- en Uitgeversmij., 1895

- BC
A1
- 1895 **BERRINGTON, B.S.**
The new english reader for schools and colleges.
The Hague: Haagsche Boekhandel- en Uitgeversmij., 1895
BC
A2 B1
- 1895 **EIJKMAN, L.P.H.**
First English reading-book (Gouin's method).
Amsterdam: Allert de Lange, 1895
BC
A2 B1 Gouin
Second revised edition. Groningen: P. Noordhoff, 1908; NSM, WGG
- 1895 **FIJN VAN DRAAT, P.**
Engelsche schetsen. Opstellen ter vertaling voor beoefenaren van het Engelsch.
Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1895
UBA
A2 B5
Third edition 1903. BC
Fourth edition 1908. BC
Fifth edition 1912. BC
- 1895 **FIJN VAN DRAAT, P.**
In Engeland. Opstellen ter vertaling van 't Hollandsch in 't Engelsch.
Leiden, Boekhandel en Drukkerij vh E.J. Brill
BC
A5
Fourth edition 1908. BC
Fifth edition 1912. BC
- 1895 **GRASÉ, J.C.G.**
Oefeningen in de Engelsche taal. I. Leerstof for the first three months.
Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1895
BC
A1
Second edition 1899. BC
Third edition 1901. NSM
Fourth edition 1903. – viii, 96 pp. UBA; Wolters' Catalogue 1904
Fifth edition 1905. BC
Seventh edition 1910. BC
Eighth edition 1911. Picarta. – 94 pp.
Eleventh edition 1915. Private collection.
Fourteenth edition 1921. BC
Fifteenth edition, without year. Wolters' Catalogue 1930.
- 1895 **HARTE, G.J.**
The English Language. Part III. Last Steps in Grammar.
Purmerend: J. Muusses, 1895
UBA
A1

- Second edition 1903. BC
 Third edition 1910. GBR; Private collection
 Fourth edition 1917. NSM
- 1895 **HOFMAN, C.A.**
Practisch leerboek der Engelsche taal. Tweede leesboek.
 's-Gravenhage: Joh. Ykema, 1895
 NSM
 A2
- 1895 **MONTIJN, P.A.**
Engelsch lees- en vertaalboek voor zeevaartscholen. Stukken uit de werken der voornaamste Engelsche schrijvers over zeevaartkunde, met eene alphabetische woordenlijst.
 Groningen, J.B. Wolters, 1895
 BC
 A2 B1,5,11,12
- 1895 **ROORDA, P.**
Engelsche Spraakkunst voor Schoolgebruik. Deel 1, supplement.
 Groningen: P. Noordhoff, 1895
 UBL
 A1
 Third edition 1900. UBA. – VII, 200 pp.
 Fourth edition 1901. BC
 Sixth edition 1904. UBT. – VII, 200 pp.
 Twelfth edition 1910. BC
 Thirteenth edition 1911. Picarta. – VIII, 200 pp.
 Sixteenth and seventeenth editions 1913. BC
 Eighteenth edition 1915. BC
 Twentieth edition 1917. BC
 Twenty-second edition 1920. NSM
 Twenty-third edition 1921. UBA; UBT; private collection. – 206 pp.
 Twenty-fourth edition 1921-1925. BC
 Twenty-sixth edition 1930. BC. – VIII, 208 pp.
 Twenty-seventh edition 1933. BC – VII, 256 pp.
 Twenty-eighth edition revised by G. Roorda 1938. UBG – VII, 255 pp.
 Twenty-ninth edition 1943. NSM. – VIII, 255 pp.
 Thirtieth edition 1947. BC. – VIII, 255 pp.
 Thirty-first edition revised by G. Roorda 1951. KB. VIII, 255 pp.
- 1895 **ZEIJ, J.F.E.W.**
Practische handleiding der Engelsche taal voor postambtenaren.
 's-Gravenhage: F.J. Van Paasschen, 1895.
 BC
 A1
 Note: According to Zeij 1911 this book went through three printings.
- 1896 **ANON.**
Engelsche opgaven voor het toelatingsexamen ter universiteit.
 Leiden: J.W. Van Leeuwen, 1896
 BC
 A8

Note: This might be a specimen of a so-called *colloquium doctum* [learned conversation], which constituted a self-conducted university entrance examination.

1896 **BARENTZ, M.E.**

Gids voor de uitspraak der Engelsche taal.

Gorinchem: J. Noorduyt en Zoon, 1896

BC

A4

c1896 **BARENTZ, M.E.**

Woordenboek der Engelsche Spreektaal. Anglicismen en Americanismen. Slang, cant, colloquialisms and idiomatic phrases etc.

Amsterdam: S.L. Van Looy/H. Gerlings, without year – VII + 333 pp.

GBR; Claes 1995:61

A6

Note 1: The preface is dated December 1895.

Note 2: *NTPB* (1860) refers to what may be regarded as the original, English publication. The Dutch dictionary was probably an adapted version.

1896 **BERRINGTON, JOHN S.**

Advanced English course for Dutch schools and teachers.

The Hague, Haagsche Boekhandel en Uitgeversmaatschappij, 1896

BC

A1

1896 **BRUGGENCATE, K. TEN**

Engelsch Woordenboek, Deel 2: Nederlandsch-Engelsch

Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1896 – VII + 606 pp.

BC; Claes 1995:62

A6

Second edition 1899 – VIII + 615 pp.

Third edition 1904 – VIII + 650 pp.

Fourth edition L. van der Wal 1908 – VIII + 648 pp.

Fifth edition L. van der Wal 1910 – VI + 652 pp.

Sixth edition L. van der Wal 1913 – VII + 719 pp.

Seventh edition L. van der Wal 1916

Eighth edition K. ten Bruggencate 1919 – VI + 646 pp.

Ninth edition K. ten Bruggencate 1921 – IV + 668 pp.

Note: For later editions see Claes (1995:62).

1896 **ERDBRINK, D.R.**

Engelsch vertaalboek voor zeelieden, om die taal in korten tijd te leeren. Bevattende een verzameling van taalkundige opstellen met benamingen, termen, uitdrukkingen en volzinnen betreffende zeevaart, zeezaken enz. (met een woordenlijst). Ten gebruike van de zeevaartscholen.

Second edition revised by H.F. Ewers; 2 vols.

Amsterdam, Joh. G. Stemler Cz., 1896

BC

A2 B5,11,12

1896 **EIJL, P.B.H.**

Engelsche Spraakkunst met lees-, vertaal- en spreekoefeningen. Eerste cursus.

St. Michiels-Gestel: Snelpersdrukkerij Inst. voor Doofstommen, 1896

- UBN
A1
Third edition 1922. UBN
- 1896 **GRASÉ, J.C.G.**
Oefeningen in de Engelsche taal. II. Leerstof for the First Year.
Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1896
BC
A1
Second edition 1899. Reference in preface to 9th edition
Third edition 1901. BC
Fourth edition 1902. NSM; Wolters' Catalogue 1903
Fifth edition c1904. Wolters' Catalogue 1904
Seventh edition 1905. BC
Ninth edition 1907. Private collection
Thirteenth edition 1910. BC
Sixteenth edition 1913. BC. – 194 pp.
Eighteenth edition 1914. Private collection – 194 pp.
Twenty-first edition c1915. Wolters' catalogue 1915
Twenty-sixth edition, without year. Private collection
Twenty-seventh edition 1920. UBA
Twenty-eighth edition 1923. BC
- 1896 **HOFMAN, C.A.**
Practisch leerboek der Engelsche taal. Woorden en zinnen.
's-Gravenhage: Joh. Ykema, 1896
NSM
A1
Second edition 1912. BC
Third edition 1919. BC
- 1896 **KLEINBENTINK, S.F.**
A New English Grammar for the use of Dutch students, especially for the use of those who prepare for their examination (LO and MO)
Groningen, J.B. Wolters, 1896
BC
A3
- 1896 **KOSTER, B.**
A first phonetic english reader for Dutch pupils. No. I, II and III.
Schiedam: J. Odé, 1896
BC
A4
- 1896 **ROBINSON, J.S. & KOSTER, B.**
A practical English grammar for Dutch schools: being a sequel to The Rudiments of English.
Gouda: G.B. Van Goor Zonen, 1896
BC
A3

1896 TEDING VAN BERKHOUT, B.L.

Practical dictionary English-Dutch and Dutch-English. With the figured pronunciation of the English words, numerous elucidative phrases and a list of abbreviations. With 1270 illustrations.

Amsterdam, Uitgevers-maatschappij "Elsevier", 1896. – 1080 pp.

BC; Claes 1995:71

A6

Note: Claes (1995:71) mentions yet another edition.

1896 VEENSTRA, G.

Engelsch Leer- en Leesboek, een grammaticale directe methode.

Zutphen: W.J. Thieme en Cie., 1896

UBA

A1

1896 VELDE, P. VAN DE

Touchstones. Vertaalboek voor meergevorderden.

Zutphen: W.J. Thieme & Cie. 1896

Thieme2

A2 B5.

1896 WAL, L. VAN DER

Pictures from England. A readingbook for senior classes.

Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1896

BC

A2 B1

1897 BERRINGTON, JOHN S.

English reading- and translation book for junior pupils.

The Hague: Haagsche Boekhandel- en Uitgeversmij., 1897

BC

A2 B1,7

1897 BRUIN, SERVAAS DE

An amusing English grammar of vermakelijk leerboek der Engelsche taal. Een onfeilbaar middel om zonder moeite en zonder meester Engelsch te leeren.

Rotterdam: D. Bolle, without year [1897?]

BC

A1

Second edition c1909. BC

Note: Apparently this type of self-study books was successful, for the English publication was preceded by a French and a German version, with the respective titles *Grammaire amusante de la langue Française* and *Ergötzliche Deutsche Sprachlehre*.

1897 SCHNITZLER, J.M.

Eerste hulp bij het spreken in den vreemde. I. Engelsch.

Rotterdam: Wenk & Birkhoff, 1897

BC

A2 B4

Note: Brinkman mentions a second edition published by W. Hilerius at Almelo in 1905. In this case there were three volumes, of which the second was the English part.

1898 ANON.

Engelsch in een maand. Beknopte doch degelijke methode der Engelsche taal, speciaal bewerkt voor zelfbeoefenaars.

Amsterdam, J.C. Auf der Heide, 1898

BC

A1

Third edition 1899. BC

Note: There were also a French and a Spanish version. Possibly their author was Servaas de Bruin.

1898 JESPERSEN, OTTO & SARAUW, CHR.

Engelsch voor eerstbeginnenden. Voor Nederland bewerkt door M. Meijboom. Eerste deel.

Groningen: P. Noordhoff, 1898

UBA

A1

Second revised edition after the 13th Danish edition 1907. BC

Third edition 1923. BC

1898 THIEL, L.L. VAN

Materials for common conversation.

Purmerend: J. Muusses, 1898

BC

A2 B4

1899 ANON.

An English reader for catholic schools. Eerste stukje.

Tilburg: RK Jongensweeshuis, 1899

BC

A2 B1

Third edition 1904. BC

Fourth edition 1905. BC

1899 ANON.

An English Reader for Catholic Schools. Tweede stukje.

Tilburg: RK Jongensweeshuis, 1899

A2 B1

Second edition 1904. BC

Third edition 1915. BC

1899 BAKKER, G.

Everyday Life. (Continuation to A Practical Introduction to the English Language).

Conversational lessons. Part One.

The Hague: Joh. Ykema, 1899

BC

A2 B4

Fourth edition 1916. NSM

1899 BAKKER, G.

Every Day Life. A practical introduction to the English language. Conversational Lessons. Part Two.

The Hague: Joh. Ykema, 1899

A2 B4

Second edition 1904. NSM

1899 **BARENTZ, M.E.**

Kleine cursus voor zelfonderricht; de Engelsche taal, met sleutel.

Amsterdam, S.L. Van Looy, 1899

Private collection

A1

Second edition 1908. Amsterdam: Cohen Zonen. BC.

Fourth edition. Rotterdam: D. Bolle, 1916. BC

Fifth edition 1922. BC

Note: Like the *Groote Leercursus* (1893-1895), the *Kleine Cursus* consisted of textbooks for Dutch, French, German and English. The English volume was part three in this series.

1899 **BRUGGENCATE, K. TEN**

Leerboek voor het Engelsch ten dienste van het voortgezet onderwijs.

Groningen, J.B. Wolters, 1899

BC

A1

Second edition 1902. Reference in preface to 3rd edition

Third edition 1904. NSM

Fourth edition 1906. NSM

Fifth edition 1908. BC

Sixth revised edition 1911. UBA; UBT

Seventh edition 1915. BC

Eighth improved edition 1919. Private collection

Note 1: Later editions had the subtitle *ten dienste van gymnasia, hogere burger- en muloscholen*.

Note 2: This book was the successor to Ten Bruggencate's *De uitspraak van het Engelsch* 1887.

1899 **BRUGGENCATE, K. TEN**

Nieuwe Engelsche grammatica ten behoeve van allen die het Engelsch onderwijzen of zich voor een der examens in deze taal bekwamen.

Groningen, J.B. Wolters, 1899

BC

A1

Second edition 1904. UBA; UBT; Private collection

Third edition 1909. BC

Fourth edition 1915. BC

Note: This grammar was the companion part to *De uitspraak van het Engelsch, met eene korte inleiding in de klankleer* 1899.

1899 **BRUGGENCATE, K. TEN**

De uitspraak van het Engelsch, met eene korte inleiding in de klankleer.

Groningen, J.B. Wolters, 1899

A4

Third edition 1904. UBA; UBT

Fourth revised 1909. BC

Fifth edition 1909. UBT

Sixth edition 1913. UBA; UBT.

Seventh edition 1918. BC

A4 B13

Note 1: This work, intended for teacher examinations, differed from Ten Bruggencate's textbook of 1887, whose title resembles this publication.

Note 2: It was the companion part to the *Nieuwe Engelsche Grammatica* 1899.

1899 **GRONDHOUD, C. & ROORDA, P.**

Engelsch leesboek. Deel I.

Groningen: P. Noordhoff, 1899

BC

A2 B1

Second edition 1900. BC

Third edition 1902. UBA

Ninth and tenth editions 1910. BC

Eleventh edition 1912. Private collection

Twelfth edition 1912. UBA

Fourteenth edition 1915. NSM

Fifteenth edition 1916. NSM

Seventeenth edition 1918. BC

Eighteenth edition 1921. Picarta

Twentieth edition 1929. BC

Twenty-first edition revised by G. Roorda 1935. – VIII, 105 pp. BC; private collection

1899 **GRONDHOUD, C. & ROORDA, P.**

Engelsch leesboek. Deel II.

Groningen: P. Noordhoff, 1899

BC

A2 B1

Second edition 1902. UBA

Fifth edition 1909. UBA

Eighth edition 1915. BC

Ninth edition 1917. BC

Tenth edition 1919. Private collection

Eleventh edition 1921-24. BC

1899 **GÜNTHER, J.H.A.**

A manual of English pronunciation and grammar for the use of Dutch students.

Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1899

BC

A4

Second revised edition 1911. BC

Third edition 1916. GBR; DDT 1899 (review by L.P.H. Eijkman)

1899 **JOSSELIN DE JONG, J. DE**

Blikken in Brittannië. Opstellen ter vertaling in het Engelsch.

Leiden: J.M.N. Kapteyn, 1899

UBA

A2 B6

Third edition 1906. NSM

Fourth edition 1912. BC

Fifth revised edition 1918. NSM

1899 REGT, C. DE

Zelfstudie in het Engelsch spreken. I. Eenvoudige oefeningen in het spreken van de Engelsche taal. Hoofdzakelijk vragen en antwoorden voor eerstbeginnenden.

Rotterdam: C. De Regt, 1899

BC

A2 B4

Note: The title on the cover reads: *Catechismus voor 't zelfonderricht in het spreken der Engelsche taal. Beg Pardon? De Regt's leerwijze van het spreken der Engelsche taal voor eerstbeginnenden en tot eigen oefening. Eerste stukje.*

1900 BAKKER, G.

De proef op de som. Verzameling van vertaal oefeningen.

's-Gravenhage: Joh. Ykema, 1900

BC

A2 B6,7

1900 BEER, TACO H. DE

Schetsen voor opstellen, naar de officiële opgaven voor het eind-examen der hoogere burgerscholen met 5-jarigen cursus 1860-1900 bewerkt. Drie delen; Engelsch deel drie.

Culemborg: Blom & Olivierse, 1900

BC

A8

1900 BEER, WILH. DE & PESCH, L. VAN

The boy's and girl's own. Reader for beginners.

Amsterdam: A. Akkeringa, 1900

BC

A2 B1

1900 BERRINGTON, B.S.

English made easy.

The Hague: Haagsche Boekhandel- en Uitgeversmij., 1900

BC

A1

1900 BRUIN, S. DE & WAANDERS, J.B.G.

Beknopte woordenlijst voor de vier talen Hollandsch, Fransch, Duitsch, Engelsch.

Amsterdam, Uitgevers-mij. "Vivat", 1900

A5

Practisch viertalig woordenboek Nederlandsch, Fransch, Duitsch, Engelsch. Tweede vermeerderde druk

Rotterdam: D. Bolle, without year. BC; Claes 1995:154 has 1911 as year of publication.

1900 GRONDHOUD, C. & ROORDA, P.

Engelsch leesboek. Deel III.

Groningen: P. Noordhoff, 1900

UBA

A2 B1

Second edition 1906. BC

Third edition 1916. BC

Fourth edition 1921-24. BC

- 1900 GÜNTHER, J.H.A.
A new English reader for the use of schools.
 Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1900
 UBA; WGG
 A2 B1
- 1900 HARTE, G.J. VAN
The English Language. Part Ib. Pleasant Tales and Stories. Companion to First Steps.
 Purmerend: J. Muusses, 1900
 BC
 A1 B1 (B5 from the 6th ed. onwards; cf. preface to ed. 1916)
 Second edition 1904. Preface 5th ed.
 Third edition 1907. Preface 5th ed.
 Fourth edition 1910. Preface 5th ed.
 Fifth edition 1913; GBR
 Sixth enlarged edition 1916. NSM
 Seventh edition 1920. BC
- 1900 SCHOEVERS
Schoevers' Alfabetische taalgidsen. No. 2. De Engelsche tolk. Handboekje voor den reiziger in Engeland.
 Amsterdam: Abrahamson en Van Straaten, 1900
 BC
 A5
- 1900 WAL, L. VAN DER
London pictures. With ten illustrations. Adapted for scholastic or private study.
 Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1900
 BC
 A2 B1
- 1901 ANON.
Direkte methode om Engelsch te spreken, schrijven en lezen, in korten tijd, zonder meester. Met volledige aangave der uitspraak
 Amsterdam: J.C. Auf der Heide, 1901
 BC
 A1
 Ninth edition 1906. BC
 Tenth edition 1907. BC
 Eleventh edition 1909. BC
- 1901 BAKKER, G.
The modern English irregular verbs and their accessories.
 The Hague, Joh. IJkema, 1901
 GBR; BC
 A3
- 1901 HOOGVLIET, J.M.
De eerste maanden Engelsch volgens normale methode.
 Amsterdam, S.L. van Looy, 1901
 BC
 A1

- 1901 **HUGENHOLTZ, R.A.**
A short English grammar for the use of Dutch schools
 Groningen: P. Noordhoff, 1901
 BC
 A3
- 1901 **JESPERSEN, OTTO & SARAUW, CHR.**
Engelsch voor eerstbeginnenden. Voor Nederland bewerkt door M. Meijboom. Derde deel.
 Without place, 1901
 BC
 A1
 Second edition 1906. BC
- 1901 **LOGEMAN, W.S. (1850-1932)**
Lees- en vertaalboek voor de "intermediate class" (60 stukken ter vertaling van het Hollandsch in het Engelsch en van het Engelsch in het Hollandsch) met aantekeningen en verklaringen
 Amsterdam-Kaapstad, Hollandsch-Afrikaansche Uitgeversmaatschappij, nummer VIIa in de A-Z serie, 1901-1907
 BC
 A2 B1,5
- 1901 **LOGEMAN, W.S. (1850-1932)**
25 extracts from various authors, edited with notes and vocabulary for translation into Dutch and with exercises on Dutch synonyms (voor intermediaire en BA klassen)
 Amsterdam-Kaapstad, Hollandsch-Afrikaansche Uitgeversmaatschappij, nummer VIII in de A-Z serie, 1901-1907
 BC
 A2 B7,11
- 1902 **BEST, D.B.**
Easy steps in English composition, 2 deeltjes
 Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1902
 WGG
 A2 B2
 Second edition first vol. 1906. BC
- 1902 **BEST, D.B.**
Extracts for translation into Dutch for the use of the senior classes of "gymnasia" and "H.B. Scholen" and students preparing for the "L.O." certificate.
 Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1902
 BC
 A2 B1,7
 Second edition 1907. BC
 Third edition 1911. BC
 Fourth edition 1914. BC
 Fifth edition 1918. BC
 Sixth edition 1920. Private collection
- 1902 **BOLKESTEIN, J.J.A. & ENT, W.A. VAN DER**
Technisch leer- en leesboek voor het onderwijs in het Engelsch aan ambachtsscholen, machinistenscholen en burgeravondscholen.
 Zaltbommel: H.J. Van de Garde & Co., 1902

- BC
A1
Second edition 1905. BC
Third improved and enlarged edition 1908. BC
- 1902 FIJN VAN DRAAT, P. & JOSSELIN de JONG, J.
Outlanders. Foreign words used in Dutch and their English equivalents. Vreemdelingen. Vreemde woorden en gezegden bij beschaafde Nederlanders in gebruik met hunne Engelsche equivalenten.
Leiden: J.M.N. Kapteyn, 1902
BC
A5
Another edition. Zutphen: W.J. Thieme & Cie. 1936. BC
- 1902 PICNOT, A. & GORTER, I.
Wolters' new reader
Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1902
BC
A2 B1
- 1902 SONIUS, W.H.
Dictation exercises, to be used in preparing candidates for the examination L.O.
Purmerend: J. Muusses, 1902
BC
A2 B9
- 1902 SONIUS, W.H.
Touchstones on English grammar. For the use of students of English L.O.
Purmerend: J. Muusses, 1902. 3 parts: IA, IB, IIA (*English phonetics and pronunciation*)
BC
A3 B10
- 1902 TIMMERMAN, C.
First exercises in English grammar.
Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1902
BC
A2 B6,10
Second edition 1908. BC
- 1902 TIMMERMAN, C.
The first reader
Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1902
BC
A2 B1
Second edition 1907. BC
- 1902 TIMMERMAN, C.
Think in English. Exercises in composition. Met afbeeldingen. First series.
Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1902
BC
A2 B2
Fourth edition 1910. BC

- 1902 **VELLENGA, J.**
English for continental pupils. A class-book for beginners. 2 deeltjes;
 Amsterdam: W. Versluys, 1902
 BC
 A1
 Third edition vol.1, 1909. BC
- 1902 **VOLBEDA, R.**
A second year's course of English grammar, idiom and composition. A book for the use of "HBS" and "Gymnasium".
 Gorinchem: J. Noorduyn & Son, 1902
 BC
 A1
- 1903 **ANEMA, L.S.**
Engelsche Correspondentie. Leerboek ten gebruike bij het handelsonderwijs.
 Rotterdam: G.Delwel, 1903
 Private collection
 A2 B2,6,7,14
 Second edition c1907. Reference in preface December 1907
- 1903 **BAKKER, G.**
Wenken bij het spreken der Engelsche taal (laten, moeten, toch)
 's-Gravenhage: Joh. IJkema, 1903
 BC
 A3
- 1903 **BERRINGTON, B.S.**
Lessons in English conversation for the use of the higher classes in schools and for Dutchmen travelling in England.
 Amsterdam: Uitgevers-maatschappij "Elsevier", 1903
 BC
 A2 B4
- 1903 **DONGEN, W. VAN**
Tien mondelinge examens Engelsch L.O. Vragen voorzien van antwoorden.
 Gorinchem: F. Duym, 1903
 BC
 A8
Derde bundel 1918. Private collection
- 1903 **HEYMAN, C.**
Practical rules for pronunciation. Regels voor de uitspraak van het Engels.
 Haarlem: H.N. Mul, 1903
 BC
 A4
- 1903 **HOOG Azn., W. DE**
Hints and questions for the use of candidates, lower and secondary instruction English
 Second edition. Dordrecht: J.P. Revers, 1903
 BC
 A8

- 1903 **TIMMERMAN, C.**
Think in English. Exercises in composition. Met afbeeldingen. Second series.
 Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1903
 NSM
 A2 B2
- 1903 **VOLBEDA, R.**
A third year's course of English grammar, idiom and composition. A book for the use of "HBS" and "gymnasiums".
 Gorinchem: J. Noorduyn & Son, 1903
 BC
 A1
- 1904 **BERRINGTON, JOHN S.**
Modern English Grammar, II parts: I for junior pupils, II for advanced pupils.
 Purmerend: J. Muusses, 1904
 BC
 A3
 Second edition vol. I 1913. BC
- 1904 **BRUINS, J.A.**
An English reading-book for advanced students
 Groningen: P. Noordhoff, 1904
 BC
 A2 B1
- 1904 **CHIJS, J. VAN DER**
Uitspraakregels van het Engels; met een korte inleiding in de klankleer voor leerlingen van scholen voor MULO.
 Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1904.
 GBR
 A4
- 1904 **DIRCKX, K.A.**
Engelsch-Nederlandsche klank- en zinverwante woorden (paroniemen)
 Purmerend: J. Muusses, 1904
 BC
 A5
- 1904 **DONGEN, W.A. VAN**
De examen-opgaven voor de akte Engelsch L.O. (1890 tot heden), met 300 vragen over "uitspraak" en 480 over "spraakunst" verzameld.
 Rotterdam, S. Zwart Jr., 1904.
 BC
 A8
 Second enlarged edition. Gorinchem, F. Duym, 1905. BC
 Third enlarged edition. 1909. BC
 Fourth enlarged edition. *De examen-opgaven voor de akte Engelsch L.O. (1890 tot heden) met 375 vragen over "uitspraak" en 850 over "spraakunst".* 1913. Private collection.
 Ninth edition revised by G.A. van Dongen. *De examen-opgaven voor de akte Engelsch L.O. (1905 tot heden), met 400 vragen over uitspraak en 850 vragen over spraakkunst verzameld.* Amsterdam: H.A. van Bottenburg, 1934. Private collection.

Thirteenth edition revised by G.A. van Dongen. *De examen-opgaven voor de akte Engelsch L.O. (1930 tot heden)*. Gorinchem: J. Noorduijn en zoon, 1957. Private collection.

1904 **FROE, A. DE**

An English reader for commercial schools selected from Hooper-Graham "Modern business methods".

Groningen: P. Noordhoff, 1904.

BC

A2 B1

Second revised edition 1908. BC

Third revised and enlarged edition 1911. BC

Fourth edition 1916. BC

Fifth edition 1920. Private collection

1904 **GRASÉ, J.C.G.**

Oefeningen in de Engelsche Taal III. Idiom and grammar for higher forms, on an inductive plan

Groningen, J.B. Wolters, met afb. 1904. – xiii, 112 pp.

BC; Wolters' Catalogue 1903 (book reviews)

A1 B9,11,12

Second revised edition 1909 – xiv, 116p. – fl. 1.90. Wolters' Catalogue 1915

1904 **GÜNTHER, J.H.A.**

English Synonyms explained and illustrated.

Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1904

A5

Private collection

Second edition 1911.

Third edition 1917.

Fourth edition 1922. Private collection

Fifth edition 1928. BC

Note: See references to 2nd and 3rd editions in 1922 edition.

1904 **LELIVELD, J.J.**

Technische woorden en uitdrukkingen ten dienste van den machine-technicus (Nederlandsch, Engelsch en Hoogduitsch).

Groningen, J.B. Wolters, 1904

BC

A5

Second improved and enlarged edition 1910. BC

1904 **TIMMERMAN, C.**

Think in English. Exercises in composition. Met afbeeldingen. Second Series.

Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1904

BC

A2 B2

Second edition 1910. BC

1904 **VOLBEDA, R.**

A second year's course of English reading-lessons. A book for the use of "HBS" and "gymnasiums".

Zutphen: W.J. Thieme & Cie., 1904

- BC
A2 B1
- 1905 **BARNHILL, JOHN BASIL**
The Practical Englishman (an improved Berlitz Method)
Groningen: G.A. Evers, 1905
BC
A1
Second edition ("with Americanisms"), Groningen, P. Noordhoff, 1910. BC
- 1905 **BERRINGTON, B.S & BERRINGTON, JOHN S.**
English anecdotes. With explanations and notes in Dutch.
Purmerend: J. Muusses, 1905
BC
A2 B1
- 1905 **BERRINGTON, B.S. & BERRINGTON, JOHN S.**
English riddles. With explanations and notes in Dutch.
Purmerend: J. Muusses, 1905
BC
A2 B1
- 1905 **BERRINGTON, B.S. & BERRINGTON, JOHN S.**
1500 English proverbs and expressions. With a Dutch translation.
Bussum: C.A.J. Van Dishoeck, 1905
BC
A5
- 1905 **BRUIN. S. DE**
De Engelsche handelscorrespondent zonder meester, in korten tijd te leeren.
's-Gravenhage, A.W. Segboer (Amsterdam, A.W.M. van Hees), 1905
BC
A2 B14
Second edition 1907. BC
- 1905 **FROE, A. DE**
Kern der Engelsche spraakkunst
Groningen: P. Noordhoff, 1905
BC
A3
Second edition 1912. BC
Third edition 1913. BC
Fifth edition 1921. BC
Sixth edition 1925. BC
Seventh edition 1931. BC
- 1905 **HULSMAN, A.**
Voorbereiding tot het eind-examen Gymnasium. Engelsch voor de 4de en 5de klas, ter schriftelijke vertaling.
Leiden: G.F. Théonville, 1905
BC
A2 B1,7

- 1905 HUYNINK, W.
Eenvoudig Engelsch. 1e deeltje
 Purmerend: J. Muusses, 1905
 BC
 A1
 Third edition 1910. BC
 Fourth edition 1911. BC
 Sixth edition 1915. BC
 Seventh edition 1916. NSM
 Eighth edition 1917. BC
 Fifteenth edition 1930. BC
 Sixteenth edition 1933. BC
 Seventeenth edition 1938. BC. 96 pp.
 Nineteenth edition 1952. NSM
- 1905 SCHNITZLER, J.M.
Mijn Engelsche reisgezel. Engelsch-Nederlandsche samenspraken en woordenlijst voor ieder die zich op reis verstaanbaar wil maken.
 Amsterdam: Allert de Lange, 1905
 BC
 A5 B4,11,12
- 1905 SONIUS, W.H.
Acht examens handelscorrespondentie Engelsch, met appendix: free translations. Van vertalingen en aantekeningen voorzien.
 Gorinchem: F. Duym, 1905
 BC
 A8
- 1905 TIMMERMAN, C.
Hoofdzaken der uitspraak van het Engelsch.
 Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1905
 BC
 A4
- 1905 TIMMERMAN, C.
Twelve English lessons; met zwarte en gekleurde afbeeldingen
 Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1905
 BC
 A1
- 1905 VOLBEDA, R.
A first year's course of English (Grammar, idiom, composition, pronunciation, and reading-lessons)
 Zutphen: W.J. Thieme & Cie., 1905. – 8 plates
 BC
 A1
- 1905 VOORT, J.H. VAN DER
English reading-book for middle classes
 Gouda: G.B. van Goor Zonen, 1905
 BC
 A2 B1

- 1905 **WILDE, J.F. DE**
A new English reader for beginners
 Haarlem; H.D. Tjeenk Willink & Zn, 1905
 BC
 A2 B1
 Second edition 1909. BC
- 1906 **BENSE, J.F.**
A progressive English reader for secondary schools, with an illustrating appendix on English institutions
 Groningen: P. Noordhoff, 1906
 BC
 A2 B1
- 1906 **BERGMAN, C. & GAAF, W. VAN DER**
Engelsche Handelscorrespondentie
 Amsterdam/Pretoria, Boekhandel vh Höveker & Wormser (Purmerend: J. Muusses), 1906
 BC
 A2 B2, 14
 Second edition 1910. BC
 Note: This book was vol. 4 of a series entitled *Handelsonderwijs*, which appeared between 1903 and 1910 and which comprised 19 volumes.
- 1906 **DONGEN, W. VAN**
English reading-book. With a word of introduction by J. van der Valk.
 Rotterdam: J.M Bredée, 1906
 BC
 A2 B1
- 1906 **EIJKMAN, L.P.H.**
The A and B certificates. The examination papers (translations into English) set during the last 17 years, with questions on idiom, grammar and pronunciation.
 Groningen: P. Noordhoff, 1906
 BC; private collection
 A8
 Second edition 1925. BC
- 1906 **FIJN VAN DRAAT, P.**
Vertaalboek voor a.s. kandidaten middelbaar onderwijs.
 Utrecht: W. Leydenroth van Boekhoven, 1906.
 BC
 A2 B5
 Fifth edition 1922. Private collection
 Sixth edition 1927. BC
 Seventh edition. Bilthoven: G. Jonker, 1939. Private collection
- 1906 **FROE, A. DE**
Engelsche handelsterminologie. Leer- en oefenboek bij "An English reader" (1904)
 Groningen: P. Noordhoff, 1906.
 BC
 A5
 Second revised edition 1910. Private collection

1906 NOLST TRENITÉ, G.

First recitation book

Haarlem: H.D. Tjeenk Willink & Zoon, 1906

BC

A2 B4

Second edition 1908. BC

Fifth edition 1915. Private collection

Sixth edition 1917. Reference in 8th ed.

Seventh edition 1921. Reference in 8th ed.

Eighth edition 1928. Private collection

Note: The eighth edition indicates the number of copies printed until then:
"41-55th thousand".

1906 NOLST TRENITÉ, G.

The nutshell. Shortest English grammar.

H.D. Tjeenk Willink & Zoon: 1906

BC

A3

Second edition. 1910. BC

1906 PICNOT, A.

A concise grammar of the English language for Dutch pupils

Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1906

BC

A3

1906 SCHOLTENS Kz, H.

In London. An introduction into English life for Dutch pupils and travellers. From the German. With a map of London.

Utrecht: Kemink & Zoon, 1906

BC

A2 B1

1906 TIMMERMAN, C.

Reader and home lesson book. 1e deeltje.

Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1906

BC

A2 B1

1906 WEL, A.R. VAN

A practical English grammar for the second year

Zutphen: W.J. Thieme & Cie., 1906

BC

A3

Second revised and enlarged edition 1910. BC

1906 WEL, A.R. VAN

Exercises on a Practical English Grammar for the second year

Zutphen: W.J. Thieme & Cie., 1906;

BC

A2 B6,10

Second revised and enlarged edition 1910. BC

- 1907 ANON.
Engelsch voor eerstbeginnenden, door het hoofd eener school voor MULO
 Nijverdal: B. Westera, 1907
 BC
 A1
- 1907 ANON.
Engelsche handelscorrespondentie. Zonder onderwijzer in een maand te leeren, uitsluitend bewerkt voor zelfoefenaars.
 Second edition. Amsterdam (Hilversum), J.C. Auf der Heide, 1907
 BC
 A2 B14
- 1907 BAKKER, G.
Prepare first, recite next. Conversational lessons to make well-known songs easily understood.
 Zutphen: W.J. Thieme & Cie., 1907
 BC
 A2 B4
- 1907 BRUGGENCATE, K. TEN
De belangrijkste der gedurende de jaren 1887-1907 opgegeven zinnen voor het examen Engelsch L.O., voor den druk bezorgd door K. ten Bruggencate en L. van der Wal.
 Third edition. Culemborg: Blom & Olivierse, 1907.
 BC
 A8
- 1907 DONGEN, W. VAN
Tien nieuwe mondelinge examens Engelsch L.O. Vragen voorzien van antwoorden.
 Gorinchem, F. Duym, 1907
 BC
 A8
- 1907 FRANCKE, L.
Oefeningen op het Engelsch leerboek van Th. Neervens
 Leiden: G.F. Théonville, 1907
 BC
 A2 B6
 Note: UBT has another edition, without year, published by Dieben of Leiden. – IV, 75 pp.
- 1907 FROE, A. DE
England, its commerce and colonies
 Groningen: P. Noordhoff, 1907
 BC
 A2 B1
- 1907 HUYNINK, W.
Eenvoudig Engelsch. 2e deeltje
 Purmerend: J. Muusses, 1907
 BC
 A1
 Second edition 1910. BC
 Third edition 1912. BC

- Fifth edition 1917. BC
 Seventh edition 1922-1924. BC
- 1907 **IJMKER, H. & VELDHUYSEN, W. Th.**
English for children. Geleidelijke leergang voor het onderwijs in de Engelse taal. 1e deeltje
 's-Gravenhage: Gebr. van Cleef, 1907
 BC
 A1
 Second edition 1910. BC
 Third edition 1911. BC
 Ninth and tenth editions 1915. BC
 Eleventh and twelfth editions 1916. BC
 Nineteenth and twentieth editions 1920. BC
 Twenty-first/twenty-fourth editions 1921-1924. BC
 Thirty-fifth/thirty-seventh editions 1943-1945. BC. – 74 pp.
 Forty-fourth/fiftieth editions 1951-1955. BC. 72 pp.
 Fifty-first/fifty-fifth editions 1956-1960. BC. 72 pp.
 Fifty-sixth edition 1962. BC. 80 pp.
 Fifty-eighth edition 1969. BC. 80 pp.
- 1907 **IJMKER, H. & VELDHUYSEN, W. Th.**
English for children. Geleidelijke leergang voor het onderwijs in de Engelse taal. 2e deeltje
 's-Gravenhage, Gebr. van Cleef, 1907
 BC
 A1
 Second edition 1910. BC
 Third edition 1911. BC
 Seventh edition 1915. BC
 Eighth edition 1916. BC
 Fourteenth edition 1920. BC
 Fifteenth/seventeenth editions 1921-1924. BC
 Twenty-third edition 1943. BC. – 60 pp.
 Twenty-seventh/twenty-ninth editions 1951-1954. BC. 60 pp.
 Thirtieth/thirty-first editions 1956-1959. BC. 60 pp.
 Thirty-second edition 1962. BC. 79 pp.
 Thirty-fourth edition 1970. BC. 79 pp.
- 1907 **KUIPER, W.J.**
Handboek voor de correspondentie, zoowel voor particulieren als voor kooplieden, in het Nederlandsch, Engelsch, Duitsch, Fransch en Spaansch. Met medewerking van R. Volbeda, A.A. Heskes en Mej. Ad. Godoy.
 Gouda: Van Goor Zonen, 1907
 BC
 A1
- 1907 **MIERAS Jr, M.**
Engelsche lees- en spreekoefeningen
 Utrecht: Kemink & Zoon, 1907. vol. 1
 BC
 A2 B1,4

- 1907 MIERAS Jr, M.
Het eerste onderwijs in de Engelsche taal, op aanschouwelyken grondslag naar platen van Van Lummel.
 Utrecht: Kemink & Zoon, 1907;
 BC
 A1
 Second improved and enlarged edition 1908. BC
- 1907 NEERVENS, Th.
Engelsch leerboek ten dienste van het Gymnasiaal en Middelbaar Onderwijs
 Utrecht: G.F. Théonville, 1907 – 3 vols.
 BC
 A1
 Second edition 1919. Leiden: Dieben. UBT. – 5 vols.
- 1907 TIMMERMAN, C.
English for beginners. Introductory to "Twelve English lessons, 1st set"; met afbeeldingen in de tekst.
 Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1907
 BC
 A1
- 1907 TIMMERMAN, C.
The second reader
 Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1907
 BC
 A2 B1
- 1907 WEL. A.R. VAN
An English reader for the second year
 Zutphen: W.J. Thieme & Cie., 1907
 BC
 A2 B1
- 1907 WEL, A.R. VAN
A new course of translation from Dutch into English for higher forms
 Zutphen: W.J. Thieme & Cie., 1907
 BC
 A2 B6
- 1908 ANON.
Engelsche Handelstermen, zinnen en afkortingen, met de Nederlandsche vertaling, voor zelfoefening en schoolgebruik.
 Amsterdam (Hilversum): J.C. Auf der Heide, 1908
 BC
 A5
 Note: In 1908 similar books for French and German appeared under the title *Handelstermen*, published by the same firm.
- 1908 ANON.
Van Goor's miniatuur Engelsch woordenboek Engelsch-Nederlandsch en Nederlandsch-Engelsch. Uitgave in de vereenvoudigde Kolloewijn spelling.
 Gouda: G.B. Van Goor Zonen, 1908
 BC

- A6
Second edition 1909. BC; Claes 1995:71
- 1908 **BAKKER, G.**
English commercial readingbook; deel X in de reeks "Handelsonderwijs".
Amsterdam/Pretoria, Boekhandel vh Höveker & Wormser (Purmerend: J. Muusses), 1908
BC
A2 B1,14
- 1908 **CAPPELLE, C.A.E. VAN**
Translation book from English into Dutch for the high school, with examination papers for matriculation etc.
Amsterdam-Kaapstad: Hollandsch-Afrikaansche Uitgevers-maatschappij, 1908
BC
A2 B7
- 1908 **FIJN VAN DRAAT, P.**
A short English grammar
Utrecht: Van der Heide & Leydenroth, 1908
BC
A3
Second edition 1911. BC
Fourth edition 1915. BC
Seventh edition 1923. BC
Eighth edition 1932. BC
- 1908 **FROE, A. de**
Engelsche handelscorrespondentie. Grammaticaal oefenboek.
Groningen: P. Noordhoff, 1908
A2 B2,10,14
BC
Second edition 1910. BC
Third revised edition 1914. BC
Fourth revised edition 1917,1918. BC. – 2 vols.
Fifth edition 1921. BC
Sixth edition 1924. BC
Note: These were volumes in the "Gruno handelsserie" edited by A. de Froe.
- 1908 **GRASÉ, J.C.G.**
English Grammar of the First Year.
Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1908
BC
A3
Third edition c1915. Wolters' Catalogue 1915
- 1908 **HUYNINK, W.**
Eenvoudig Engelsch. 1e deeltje A, leesboek
Purmerend, J. Muusses, 1908
A2 B1
BC
Third edition 1911. BC
Fifth edition 1914. BC

- Sixth edition 1916. BC
 Ninth edition 1920. BC
 Thirteenth edition 1930. BC
 Fourteenth edition 1934. BC
- 1908 HUYNINK, W.
Eenvoudig Engelsch. 2e deeltje A, leesboek
 Purmerend: J. Muusses, 1908
 BC
 A2 B1
 Second edition 1912. BC
 Third edition 1915. BC
 Fourth edition 1919. BC
- 1908 KOOLHOVEN, H.
A handful of old stories. A course of elementary composition and recitation
 's-Gravenhage: Joh. IJkema, 1908
 BC
 A2 B2,4
- 1908 LELIVELD, J.J.
Engelsch leerboek voor handelsscholen
 Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1908
 BC
 A1
- 1908 NOLST TRENITÉ, G.
First pictorial wordbook. A exercises. B Illustrations. Met 12 platen op 6 bladzijden.
 Haarlem: H.D. Tjeenk Willink & Zoon, 1908
 BC
 A5
- 1908 NOLST TRENITÉ, G.
Second Recitation book
 Haarlem, H.D. Tjeenk Willink & Zoon, 1908
 BC
 A2 B4
- 1908 RIJN, C.J. VAN
Hollandsch-Engelsch en Engelsch-Hollandsch woordenboek voor Zuid-Afrika en Europa in de vereenvoudigde (Kollewijn) spelling met de beste Kaapse woorden, met aanduiding in het tweede deel van de uitspraak van elk woord.
 Gouda: G.B. Van Goor Zonen, 1908
 BC has: 2 vols.; Claes 1995:69 has: VI + 716 pp.
 A6
- 1908 TIMMERMAN, C.
Dutch texts, to be translated into English
 Second edition. Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1908
 BC
 A2 B6
- 1908 TIMMERMAN, C.
Reader and home lesson book. 2e deeltje
 Groningen, J.B. Wolters, 1908

BC

A2 B1

1908 WEL, A.R. VAN

An English reader for higher forms, edited with notes

Zutphen: W.J. Thieme & Cie., 1908

A2 B1

1908 IJMKER, H. & VELDHUYSEN, W. Th.

English for children. Geleidelijke leergang voor het onderwijs in de Engelse taal. 3e deeltje.

's-Gravenhage, Gebr. van Cleef, 1908

BC

A1

Second edition 1911. BC

Fifth edition 1915. BC

Sixth edition 1917. BC

Ninth edition 1919. BC

Tenth and eleventh editions 1921-1924. BC

Fifteenth and sixteenth editions 1943-1945. BC. – 81 pp.

Eighteenth edition 1953. BC. – 81 pp.

Nineteenth edition 1960. BC. – 81 pp.

1908 IJMKER, H. & VELDHUYSEN, W. Th.

English for children. Geleidelijke leergang voor het onderwijs in de Engelse taal. 4e deeltje

's-Gravenhage, Gebr. van Cleef, 1908

BC

A1

Second edition 1912. BC

Third edition 1914. BC

Fourth edition 1916. BC

Sixth edition 1918. BC

Seventh and eighth editions 1921-1924. BC

Ninth edition 1932. BC

1909 ANON.

Leesboek voor handelsscholen. Fransch, Duitsch, Engelsch.

Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1909

BC

A2 B1

1909 ANON.

Handels-Engelsch (met verklarende noten) ten dienste van handelsscholen, handels-cursussen en zelfstudie. Deel 14 van de Handelsstudie-serie.

's-Gravenhage: Van der Laan & Co., 1909

BC

A1

1909 ANON.

Oefenmateriaal (Engelsch) voor handelscorrespondenten, met uitwerkingen. Deel 13 van de Handelsstudie-serie.

's-Gravenhage: Van der Laan & Co., 1909

BC

A2 B2,14

Note: The *Handelsstudie* series appeared in 1909/1910 and comprised 29 volumes.

1909 **BAKKER, G.**

English commercial vocabulary. Terminology and phraseology for the use of students of commercial English; deel VII in de reeks Handelsonderwijs.

Amsterdam/Pretoria, Boekhandel vh Höveker & Wormser (Purmerend: J. Muusses),

1909

BC

A5

1909 **BAKKER, G.**

Handels-ideeën. Oefeningen ter vertaling in de hoogste klassen van handelsscholen, voor cursussen, en privaatonderricht. Met de noodige aanwijzingen in 't Engelsch.

Purmerend: J. Muusses, 1909

BC

A2 B6,7

1909 **BERKUM, A. VAN**

Engelsch leesboek voor handelsscholen

Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1909

BC

A2 B1

1909 **BOUTEN, S. & VERSTEEG, L.**

Elements of English grammar, with exercises and translation

Amsterdam: W. Versluys, 1909,

BC

A1

Third edition 1914. GBR

Fifth edition 1918. GBR

Seventh edition 1922. GBR

1909 **DONGEN, W. VAN**

English idiom; a series of questions for the use of candidates L.O.

Gorinchem: F. Duym, 1909

BC

A5

1909 **FIJN VAN DRAAT, P.**

The pronunciation of English

Utrecht: W. Leydenroth van Boekhoven, 1909

BC

A4

Third edition 1924. Private collection

Fourth edition 1939. BC

1909 **IJMKER, H. & VELDHUYSEN, W.Th.**

The graduated reader. A companion to "English for Children". 1e deeltje.

The Hague, Van Cleef Brothers, 1909

BC

A2 B1

Second edition 1911. BC

- Fourth edition 1914. BC
 Fifth edition 1916. BC
 Eighth edition 1919. BC
 Ninth and tenth editions 1921-1925. BC
 Eighteenth edition 1967. BC
 note: See Brinkman's Catalogue for details all the subsequent reprints and editions.
- 1909 **IJMKER, H. & VELDHUYSEN, W.Th.**
The graduated reader. A companion to "English for Children". 2e deeltje
 The Hague, Van Cleef Brothers, 1909
 A2 B1
 Second edition 1912. BC
 Third edition 1914. BC
 Fourth edition 1916. BC
 Seventh edition 1920. BC
 Eighth edition 1921-1925. BC
 Fifteenth edition 1966. BC
 Note: See Brinkman's Catalogue for all the subsequent reprints and editions
- 1909 **JESPERSEN, O.**
Engelsche leesstukken met oefeningen voor jeugdige leerlingen. Voor Nederland bewerkt door W.R. Otto de Vries.
 Groningen: P. Noordhoff, 1909
 GBR; BC
 A2 B1
- 1909 **LELIVELD, J.J.**
Engelsche handelsterminologie
 Groningen; J.B. Wolters, 1909
 BC
 A5
- 1909 **MIERAS Jr, M.**
Engelsche lees- en spreekoefeningen
 Utrecht, Kemink & Zoon, 1907. vol. 2
 BC
 A2 B1,4
- 1909 **MIERAS Jr, M.**
Engelsche lees- en spreekoefeningen
 Utrecht, Kemink & Zoon, 1907. vol. 3
 BC
 A2 B1,4
- 1909 **NOLST TRENTÉ, G.**
Drop your foreign accent. Vocal gymnastics.
 Haarlem: H.D. Tjeenk Willink & Zoon, 1909
 BC
 A4
 Second edition 1913. BC
 Third edition. CBR
 Fourth edition 1920. BC
 Fifth edition 1929. BC

- Sixth edition 1941. BC
 Seventh edition 1944. BC
 Eighth revised edition 1947. Private collection
 Ninth revised edition 1953. BC
 Thirteenth edition 1973. BC
 Note 1: The 8th edition sums up the years in which the second and subsequent editions/reprints came out.
 Note 2: See Posthumus (1998) on the role of this book in pronunciation practice.
- 1909 **NOLST TRENITÉ, G.**
Second pictorial wordbook. A exercises B Illustrations. Met 14 platen op 6 bladzijden.
 Haarlem: H.D. Tjeenk Willink & Zoon, 1909
 BC
 A5
- 1909 **SCHIDLOF/TRICHT, A.J. VAN/BRADLEY, JAMES R.**
Zelfonderricht naar Schidlof's Taalmethode praxis voor vreemde talen. 1000 woorden systeem. Engelsch. Voor Nederland bewerkt door Mej. A.J. Van Tricht en Prof. James R. Bradley.
 Amsterdam: H. Meulenhoff, 1909
 BC
 A1
 Second edition 1910. BC
 Third edition 1912. BC
 Fifth edition revised by W. Van Doorn 1922. BC
 Sixth edition revised by W. Van Doorn 1931. BC
 Ninth edition 1955. BC
- 1909 **SIEVERDINK, H.**
Oefeningen ter vertaling in het Engelsch, ontleend aan de examens in Engelsche handelscorrespondentie en de practijk
 Rotterdam: D. Bolle, 1909
 A2 B6,14
- 1909 **TIMMERMAN, C.**
A short English schoolgrammar
 Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1909
 BC
 A3 B9
- 1909 **TIMMERMAN, C.**
Reader and home lesson book. 3e deeltje
 Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1909
 BC
 A2 B1
- 1909 **VOLBEDA, R.**
The English diphthongs, compared with such sounds in Dutch, French and German, as make nearly the same impression on the ear. A book for the use of students of phonetics.
 Gouda, G.B. Van Goor Zonen, 1909
 BC
 A4

- 1909 **WAL, L. VAN DER**
Leercursus der Engelsche taal. Eerste jaar. Uitspraak, spraakkunst, lees-, vertaal- en spreekoefeningen.
 Zwolle: W.E.J. Tjeenk Willink, 1909
 BC
 A1
- 1910 **ANON.**
Van Belkum's Hollandsch-Engelsch woordenboekje.
 Zutphen: P. Az. van Belkum, 1910
 Claes 1995:71
 A6
- 1910 **ANON.**
Practijk-examens (Engelsch), met volledige uitwerkingen. Deel 19 in de Handelsstudie-serie.
 's-Gravenhage: Van der Laan & Co., 1910
 BC
 A8
- 1910 **ANTON, R.**
Do you speak English? Engelsche spreekoefeningen over alles wat in het dagelijks leven voorkomt.
 Baarn: J.F. van de Ven, 1910
 BC
 A2 B4
 Second edition 1915 (number 18 in the "Practische Bibliotheek"). BC
- 1910 **FROE, A. DE**
Oefeningen bij de "Kern der Engelsche spraakkunst".
 Groningen: P. Noordhoff, 1910
 BC
 A2 B6,10
 Second revised edition 1912. BC
 Third edition 1916. BC
 Fourth edition 1919. BC
 Fifth edition 1921. BC
 Sixth edition 1926. BC
- 1910 **GRONDHOUT, C.**
Stukken ter vertaling ten dienste van studerenden verzameld.
 Groningen: P. Noordhoff, 1910
 BC
 A2 B6,7
- 1910 **IJMKER, H. & VELDHUYSEN, W.Th.**
The graduated reader. A companion to "English for Children". 3e deeltje.
 The Hague: Van Cleef Brothers, 1910.
 BC
 A2 B1
 Second edition 1913. BC
 Third edition 1916. BC
 Fourth edition 1918. BC

- Fifth edition 1921-1925. BC
 Ninth edition 1968. BC
 Note: See Brinkman for all the subsequent reprints and editions.
- 1910 **IJMKER, H. & VELDHUYSEN, W.Th.**
The graduated reader. A companion to "English for Children". 4e deeltje.
 The Hague: Van Cleef Brothers, 1910
 BC
 A2 B1
 Second edition 1915. BC
 Third edition 1919. BC
- 1910 **JONG, R.R. DE**
Mondelinge examens Engelsch L.O. bewerkt en toegelicht.
 Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1910
 BC
 A8
- 1910 **QUANJER, R.A.**
Engelsch zakwoordenboek. Engelsch-Nederlandsch. Nederlandsch-Engelsch.
 's-Gravenhage: Blankwaardt & Schoonhoven, 1910
 BC; Claes 1995:69
 A6
- 1910 **ROSSUM, P. VAN**
Practisch leerboek der Engelsche taal, ten dienste van uitgebreid lager onderwijs, herhalingscholen en taalcursussen. 3 deeltjes.
 Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1909
 BC
 A1
 Second edition 1910. BC
- 1910 **SIERSEMA, S.**
Engelsche handelscorrespondentie. Brieven en opgaven ter oefening in het schrijven van eenvoudige Engelsche handelsbrieven.
 Zutphen: W.J. Thieme & Cie., 1910
 BC
 A2 B2,6
 Note: This book was the second part of a three-volume publication for French, German and English.
- 1910 **WAIJENBURG, P.L.M. VAN**
Engelsch voor ambtenaren der in- en uitvoerrechten en accijnzen en als zoodanig fungeerende havenmeesters in Nederlandsch-Indië.
 Semarang: Boekhandel en drukkerij Masman & Stroink, 1910 ("not for sale")
 BC
 A5
- 1911 **BRANDS, J.**
300 examenzinnen, vertaald (van 't Nederlands in 't Engelsch) en geautoriseerd. Met een voorwoord van F. Van Meeuwen Jr.
 's-Gravenhage: G. Delwel, 1911
 BC
 A8

Third improved and enlarged edition Purmerend: J. Muusses. BC
Sixth improved and enlarged edition 1930. BC; Private collection
A8

1911 **DOORN, W. VAN**

Engelsche handelscorrespondentie, ook voor zelfonderricht.
Amsterdam: H. Meulenhoff, 1911
BC
A2 B14

1911 **FROE, A. DE**

English commercial correspondence. Practisch oefenboek.
Groningen: P. Noordhoff, 1911
BC
A2 B2,14

1911 **HULSMAN, ANT.**

Ter schriftelijke vertaling. Voorbereiding tot het eindexamen Gymnasium. Engelsch.
Voor de 5e en 6e klas.
Leiden: G.F. Théonville, 1911
BC
A2 B7

1911 **JANSONIUS, H.**

Beknopte Engelsche handelsgrammatica. Met oefeningen en woordenlijst.
Third edition Gouda: G.B. Van Goor Zonen, 1915.
BC
A3
Fourth and fifth editions 1917. BC
Ninth and tenth editions 1920. BC
Forty-third edition 1954. Private collection
Forty-fourth edition 1960. BC
Forty-sixth edition 1968. BC

1911 **JESPERSEN, O./PRICK VAN WELY, F.P.H.**

The England and America reader. Voor Nederland bewerkt door F.P.H. Prick van Wely
Groningen: P. Noordhoff, 1911
BC
A2 B1

1911 **KUIPER, Th.**

Hollandsch-Engelsch. Eenvoudig handboekje om zich op reis en in den omgang met het
Engelsch te helpen.
Zutphen: P. Van Belkum Az., 1911
BC
A5

1911 **QUANJER, Th.A.**

Viertalig Woordenboek om en om, bevattende Nederlandsch-Fransch-Duitsch-Engelsch
en Fransch-Nederlandsch, Duitsch-Nederlandsch, Engelsch-Nederlandsch.
's-Gravenhage: Blankwaardt & Schoonhoven, 1911
BC; Claes 1995:157
A6

- 1911 **RAA, R. TEN**
Helps [sic!] to the study of English
 The Hague, M. Van der Beek's Hofboekhandel, 1911
 BC
 A1
- 1911 **SANDBERG, J.**
Practisch Engelsch leerboek voor de studie der Engelsche taal en handelscorrespondentie ten gebruike van handels- en vakscholen, alsmede voor zelfonderricht, ter systematische opleiding tot handelscorrespondent.
 Rotterdam: D.J. Verlooy, 1911
 BC
 A1
- 1911 **VOLBEDA, R.**
De eerste weken. Handleiding bij het aanvangsonderwijs in 't Engelsch aan HBS en Gymnasia.
 Zutphen: W.J.Th. Thieme & Cie., 1911
 BC
 A7
 Third edition 1919. BC
- 1911 **WACHMANN, D.**
Practische inleiding in de Engelsche taal en conversatie. I (Scriba's practische taalboeken nummer 7).
 Amsterdam: Bureau Scriba, 1911
 BC
 A1
 Second edition 1914. BC
 Third edition 1919. BC
- 1911 **WAL, L. VAN DER**
Leercursus der Engelsche taal. Tweede jaar. Voortgezette uitspraak-, spraakkunst- en spreekoefeningen. Leesboek.
 Zwolle: W.E.J. Tjeenk Willink, 1911
 BC
 A1
- 1911 **WIDLAKÉ, F.H.L.**
Engelsch in de praktijk. Eene verzameling van Engelsche en Hollandsche opgaven ter vertaling ten dienste van handelsscholen, cursussen, en eigen studie.
 Utrecht: Kemink en Zoon, 1911
 BC
 A2 B6,7
- 1911 **ZEIJ, J.F.E.W.**
Handleiding der Engelsche taal voor de praktijk van den telegraaf- en telefoondienst. Uit officieele gegevens bewerkt.
 's-Gravenhage: NV Electriche Drukkerij en Uitg.-mij "De Atlas", 1911.
 BC; Private collection
 A5
- 1912 **ANON.**
Van Belkum's Engelsch-Hollandsch woordenboekje.
 Zutphen: P. Az. van Belkum, 1912

- Claes 1995:71
A6
- 1912 **BROERS, B.C. & ROUKENS, A.A.E.S.**
English idioms and their Dutch equivalents. Engelsche idiomatische uitdrukkingen.
Groningen: P. Noordhoff, 1912
BC; Private collection
A5
- 1912 **DONGEN, W.A. VAN**
English Idiom: a series of questions for the use of candidates L.O.
Gorinchem: F. Duym, 1912.
Private collection
A8
- 1912 **DOORN, W. VAN**
The young trader. An easy commercial reader. Nummer 1 in de Mercurius-serie.
Purmerend: J. Muusses, 1912
BC
A2 B14
Second edition 1915. BC
Third edition 1923. BC
- 1912 **FIJN VAN DRAAT, P.**
Sidelights.
Utrecht: W. Leydenroth van Boekhoven, 1912
BC
A5
Second edition 1924. Private collection
- 1912 **FOLMER, D.B.**
Translations English-Dutch and dictations.
Amsterdam: W. Versluys, 1912
BC
A2 B7,9
- 1912 **FROE, A. DE**
A commercial vocabulary. Being a companion to A Manual of Commercial English.
Groningen: P. Noordhoff, 1912
BC
A5
Third edition 1926. BC
- 1912 **FROE, A. DE**
A manual of commercial English.
Groningen: P. Noordhoff, 1912
BC
A1
- 1912 **FROE, A. DE & VERSTEEG, L.**
English prose for the first and second year
Amsterdam: H.A. van Bottenburg, 1912
BC
A2 B1

- 1912 **GRASÉ, J.C.G.**
Exercise book to English Grammar of the First Year.
 Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1912
 BC
 A2 B2,10
- 1912 **HARTE, G.J. VAN**
The study of the Pronunciation of English Facilitated.
 Purmerend: Muusses 1912
 GBR
 A4
- c1912 **HARTE, G. J. VAN**
Words and Idioms.
 Purmerend: J. Muusses [1912]
 BC
 A5
 Note: The preface to the first edition is dated December 1911.
 Second revised and enlarged edition 1913. Private collection
 Third revised and enlarged edition 1917. Private collection
 Fourth revised and enlarged edition 1922. BC
 Sixth revised and enlarged edition 1930. Private collection
 Seventh revised and enlarged edition 1934. Private collection
 Eighth edition 1938. BC
- 1912 **IJMKER & VELTHUYSEN, W.Th.**
Woordenboekje, Hollandsch-Engelsch en Engelsch-Hollandsch, bevattende alle woorden voorkomende in "English for Children"
 's-Gravenhage: Gebr. Van Cleef, 1912
 BC
 A5
 Second edition 1918. BC
 Third edition 1921. BC
- 1912 **KNOTTENBELT, A.M.**
Easy English prose for the first year.
 Purmerend: J. Muusses, 1912
 BC
 A2 B1
- 1912 **KUNSEL, H.**
A sailor's reader. Especially for the use of nautical schools.
 Groningen: P. Noordhoff, 1912
 BC
 A2 B1
 Note: In 1925 another edition appeared, edited by H. Kunsel and K.E. Kuiper.
- 1912 **LELIVELD, J.J.**
Oefeningen ter vertaling in het Engelsch en Hoogduitsch. Voor aanstaande technici en kandidaten voor het scheepsmachinisten-diploma.
 Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1912
 A2 B6

- 1912 **SMIT, P.J.**
Fransche, Duitsche en Engelsche handelstermen. 2268 N-E handelstermen. Verzameld en gerangschikt.
 Rotterdam: G. Van Rijnhuizen & Co., 1912
 BC
 A5
- 1912 **SWETS, J.C.**
Stepping-stones. Examination papers translated into English and annotated.
 Utrecht: A. Oosthoek, 1912
 BC
 A8
- 1912 **VOLBEDA, R.**
Opmerkingen over Engelsch idioom, ten bate van degenen die studeren voor de akte L.O. of MO-A
 Gouda: G.B. Van Goor Zonen, 1912
 BC; Private collection
 A5
- 1912 **WEL, A.R. VAN**
A Primer of English.
 Zutphen: W.J. Thieme & Cie., 1912
 BC
 A1
- 1913 **ANON.**
Do you read English? A selection of English prose with the translation into Dutch.
 Amsterdam: A.W.M. Van Hees, 1913
 BC
 A2 B1,7
- 1913 **FROE, A. DE**
Engelsche spreekoefeningen. Complement bij Kern der Engelsche Spraakkunst en Oefeningen bij de Kern der Engelsche Spraakkunst.
 Groningen: P. Noordhoff, 1913
 BC
 A2 B4,10
 Second edition 1927. BC
- 1913 **FROE, A. DE**
English speech-sounds
 Groningen: P. Noordhoff, 1913
 BC
 A4
- 1913 **GRAVE, P.W.M.**
Het Engelsch op het eindexamen der gymnasia en het daarmee gelijkgestelde staats-examen, bedoeld in artikel 12 der hoogeronderwijswet, being a handbook of exercises, with explanations and lists of words, for schools and private institutions. I. Texts.
 Amsterdam: S.L. Van Looy, 1913
 BC
 A8

- 1913 **IJMKER, K. & VELTHUYSEN, W. Th.**
English for advanced pupils. Part I The Verb.
 The Hague: Van Cleef Brothers, 1913
 BC
 A3
 Second edition 1916. BC
 Third edition 1919. BC
- 1913 **IJMKER, K. & VELTHUYSEN, W. Th.**
English for advanced pupils. Part II The parts of speech except the verb.
 The Hague: Van Cleef Brothers, 1913
 BC
 A3
 Second edition 1920. BC
- 1913 **JANSONIUS, H.**
English commercial idiom. Deel XI in de serie Handelsonderwijs
 (without place) 1913
 BC
 A5
 Second edition 1919. BC
- 1913 **KLEINBENTINK, S.F.**
Engelsch voor de praktijk. Korte Engelsche spraakleer.
 Tiel: D. Mijs, 1913
 BC
 A3
- 1913 **KRUISINGA, E.**
A primer of present-day English for schools.
 GBR
 A1
 Second edition. Utrecht: Kemink, 1917. Van Essen (1983:345)
- 1913 **LELIVELD, J.J.**
Technische lees- en spreekoefeningen in de Engelsche taal.
 Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1913
 BC
 A2 B1,4
 Second edition 1918. BC
 Third edition 1922. BC
- 1913 **MEURER, R.**
*Voor het examen MULO. Een aantal oefeningen ter herhaling der Engelsche spraak-
 kunst en de examenopgaven voor 't examen MULO gedurende de jaren 1907-1912
 verzameld.*
 Gorinchem: F. Duym, 1913
 BC
 A8
- 1913 **PROPER, C.B.A.**
An English reading-book for junior classes. Illustrated.
 Zwolle: W.E.J. Tjeenk Willink, 1913
 BC

- A2 B1
Second revised edition 1918. BC
- 1913 **SONIUS, W.H.**
A practical English grammar. Handleiding bij het onderwijs in de Engelsche handels-correspondentie.
Amsterdam: Engelhard, Van Embden & Cie., 1913
BC
A3
- 1913 **VECHTMAN-VETH, A.C.E.**
Grammatical and idiomatic difficulties. Especially for the use of candidates L.O.
Zutphen: W.J.Th. Thieme & Cie., 1913
BC
A3
- 1914 **ANTON, R.**
De Engelsche taal. Volledige cursus der Engelsche taal voor zelfonderricht. Met uitspraak. (nummer 51A in de Practische Bibliotheek)
Baarn: J.F. van de Ven, 1914
BC
A1
Third edition 1923. BC
- 1914 **BRANDS, J.**
The last three months. Repetitieboek voor examencandidaten in Engelsche handels-correspondentie.
Tilburg: W. Bergmans, 1914
BC
A2 B2,14
Second revised and enlarged edition Purmerend: J. Muusses. BC
Third revised and enlarged edition 1919. BC
- 1914 **FRANCKEN, J.**
Practisch Engelsch.
Purmerend: J. Muusses, 1914. 2 vols.
BC
A1
- 1914 **KRUISINGA, E.**
An Introduction to the study of English sounds.
Groningen: P. Noordhoff 1914
A4
Note 1: The book is an adaptation of Kruisinga's *A Grammar of present-day English, volume I, English Sounds* 1909.
Note 2: See Van Essen (1983:346) for references.
Second edition 1918.
Third edition 1922.
Fourth edition 1926.
Fifth edition 1931.
Sixth edition 1935.
Seventh edition 1940. Private collection
Eighth edition 1944.

Ninth edition 1947 edited by C. Hedeman and J.J. Westerbeek.

Tenth edition 1951.

Eleventh edition 1957.

Twelfth edition 1960.

Thirteenth edition 1966. Private collection.

Fourteenth edition 1975.

Fifteenth edition 1980.

1914 LAAN, J. VAN DER

Eenvoudig proza. Een bundel fragmenten en opstellen ter vertaling in het Engelsch.

Ten dienste van hoogere klassen HB school en gymnasium, van candidaten voor de acte L.O., enz.

Gorinchem: F. Duym, 1914

BC

A2 B6

Second revised edition 1914. BC

c1914 LELIVELD, J.J.

Vertaal oefeningen ten dienste van candidaten voor de Engelsche praktijkexamens.

Nummer 5 in de Mercuriusserie. Without place and year.

BC

A2 B6,7,14

1914 LIJSEN, H.J. & JACOB, F.W.

Dutch-English business terms containing about 4000 Dutch-English business terms, covering 50 business-subjects and 15 English newspaper-reports relating thereto, for translation.

Purmerend: J. Muusses, 1914.

BC; Private collection

A5

Second edition, without year. Private collection

1914 WEL, A.R. VAN

Exercises in grammar, idiom and composition for higher forms.

Zwolle: W.E.J. Tjeenk Willink, 1914

BC

A2 B2,10

1914 WEL, A.R. VAN

Grammar and idiom for higher forms.

Zwolle: W.E.J. Tjeenk Willink, 1914

BC

A3

1914 WIJGA, W.

Introductory commercial reader for commercial schools and evening classes. With notes.

Zwolle: W.E.J. Tjeenk Willink & Zoon, 1914

BC

A2 B1

1915 ANON.

Engelsch in een week. Directe methode om zonder onderwijzer spoedig Engelsch te spreken, te lezen en te verstaan. Elk woord en elke zin met nauwkeurige aangave van de uitspraak.

Hilversum, J.C. Auf der Heide, 1915;

- BC
A1
Second enlarged edition. Amsterdam: Cohen, 1918. GBR
Note: Cf. Anon. 1901: is this the same book?
- 1915 **BARENTZ, M.E.**
Hollandsch-Engelsch en Engelsch-Hollandsch zakwoordenboek.
Amsterdam: Van Holkema & Warendorf, 1915
BC; Claes 1995:61
A6
- 1915 **BROERS, A. & HAMEETMAN, R.P.G.**
Leerboek der Engelsche taal ten dienste van handelsdag- en avondscholen. Eerste deel.
Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1915
BC
A1
Second edition 1916. BC
Fifth edition 1919. BC
Sixth and seventh editions 1922-1923. BC
Twenty-second and twenty-third editions 1952-[1955]. BC
- 1915 **CROES, Th.**
Onze gids voor het Engelsch. Cursus voor de Engelsche taal, ten dienste van scheepsmachinisten en van hen, die het wenschen te worden.
Rijswijk (Z-H), Blankwaardt & Schoonhoven, 1915
BC
A1
- 1915 **DOORN, W. VAN & FABER, J.**
A pleasant introduction. English for beginners.
Amsterdam: S.L. van Looy, 1915
BC; private collection
A1
- 1915 **FIJN VAN DRAAT, P.**
Tweede vertaalboek
Utrecht: W. Leydenroth van Boekhoven, 1915
BC
A2 B5
- 1915 **FROE, A. DE**
Engelsche handelscorrespondentie. Voortgezette cursus ten behoeve van kandidaten voor een examen handelscorrespondentie (Grundo handelsserie).
Groningen: P. Noordhoff, 1915
BC
A1
- 1915 **GIJSEN, F.C.**
Nieuwe en volledige taalmethode voor zelfonderricht om in 6 maanden de Engelsche taal te leeren lezen, schrijven en spreken. Nieuwe uitgave, zorgvuldig bewerkt.
Second enlarged edition. Amsterdam: RK Boekcentrale, 1915
BC
A1
Note: The date of first publication is unknown.

- 1915 HUIZINGA, P.R. & WARREN, F.
Hollandsch-Engelsche Woorden en Uitdrukkingen (vereenvoudigde spelling).
 Second edition. Johannesburg's-Gravenhage: International Publishing Co./Van der Haar & Van Ketel, 1915
 BC
 A5
- 1915 JANSONIUS, H.
Engelsche handelsbrieven voor beginners (I). Met 18 bijlagen.
 Gouda: G.B. Van Goor Zonen, 1915.
 BC
 A2 B2,14
 Second edition 1916. BC
 Third edition 1917. BC
 Fourth edition 1918. BC
 Fifth edition 1919. Private collection
 Fortieth edition 1935. Private collection
 Fifty-sixth edition 1952. Private collection
 Sixty-first 1968. BC
- 1915 JANSONIUS, H.
Engelsche handelsbrieven voor examencandidaten (II). Met 14 bijlagen.
 Gouda: G.B. Van Goor Zonen, 1915.
 BC
 A2 B2,14
 Second edition 1918. BC
 Third edition 1920. BC
 Twenty-third edition 1953. Private collection
- 1915 JANSONIUS, H.
Engelsch handelsleesboek.
 Gouda: G.B. Van Goor Zonen, 1915
 BC
 A2 B1,14
 Second edition 1919. BC
 Third edition 1920. BC
 Fifth edition 1927. BC
 Sixth edition 1932. BC
- 1915 KAMP, C. & SPEK, C. VAN DER
Engelsch handelsleesboek. Twee delen.
 Zutphen: W.J. Thieme & Cie. 1915
 BC
 A2 B1,14
 Second edition vol one. 1919. BC
- 1915 KAMP, C. & SPEK, C. VAN DER
Engelsche handelsvertalingen ten dienste van handelsdag- en avondscholen en kandidaten voor de praktijkexamens (met aantekeningen).
 Zutphen: W.J. Thieme & Cie., 1915
 BC

- A2 B5,14
Second edition 1918. BC
- 1915 **LELIVELD, J.J.**
Technical reader. For the use of technical colleges and training schools for naval engineers.
Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1915
BC
A2 B1
- 1915 **MOOLHUYZEN, D.**
The MULO school. English primer. Introductory to any English grammar.
's-Gravenhage: H.J. Spruyt, 1915
BC
A1
- 1915 **NORWELL, LEWIS**
Engelsch in het dagelijksch leven. Nieuwe methode om zonder onderwijzer spoedig Engelsch te schrijven, te spreken en te verstaan. (Methode Auf der Heide-Wijkhuizen).
Second edition. Amsterdam: J.C. Auf der Heide, 1915
BC
A1
Third edition. Amsterdam: J.T. Swartsenberg, 1920. BC
- 1915 **PRICK VAN WELY, F.P.H.**
Sleutel bij Roorda's Dutch and English Compared. I Losse zinnen.
Third edition. Groningen: P. Noordhoff, 1915
BC; Private collection
A7
- 1916 **BROERS, A. & HAMEETMAN, R.P.G.**
Leerboek der Engelsche taal ten dienste van handelsdag- en avondscholen. Tweede deel.
Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1916.
BC
A1
Third edition 1919. BC
Fourth edition 1922-23. BC
Eighth edition 1935. Private collection
Fifteenth and sixteenth editions 1951-1954. BC
- 1916 **BROERS, A. & KOOLHOVEN, H.**
Engelsch leesboek, met hulpboekje, voor middelbare, MULO en handelsscholen. Deel I voor middelbare en MULO scholen.
Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1916
BC
A2 B1
Fourth edition 1920. BC
Fifthe and sixth editions 1921-22. BC
Seventh and eighth editions 1924. BC
Twenty-first edition 1954. BC
- 1916 **BROERS, A. & KOOLHOVEN, H.**
Engelsch leesboek, met hulpboekje, voor middelbare, MULO en handelsscholen. Deel IIa voor middelbare en MULO scholen.
Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1916

- BC
A2 B1
Third edition 1919. BC
Fourth and fifth editions 1921-23. BC
Sixth edition 1925. BC
- 1916 **CROES, Th.**
Cursus voor zelfonderricht. Engelsch voor conducteurs van spoor en tram. Engelsch voor kellners. Engelsch voor politieagenten.
Rijswijk: Blankwaardt & Schoonhoven, 1916
BC
A1
- 1916 **DOORN, W. VAN**
Improving our acquaintance. An English prose reader.
Amsterdam: S.L. Van Looy, 1916
BC
A2 B1
- 1916 **DOORN, W. VAN**
Improving our acquaintance. Dramatic conversations, with notes and exercises.
Amsterdam: S.L. Van Looy, 1916;
BC
A2 B4
Idem. *Second series* 1918. BC
- 1916 **GIJSEN, F.C.**
Engelsche handelscorrespondentie met Nederlandsche vertalingen.
Amsterdam: Engelhard, Van Embden & Co., 1916
BC
A2 B2,14
Third and fourth editions 1921-24
- 1916 **GIJSEN, F.C.**
Engelsch leesboek met Hollandsche vertalingen.
Amsterdam: De RK Boekcentrale, 1916
BC
A2 B1
- 1916 **JANSONIUS, H.**
Engelsche handelsterminologie voor examen-candidaten.
Purmerend: J. Muusses, 1916.
BC
A5
Second edition [1918]. BC
Third edition [1920]. BC
Fourth/eighth editions 1922-1927. Private collection
Twentieth edition [1951]. Private collection
Twenty-first edition 1963. BC
- 1916 **LIJSEN, H.J. & JACOB, P.W.**
Companion exercises to Dutch-English business-terms. Grammatically arranged by H.J. Lijsen.
Purmerend: J. Muusses, 1916

- BC
A2 B6,10
- 1916 **MIERAS Jr., M.**
Platen-album voor de gebruikers van Het Eerste Onderwijs.
Utrecht: Kemink & Zoon, 1916
BC
A2 B1
Note: The pictures were made by Van Lummel
- 1916 **NOLST TRENITÉ, G.**
Verbs of the First Recitation Book
Haarlem: H.D. Tjeenk Willink & Zoon, 1916
BC
A3
- 1916 **REISIGER-ECK, J.**
Woordenlijst. Vertalingen van de woorden voorkomende in First Pictorial Wordbook, exercises, by G. Nolst Trenité.
Apeldoorn: D.A. Kroeseklaas, 1916
BC
A5
- 1916 **VELLENGA, J.**
Gemakkelijke vertalingen N-E bij English for Continental Pupils. Deel I.
Amsterdam: W. Versluys, 1916
BC
A2 B6
Second edition 1920. BC
- 1916 **VOERMAN, J.S.**
Engelsch voor de praktijk.
's-Gravenhage: J. Bootsma, 1916
BC
A1
- 1917 **BOLKESTEIN, J.J.A.**
Alfabetische lijst van onregelmatige Engelsche werkwoorden met verklarende zinnen en uitdrukkingen.
Weltevreden/Amersfoort: Boekhandel Visser & Co., 1917
BC
A5
- 1917 **BROERS, A. & KOOLHOVEN, H.**
Engelsch leesboek, met hulpboekje, voor middelbare, MULO en handelsscholen. Deel IIb voor handelsscholen, bewerkt door A. Broers en R.P.G. Hameetman
Groningen, J.B. Wolters, 1917
BC
A2 B1
Second edition 1920. BC
Third edition 1922. BC
- 1917 **CROES, Th.**
Leerboek der Engelsche taal voor MULO en andere inrichtingen van voortgezet onderwijs. Deel I.

- Rijswijk: Blankwaardt & Schoonhoven, 1917
 BC
 A1
 Second edition 1920. BC
- 1917 **DOORN, W. VAN**
Improving our acquaintance. Practice makes perfect. A handful of exercises.
 Amsterdam: S.L. Van Looy, 1917
 BC
 A2 B1
 Second edition 1923. BC
- 1917 **FROE, A. DE**
Handleiding bij A First English Reader and Writer. Deel I.
 Groningen: P. Noordhoff, 1917
 BC
 A7
 Second edition 1923. BC
- 1917 **GIJSEN, F.C.**
Groote Leercursus der Engelsche Taal (met of zonder meester).
 Amsterdam/Weltevreden: Gebr. Graauw's Uitg.-Maatschappij, 1917
 Reference in 6th ed.
 A1
 Sixth edition 1940. Private collection
- 1917 **JANSONIUS, H.**
Engelsche vertaal oefeningen voor examen-candidaten.
 Purmerend: J. Muusses, 1917
 BC
 A2 B6,7
 Eleventh edition 1968. BC
- 1917 **KLEINBENTINK, S.F.**
Het eerste jaar Engelsch. Eenvoudige handleiding voor aanvangsklassen
 Tiel: D. Mijs, 1917
 BC
 A1
- 1917 **KRUISINGA, E.**
An English Grammar for Dutch students. Vol. II, Grammar and Idiom.
 Utrecht: Kemink 1917
 Van Essen 1983:346
 A3
 Second edition 1922. Van Essen 1983:346
 Third edition 1928. Van Essen 1983:346
 Fourth edition 1935. Van Essen 1983:346
- 1917 **MEURER, R.**
Words, phrases and synonyms (MULO serie).
 's-Gravenhage: D.A. Daamen, 1917
 BC
 A5

- 1917 **NOLST TRENITÉ, G.**
Engelsche uitspraak oefeningen voor schoolgebruik.
 Haarlem: H.D. Tjeenk Willink & Zoon, 1917
 A4
- 1917 **RAMECKERS, J.M.**
Engelsch vertaal- en opstellenboekje. Honderd examenopgaven ten dienste van het Middelbaar Onderwijs en MULO verzameld.
 Rotterdam: W.J. Van Hengel, 1917
 BC
 A2 B2,5
- 1917 **ZONNEVELD, K. VAN**
Studie en herhaling van Engelsche spreuken, taaleigen en synoniemen.
 Groningen: P. Noordhoff, 1917
 BC
 A5
- 1918 **CROES, Th.**
Leerboek der Engelsche taal voor MULO en andere inrichtingen van voortgezet onderwijs. Deel II.
 Rijswijk: Blankwaardt & Schoonhoven, 1918.
 BC
 A1
 Second edition 1920. Reference in 3rd ed.
 Third edition 1923. Private collection
- 1918 **FROE, A. DE**
Handleiding bij A First English Reader and Writer. Deel II.
 Groningen: P. Noordhoff, 1918
 BC
 A7
- 1918 **IJMKER H.**
Progressive English Course. Leerboek voor de Engelsche taal, ten dienste van HBS, MULO, handels- en andere cursussen. Drie delen.
 's-Gravenhage: Gebr. Van Cleef, 1918
 BC
 A1
 Third and fourth editions 1921-1924. BC
- 1918 **KRUISINGA, E.**
Vijftig oefeningen bij de Engelsche spraakkunst.
 Utrecht, Kemink 1918
 Van Essen 1983:346
 A2 B6,10
- 1918 **MAAR, H.G. DE**
Britannia. Leerboek der Engelsche taal. Deel 1.
 Utrecht, Kemink & Zoon, 1918. – fl. 1.65
 BC
 A1
 Second edition 1920. BC; private collection.
 Fourth edition 1925. Private collection

- Fifth edition 1921-25. BC
 Sixth/tenth editions 1926-1930. VIII, 240 pp. with pictures, portraits, maps and 5 plates. BC
 Eleventh/fifteenth editions. Groningen: P. Noordhoff, 1931-1935. XVI, 232 pp. with pictures, portraits and 1 map. BC
 Sixteenth edition 1937. private collection
 Seventeenth edition 1939. XVI, 240 pp. BC
 Eighteenth/twentieth editions 1941-1944. BC
 Twenty-first edition 1945. Private collection
 Twenty-second/twenty-sixth editions 1947-1950. BC
 Twenty-third edition. BC
 Twenty-fourth edition 1947. Private collection
 Twenty-sixth 1950. Private collection
 Twenty-seventh edition 1952. XVI, 238 pp. – with one map. BC
 Twenty-eighth edition 1953. BC
 Twenty-ninth edition 1956. XVIII, 259 pp. – with one map. BC
 Thirtieth edition 1959. BC; private collection
- 1918 **MAAR, H.G. DE**
Woordenlijsten E-N en N-E, ten gebruike bij Britannia, Leerboek der Engelsche taal. Deel 1.
 Utrecht, Kemink & Zoon, 1918. – fl. 0.35
 BC
 A5
 Second edition 1920. 42 pp. BC
 Fourth edition 1923. 42 pp. Private collection
 1931-1942. 48 pp. BC
 1943. 48 pp. BC
 1946-1950. 48 pp. BC
 1951. 48 pp. BC
 1956. 48 pp. BC
- 1918 **MEURER, R.**
A set of exercises. Companion to A Short English Grammar by P. Fijn van Draat.
 Utrecht: W. Leydenroth van Boekhoven, 1918
 BC
 A2 B6,10
- 1918 **ROSSUM, P. VAN**
Boeiend Engelsch. Eenvoudig leesboek ten dienste van het ULO, herhalingsscholen en taalcursussen. 2 deeltjes.
 Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1918/1919
 BC
 A2 B1
 First volume. Second edition 1920; BC
 Idem. Third edition 1924. BC
- c1918 **SNIJDERS, J.C. & P.H.**
Honderd Engelsche verhaaltjes voor mondelinge en schriftelijke reproductie, verzameld en van een woordenlijst voorzien.
 Nijmegen: L.C.G. Malmberg, without year

- BC
A2 B1,4,11
Second and third editions 1921-23. BC
- 1918 **SNIJDERS, J.C. & P.H.**
Leerboek der Engelsche taal voor scholen voor MULO en andere inrichtingen van voortgezet onderwijs. Deel een met supplement. Vertaal oefeningen N-E.
Nijmegen: L.C.G. Malmberg, 1918
BC
A1
Third and fourth editions 1923-24. BC
- 1918 **SNIJDERS, P.H.**
Vergelijkende schoolgrammatica. Voorbeelden met aantekeningen in vier talen.
Nijmegen: L.C.G. Malmberg, 1918
BC; private collection
A3 B9
- 1918 **UITTENBOGAARD, W.**
A handful of exercises. Losse zinnen ter vertaling in het Engels en omgekeerd. Verzameld ten dienste van het MULO.
Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1918
BC
A2 B6,7
Second edition 1919. BC
Third and fourth editions 1922-24. BC
- 1918 **WIJGA, W.**
A commercial reader for commercial schools, evening classes and candidates for Mercurius. With Notes.
Zwolle: W.E.J. Tjeenk Willink, 1918
BC
A2 B1
- 1919 **BRUGGENCATE, K. TEN & WAL, L. VAN DER**
De belangrijkste der gedurende de jaren 1887-1919 opgegeven zinnen voor het examen Engelsch L.O.
Culemborg: Blom & Olivierse, 1919
BC
A8
- 1919 **DOORN, W. VAN**
Improving our acquaintance. A second handful of exercises in spoken English.
Amsterdam: S.L. Van Looy, 1919
BC; private collection
A2 B4
- 1919 **EIJKMAN, L.P.H.**
Vertaal oefeningen. Overgenomen uit het Tijdschrift "De Drie Talen", voor hen die zich voor een Engelsch examen wenschen te bekwamen. Met aantekeningen.
Groningen: P. Noordhoff, 1919
BC
A2 B6.7
Third edition 1934. Private collection

1919 FROE, A. DE

Opgaven voor handelsbrieven (Grundo handelsserie)

Groningen: P. Noordhoff, 1919

BC

A2 B2,14

1919 FROE, A. DE

A First English Reader and Writer. With illustrations.

Groningen, P. Noordhoff, 1919

BC

A2 B1,2

Second edition 1921. BC

Third edition 1922. GBR

Fourth edition 1927. BC

1919 LIJSEN, H.J.

English commercial correspondence explained. Being a complete training for the practice-certificates.

Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1919

BC

A2 B2,14

1919 MAAR, H.G. DE

Britannia. Leerboek der Engelsche taal. Deel 2.

Utrecht, Kemink & Zoon, 1919. – fl. 1.90

BC

A1

Second and third editions 1921-25. BC

Fourth edition 1928. Private collection

Third/fifth editions 1925-1930. XIII, 240 pp. with portraits and maps. BC

Sixth edition 1932. VIII, 248 pp. with pictures, portraits and maps. BC

Seventh edition 1934. BC

Eighth edition 1937. VIII, 240 pp. BC

Eleventh/fifteenth editions 1946-1950. VIII, 235 pp.

Twelfth/fifteenth editions. BC

Sixteenth edition 1952. VIII, 236 pp. BC

Seventeenth edition 1956. VIII, 240 pp. BC; private collection

1919 MAAR, H.G. DE

Woordenlijsten E-N en N-E, ten gebruike bij Britannia, Leerboek der Engelsche taal. Deel 2.

Utrecht, Kemink & Zoon, 1919. – fl. 0.40

BC

A5

Third/fifth editions 1925-1930. 27 pp. BC

1931-1935. 27 pp. BC

1936-1940. 35 pp. BC

tenth and eleventh editions 1947-1949. 35 pp. BC

1952. 35 pp. BC

thirteenth edition 1963. 36 pp. BC

1919 **NOLST TRENITÉ, G.**

The punster. One hundred puns for schools.

Haarlem: H.D. Tjeenk Willink & Zoon, 1919

BC

A2 B1,4

1919 **SMIT Jr., J**

Oefeningen ter vertaling. Aids to the writing of English composition. Voor hoogere burgerscholen en de hoogste klassen der MULO scholen.

Zwolle: W.E.J. Tjeenk Willink, 1919

BC

A2 B2,6

1919 **VELLENGA, J.**

Gemakkelijke vertalingen N-E bij English for Continental Pupils. Deel II.

Amsterdam: W. Versluys, 1919

BC

A2 B6

1919 **VOLBEDA, R.**

Dictées ten bate van kandidaten voor de akte Engelsch L.O., van aantekeningen voorzien.

Zutphen: W.T.h. Thieme & Cie., 1919

BC

A2 B2,9

INDEX⁷⁰⁰ ON ELT TEXTBOOK WRITERS

Anderson	1851
Andriessen, P.J.	1850
Anema, L.S.	1903
Anon.	1800, 1803 (3), 1804 (3), 1808, 1810, c1810, 1812, 1814 (4), 1815, 1817 (2), 1818, 1819 (2), 1820, 1837, 1838, 1839, 1841, 1844, 1847, 1850 (3), 1851, 1854 (2), 1856, 1857, 1863, 1864, 1865 (3), 1866 (2), 1867, 1868, 1870, 1872, 1877, 1882, 1884, 1894, 1896, 1898, 1899 (2), 1901, 1907 (2), 1908 (2), 1909 (3), 1909 (2), 1912, 1913, 1915
Anton, R.	1910, 1914
Atwell, H.	1858
Bakker, G.	1899 (2), 1900, 1901, 1903, 1907, 1908, 1909 (2)
Barentz, M.E.	1894, 1896 (2), 1899, 1915
Barnhill, J.B.	1905
Bartlett, J.R.	1854
Beckerling Vinckers, J. (1821-1892)	1875
Beek, J. van der	1850 (3), 1862, 1863, 1868
Beer, Taco H. de (1838-1923)	1900
Beer, Wilh. de	1900
Bense, J.F.	1895 (2), 1906
Bergman, C.	1906
Berkum, A. van	1909
Berrington, B.S.	1893, 1895 (3), 1896, 1897, 1900, 1903, 1904, 1905 (3)
Berrington, John S.	1905 (3)
Bertuch, F.J.	1798-1810
Best, D.B.	1902 (2)
Bolkestein, J.J.A.	1902, 1916
Bomhoff, D.Hz. (1792-1860)	1822, 1835, 1837, 1838, 1840, 1841, 1843, 1844, 1846, 1851
Boutens, S.	1909
Bradley, James R.	1909
Brands, J.	1911, 1914

⁷⁰⁰ The index lists the names of all the ELT textbook writers that occur in Appendix Two and mentions the year(s) of publication of their textbooks. If, in a particular year, more than one textbook was published by the textbook writer concerned, the number of publications is indicated in parentheses.

Broedelet, O.C.	1853
Broers, A.	1915, 1916 (3), 1917
Broers, B.C.	1912
Brink, A.J. ten	1862
Bruggencate, K. ten (1849-1922)	1878, 1880, 1886, 1887, 1888, 1891, 1894, 1896, 1899 (3), 1907, 1919
Bruin, Servaas de (1821-1901)	1861, 1863 (2), 1870 (2), 1874, 1876, 1877, 1879, 1881, 1882, 1889, 1891, 1894, 1897, 1900, 1905
Bruining, G.	1807
Bruins, J.A.	1904
Calbet, C.	1850
Calisch, I.M. (1808-	1871, 1875, 1876-1877, 1890
Calisch, J.M.	1871
Calisch, N.S.	1890
Capelle, C.A.E. van	1908
Charlton, S.	1851
Chesterfield, P.D.S. Earl of (1694-1773)	1868
Chijs, J. van der	1904
Clairmont, K.G.	1847
Cowan, F.M. (1822-1862)	1847, 1854, 1856 (2), 1857, 1859, 1871
Croes, Th.	1915, 1916, 1917, 1918
Crüger, Carl	1862
Crump, William	1863
Deenik, A.A.	1871, c1873,
Degenhardt, Rudolph	1861
Dewald, H.P.	1876, 1889
Dingemans, B.	1864 (4)
Dirckx, K.A.	1904
Dissel, A. van	1893
Dongen, W. A. van	1903, 1904, 1906, 1907, 1909, 1912
Doorn, W. van	1911, 1912, 1915, 1916 (2), 1917, 1919
Dragt, A.J. van	1882
Duinen, P. van	1884, 1890, 1891
Eijkman, L.P.H. (1854-1937)	1894 (2), 1895, 1906, 1919
Eijl, P.B.H.	1896
Engelberts Gerrits, G. (1795-1881)	1825, 1844, 1856, 1857
Ensell, G.	1814
Ent, W.A. van der	1902
Erdbrink, D.R.	1860, 1896
Eshuijs, E.C.C.	1873
Faber, J.	1915
Fijn van Draat, P. (1860-1945)	1891, 1895 (2), 1902, 1906, 1908, 1909, 1912, 1915
Fleischmann, P.C.	1847

Folmer, D.B.	1912
Francke, L.	1907
Francken, J.	1914
Frerichs, W.D.	1853 (3)
Froe, A. de	1904, 1905, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1910, 1911, 1912 (3), 1913 (2), 1915, 1917, 1918, 1919 (2)
Gaaf, W. van der (1864-1937)	1906
Gailer, J.E.	c1839
Gauthier, P.	1871
Gedike, F. (1754-1803)	1809
Gellett, H.	1823
Gerdes, E. (1821-1898)	1851, 1855, 1856 (2), 1858,
Geus, H. de	1864
Gijzen, F.C.	1915, 1916 (2), 1917
Glaser, J.	1850
Gomm, F.S.	1877
Gorter, I.	1902
Gosler, J.C.E.	1851
Grasé, J.C.G.	1895, 1896, 1904, 1908, 1912
Grave, P.W.M.	1913
Grondhoud, C.	1899 (2), 1900, 1910
Gunn, C.H.	1848, 1850 (2), 1852, 1855 (2), c1856, 1859, 1863
Günther, J.H.A. (1853-?)	1890, 1891, 1899, 1900, 1904
Hakbijl, L. (c1786-1862)	1829, 1830 (2), 1831, 1834, 1836, c1839, 1843, 1846, 1848
Hameetman, R.P.G.	1915, 1916
Hamelberg, H.A. (1792-1852)	1842, 1843 (3), 1845
Harte, G.J. van	1894 (3), 1895, 1900, 1912, c1912,
Heintz, C.A.	1861
Helder, J.J.H.H.	1888
Helder, J.M.	1888
Herrig, Ludwig (1816-1889)	1869
Heyman, C.	1903
Hillebrands, A.J.	1848
Hoeven, A. van der	1875
Hofman, C.A.	1865, 1886, 1887, 1894, 1895, 1896
Hoffmann, J.	1861
Hollander, J.J. de (1817-1886)	1850, 1851, 1853
Hoog Azn., W. de	1890, 1903
Hoogendam, J.	1869
Hoogvliet, J.M. (1860-1924)	1901
Hooiberg, T.	1843, 1845
Hugenholtz, R.A.	1901
Huizinga, P.R.	1915
Hulsman, A.	1905, 1911
Huynink, W.	1905, 1907, 1908 (2)

Ijmker, H.	1907 (2), 1908 (2), 1909 (2), 1910 (2), 1912, 1913 (2), 1918
Irving, Elizabeth, Jane	1883
Jackson, Henry	1857
Jacob, F.W.	1914, 1916
Jacobi, P.	1861, 1864
Jaeger, A. (see Kramer, J. Jzn.)	1859
Jansonius, H. (c1881-c1971)	1911, 1913, 1915 (3), 1916, 1917
Jespersen, Otto (1860-1943)	1898, 1901, 1909, 1911
Jong Jzn. S. de	1891
Jonge, R.R. de	1910
Josselin de Jong, J. de	1899, 1902
Kamp, C.	1915 (2)
Kappelhoff, A.	1807 (3), 1808, 1812, 1814 (2), 1815, 1816, 1817
Keijzer, M.	1854, 1858
Kirchdorffer, J.S.	1815
Kleinbentink, S.F.	1893, 1896, 1913, 1917
Knight, G.	1865
Knottenbelt, A.M.	1912
Knuivers, T.	1852
Köchler, J.B.	1815
Koning, L.	1814, 1815
Koolhoven, H.	1908, 1916 (2), 1917
Koster, B.	1874, 1884, 1896 (2)
Kramer, J. Jzn. (1802-1869) (see Jaeger, A.)	1859, 1866
Kruisinga, E. (1875-1944)	1913, 1914, 1917, 1918
Kuiper, Th.	1911
Kuiper, W.J.	1907
Kunsel, H.	1912
Kunze, J.	1871
Laan, J. van der	1914
Laar, A.F. van de	1824, 1829 (2), 1835
Lagerweij, J.Cz.	1837
Landmann, F.	1889
Lange, Jan de	1857
Langenscheidt, G.	1868
Langerveldt, J.C.	1892, 1893
Lantsheer, H.W. (....-1836)	1811
Lazet, T.H.	1892
Ledeboer, J.L.	1846
Lehman, G.W.	1805, 1808
Leliveld, J.J.	1904, 1908, 1909, 1912, 1913, c1914, 1915
Ley, Charles	c1803, 1808
Lijsen, H.J.	1914, 1916, 1919
Lindo, M.P. (1819-1877)	1855

Lingen, G.H. van	1879
Lloyd, H.E. (1771-1847)	1835
Locke, W.	1801
Lock, W.	1853
Logeman, W.S. (1850-1932)	1901
Ludolph, L.J.C.	1859, 1863, 1870
Maar, H.G. de	1918 (2), 1919 (2)
Maatjes, A.B. (1820-1873)	1850, 1854, 1856, 1857, 1859, 1862 (2),
Maronier, P.	1864
Marshall, Thomas	1834, 1842, 1843, 1846 (3)
Mavor, W.F. (1758-1831)	1803
Meesters-Schilperoort, A.B. van	1860
Meijer, J.H.	1862, 1863, 1870
Melford, H.M. (1787-1864)	1844 (2)
Mensing, T.M.	1835
Mertens, A.J.	1871, 1879 (3), 1885 (3), 1890
Meurer, R.	1913, 1917, 1918
Mieras Jr., M.	1907 (2), 1909 (2), 1916
Millard, F.J.	1850, 1870 (2)
Montijn, P.A.	1895
Moolhuyzen, D.	1915
Muller, M.	1858
Munde, Carl	c1856
Murray, Lindley (1745-1826)	1807, 1816
Neck, M.G. van (1859-1945)	1887, 1889 (2), 1892
Neervens, Th.	1907
Nolst Trenité, G. (1870-1946)	1906, 1908 (2), 1909 (2), 1916, 1917, 1919
Norwell, Lewis	1915
Olivier, J. (1789-1858)	1816, 1836
Olivier, W.J.	1824, 1826
Oudemans, A.C. (1798-1874)	1836
Pak, Tieleman	1866
Peel, E.	1855, 1856, 1861, 1872
Perrin, Jean	1803 (2)
Pesch, L. van	1900
Pesch, P.F. van	1868
Picard, H.	1843, 1847
Picnot, A.	1902, 1906
Plantenga Bz, P.	1860
Playter, H.F.	1866
Polyglot	1814
Poutsma, H. (1856-1937)	1893
Prick van Wely, F.P.H. (1867-1926)	1911, 1915
Proper, C.B.A.	1913
Pijl, R. van der (1790-1828)	1811, 1814 (3), 1815, 1816, 1817, 1818 (2),
	1823, 1826
Quanjier, R.A.	1910

Quanjer, Th. A.	1911
Raa, R. ten	1911
Raeskin, H.	1877, 1878
Rameckers, J.M.	1917
Reehorst, K.P. ter	1837, 1841, 1842, 1845, 1849 (2)
Regt, C. de	1880, 1893, 1899
Reimering, H.G.	1845
Reisiger-Eck, J.	1916
Rittner Bos, E.	1889
Robertson	1860
Robinson, J.	1873, 1883, 1884, 1890, 1896
Roodhuyzen, H.G.	1875 (2)
Roorda, P. (1855-1930)	1886, 1887, 1892, 1893, 1895, 1899 (2), 1900
Roorda van Eysinga, J.C.W.	1855
Rosendaal, S.	1885
Rossum, P. van	1910, 1918
Roukens, A.A.E.S.	1912
Rijn, C.J. van	1908
Rijnenberg, L.	1857, 1867
Ruijs, G.	1835
Sadler, W.	1865
Sanders, S.F.	1848
Sandberg, J.	1911
Sarauw, Chr.	1898, 1901
Schalk, J. van der	1838
Schidlof	1909
Schilperoort, T.O. (1781-1851)	1804
Schmitz, B.	1851
Schnitzler, J.M.	1897, 1905
Schoevers	1900
Schokker, H.W.	1841
Scholtens Kz., H.	1906
Schouwenberg, J.	1840
Siersema, S.	1910
Sieverdink, H.	1909
Slater, J.H.	1856, 1864
Sloot, A.J.H.	1864
Sluyter, D.	1837
Smit Jr., J.	1919
Smit, P.J.	1912
Smith, J.	1809
Snijders, J.C.	1918
Snijders, P.H.	1918 (2)
Sonius, W.H.	1902 (2), 1905, 1913
Spek, C. van der	1915 (2)
Spruyt, H.C.	1888
Stevens, J.	1866, 1876

Stoffel, C. (1845-1908)	1880, 1881, 1883, 1893 (3), 1894
Swets, J.C.	1912
Susan, S.	1869
Taylor, Edward	1843
Taylor, H.	1819
Teding van Berkhout, B.L.	1869, 1887, 1896
Tempelaar, T.P.	1853
Thomson, H.	1854
Thomson, J.	1866
Thomson, R.	1872
Tiel, C. van	1871, 1873, 1877, 1878, 1884, 1885, 1886
Tiel, L.L. van	1898
Timmerman, C.	1902 (3), 1903, 1904, 1905 (2), 1906, 1907 (2), 1908 (2), 1909 (2)
Tricht, A.J. van	1909
Tsjerkema, L.A. van de	1852
Twent, A.C. (1771-1852)	1813
Uittenbogaard, W.	1918
Valette, T.G.G.	1888
Valkhoff, J.N. (1834-1900)	1868, 1870, 1871, 1872 (2), 1873, 1874 (2), 1875 (2), 1876, 1878, 1879 (2)
Vechtman-Veth, A.C.E.	1913
Veenendaal, E.J.	1874
Veenstra, G.	1896
Velde, P. van de	1896
Vellenga, J.	1902, 1916, 1919
Velthuysen, W.Th.	1907 (2), 1908 (2), 1909 (2), 1910 (2), 1912, 1913 (2)
Vergani, A.	1814
Vermaat, J.	1874
Versteeg, L.	1909, 1912
Vink, K.H.	1850, 1854 (2), 1861, 1868
Voerman, J.S.	1916
Vogin, H.J.	1848, 1864 (2), 1866
Volbeda, R.	1902, 1903, 1904, 1905, 1909, 1911, 1912, 1919
Voort, J.H. van der (1852-1925)	1894, 1905
Vos, J.G.R.	1859, 1872, 1877, 1878 (2), 1892
Waanders, J.B.G.	1900
Waasdijk, A. van	1812
Wachmann, D.	1911
Wagenaar	1860
Waijenburg, P.L.M. van	1910
Wal, L. van der	1896, 1900, 1909, 1911, 1919
Wanostrocht, N. (1745-1812)	1807
Warren, F.	1915
Wel, A.R. van	1906, 1907 (2), 1908, 1912, 1914 (2)

Whateley, E.	1869
Wichers, P.J.	1869
Widlake, F.H.L.	1911
Wijga, W.	1914, 1918
Wijnhoff	1879
Wilde, A.L.V.	1850
Wilde, J.C. de (1800-1858)	1829, 1832
Wilde, J.F. de	1905
Wilke, D.	1848
Willemsen, R.	1846
Willemson, S.	1871
Williams, T.S. (1832-1886)	1832, 1843
Zeegers, L.Th.	1856 (2)
Zeij, J.F.E.W.	1895, 1911
Zimmermann, J.W. (1819-post 1873)	1864 (2)
Zonneveld, K. van	1917

INDEX NOMINUM⁷⁰¹

- Aa, A.J. van der 122-123, 375, 562
- Aalders, M.H.W. 63, 399-400, 562
- Aarts, F.G.A.M. 159, 302, 528, 562
- Abercrombie, David 356, 468, 525, 562
- Acda, G.M.W. 63, 562
- Adelung, J.C. 227, 242
- Addison, J. 51
- Agron, Antoine Nicolas 190-191, 214, 218-223, 228-229, 234, 241-242, 248-249, 316, 337, 353-354, 366, 371, 386, 388-391, 516-518, 543, 551, 599
- Agron, Pierre 351-354
- Ahn, F. 218, 222, 227-229, 231, 242, 251, 412-413, 427-429, 431-432, 434-435, 459, 512, 516, 518, 551
- Alberdingk Thijm* 65
- Allart, Johannes 222, 352, 354, 573, 587, 589, 591, 599, 603-604
- Alston, R.C. 26, 348, 351-352, 390, 562, 588, 590
- Anderson* 62, 242, 612, 619, 715
- Andriessen, P.J. 242, 246, 426, 617, 715
- Anema, L.S. 92, 244, 247, 678, 715
- Angely, F.X. d' 120
- Anslijn, Nicolaas 236, 576
- Arend, Jan Pieter 167, 562, 574, 577, 602
- Asser, Eduard 120, 566
- Asser, Netje 120, 566
- Atwell, H. 118, 627, 715
- Baardman, G.G. 26, 131, 223, 226, 257, 562
- Bachrach, A.G.H. 52, 562
- Baedeker* 242, 300, 301, 635
- Baggerman, A. 53-54, 56, 84, 272, 380, 562-563
- Bakker, G. 701, 674, 675, 678, 685, 688, 691, 715
- Baldwin, J. 242, 272, 305, 376-377
- Balland, D.P.G. 118
- Barnhill, J.B. 242, 681, 715
- Barentz, M.E. 94, 305, 663, 668, 672, 704, 715
- Barfoot, C.C. 55, 563
- Barr, Bernard 276, 390, 563, 604
- Bartels, A. 85, 92, 102-103, 126-133, 157, 563
- Bartlett, J.R. 305, 623, 715
- Batenburg, B. 373
- Baudet, P.J. 191, 221-223
- Beckering Vinckers, J. 120, 134, 144, 146, 153, 163, 167, 169, 178-179, 210, 231, 243-245, 248-251, 297, 303, 450, 453-454, 459, 465, 470, 516, 524-525, 563, 579, 624, 645, 715
- Beek, J. van der 618, 631, 632, 638, 715
- Beer, T.H. de 578
- Beets, N. 66, 73-74, 84, 574
- Behrns, J.H. 121-122
- Beijer, Franz 242, 495-496, 517
- Beijerinck, G.J.A. 391, 397, 585, 599
- Bemmelen, J. van 31, 56, 80, 84, 188, 216, 272, 300, 308, 337, 593, 597
- Bense, J.F. 286, 288, 665, 683, 715
- Benthem, Salomon van 68-69, 75, 569
- Bentinck* 67
- Berg, G. van den 429, 516
- Berg, W. van den 563, 569-570, 574-575

⁷⁰¹ Names of persons with unknown Christian names or initials have been indicated with an *.

- Berger, C.L. 229
- Bergman, C. 92, 683, 715
- Berkum, A. van 92, 691, 715
- Berlaimont, N. de 300, 308
- Berlitz* 181, 182, 183, 204, 205, 207, 208, 232, 242, 248, 491, 493, 505, 519, 551, 681
- Bertuch, F.J. 242, 587, 715
- Bervoets, J.A.A. 74, 563
- Best, B.D. 91, 485-486, 504, 561, 563, 676, 715
- Beyer, W. 308
- Bianchi, F. 119
- Bischoff, (L. ?) 242
- Blussé, Abraham 53, 272, 378, 380, 563, 589, 595-596, 598, 600
- Blussé, Pieter 53-54, 563
- Bock, A.H.W. de 223
- Boekholt, P.Th.F.M. 111-112, 123, 148, 157, 166, 198, 563
- Bohn, François 171, 388, 391, 563, 571-573, 577, 579, 585, 599-601, 639, 645, 656
- Bolkestein, G. 93, 107-108, 111-113, 144, 563
- Bolkestein, J.J.A. 676, 708, 715
- Bom, G. Theod. 442, 609, 625, 629, 633, 637, 644
- Bomhoff Hz., D. 51, 79, 82, 214, 216, 222-223, 229, 243-248, 250, 257, 273-276, 304-305, 311, 318, 320, 399, 401-405, 422, 512, 528, 560, 591, 601, 605-610, 612-613, 616, 620-621, 715
- Bönsel* 242
- Booy, E.P. de 47, 82, 107, 112, 148, 157, 166, 563
- Bosch, J.H. van den 239, 492, 494
- Bosscha, J. 124
- Bosse, F.A. 171, 575
- Bostoen, K.J. 55, 563
- Boswell, James 55, 563, 572
- Bougier, A.J. 221, 242, 248-249, 602
- Bouwens, F. 25, 36, 336, 339-340, 564 (*also see M. Oud-De Glas*)
- Bowen, Marjorie 490
- Boyer, A. 68
- Boyle, R. 68
- Braddon, M.E. 453
- Brands, J. 92, 695, 702, 715
- Bréal, Michel 242, 248-249
- Breet, G. de 26-27, 38, 120, 191, 199, 202-203, 215-216, 220, 224, 229, 231, 264-265, 276, 278, 348, 409, 426, 429, 552, 564, 581, 584, 597
- Bremer, Th. 504
- Brennan, B.C. 156, 159, 476, 652
- Brevée, I. 233
- Brill, W.G. 66, 74, 115, 119-121, 153, 167, 169, 174-179, 184-185, 210, 212-213, 230-231, 235, 238, 284, 286, 562, 575, 578-579, 644, 648, 652, 657, 659, 666
- Brink, E.A.B.J. ten 564, 716
- Broers, A. 92, 286-287, 289, 663, 698, 704, 706, 708, 716, 704, 706, 708, 716
- Broese & Co 194, 402, 577, 616, 619, 620, 622, 624, 626
- Brouwer, J. 148, 564
- Brouwer, Han 68, 76, 84-85, 564
- Brown, J.C.E. 74, 119
- Bruggencate, K. ten 97, 153, 159, 169-170, 180, 185-188, 208-209, 211-212, 223, 232, 247, 254, 260, 282, 286, 297, 302, 305-306, 450, 485, 496, 500, 525, 579, 648, 650, 651, 653, 655, 656, 658, 663, 668, 672-673, 685, 712
- Brugsma, B. 198, 236
- Bruin, S. de 94, 216, 232, 242, 244, 284, 311, 617, 632, 634-635, 638, 640, 671, 674
- Bruining, G. 247, 590, 600, 716
- Bruijn, J.R. 60, 64, 267, 564
- Buddingh, D. 64
- Buis, Th.J.M.N. 25, 564, 566
- Buitenrust Hettema, F. 239
- Bülbring, Karl 146, 159
- Bulwer-Lytton, E. 74
- Bunt, G.H.V. 449-450, 564
- Byron, G. 66-67, 74

- Caland, A. 44-45, 623, 625, 627
- Calisch* 92, 410
- Calisch, I.M. 285, 572, 615, 641, 645-646, 657, 716
- Calisch, N.S. 615, 641, 645, 657, 716
- Camijn, A.J.W. 60-61, 89, 564
- Candlin, Christopher N. 339, 341, 564
- Carpay, J.A.M. 25, 564
- Carre* 497, 505, 516
- Cazelles, Charles 221, 243, 248-249, 273, 316, 363, 593
- Ceton, R. *see G. de Breet*
- Charlton, S. 243, 620, 716
- Chesterfield, Philip Earl of 638
- Claessen, J.F.M. 25, 132, 142, 565
- Clairmont, K.G. 243, 251, 440-442, 445, 615, 716
- Clarisse, J. 171
- Clerck, K. de 118, 421, 565
- Clercq, J. de 215
- Closset, F. 25, 222, 229, 565
- Cnopius, L.C. 84-85
- Cobbett, W. 217, 243, 302
- Coebergh van den Braak, A.M. 74, 83, 114-115, 238, 565
- Cohen, G.E. 69-70, 565, 615, 641, 657
- Collins, B.S. 355, 565
- Comenius (Komensky, J.A.) 190, 204, 243, 587
- Condy, W. 63
- Corneille, Pierre 238
- Cowan, F.M. 17, 42, 72, 92, 273-274, 277, 311, 318, 320-322, 391, 408-416, 419, 421, 423-425, 438, 459-460, 507-508, 511-514, 518-519, 521, 524, 526, 528-533, 541-543, 599, 615, 618, 623-625, 627-628, 631, 641, 716
- Crabb, George 243, 249
- Cremer, B. 121
- Croes, Th. 91, 704, 707, 708, 710, 716
- Crüger, Carl 243-244, 284, 631-632, 716
- Crump, William 243, 284, 632, 716
- Cuvier, G. 112
- Dalen, Carl van 94, 231, 243, 638
- Degenhardt, Rudolph 243, 251, 285, 630, 716
- Dekker, R. 54, 56, 563, 565
- Delfos, F.C. 167, 186, 189, 197, 199-204, 209-212, 222, 224, 578
- Devolder, J. 193, 565
- Dibbets, G.R.W. 8, 25, 565
- Dickens, Charles 74, 453
- Dijkstra, R. 232, 651
- Dingemans, B. 231, 242, 245, 248, 250, 281, 284, 318, 321, 454, 471, 632-635, 716
- Dissel, A. van 286, 288, 661, 716
- Dodde, N.L. 63, 82, 92, 107, 109-110, 149, 171, 277, 421, 565
- Dodt, J.J. 120
- Dongelmans, B. 70, 94, 192, 284, 647, 565
- Dongen, W.A. van 159, 679-680, 716
- Doorn, W. van 92, 693, 696, 698, 704, 707, 709, 712, 716
- Douw, J.D. 224
- Downey, Charlotte 357, 368, 404, 570, 565
- Driel, L. van 48-49, 119, 176, 566-567, 576
- Dryden, John 355
- Dubois (H. Heynen) 223
- Dudok, G.A. 26, 566
- Dufflou, G. 472
- Duyt, C.F. van 180, 186, 579
- Dyer* 355
- Eck, Otto van 56, 562-563
- Edelenbos, P. 333, 566
- Eeghen, I.H. van 54, 120, 566
- Eijkman, L.P.H. 153-154, 159, 167, 170, 180, 182, 185-186, 197, 203-207, 209-210, 212, 215, 225, 232, 243, 246, 257, 286, 288, 306, 449-450, 459, 462, 477, 488-489, 491, 493, 516, 566, 579-580, 651, 663-664, 666, 683, 712, 716
- Ek, van J.A. van 358, 457, 501, 530
- Ellis, Alexander 243, 464-465, 517
- Els, T.J.M. van 21-22, 24-25, 32-36, 131, 145, 169, 210, 256, 326, 329, 331-333, 336, 340, 559, 566

- Ende, A. van den 59,
111-113, 156, 170-
171, 192, 577
- Engelberts Gerrits, G.
72, 79, 216, 602, 612,
625, 627, 716
- Engelberts, Matthijs
144, 566
- Engelman, M.G. 229,
594
- Ensell, George 299, 594,
716
- Ent, W.A. van der 93,
676, 716
- Erdbrink, D. 93, 629,
668, 716
- Eshuijs, E.C.C. 243,
643, 716
- Esmeijer, J. 167, 170,
180-181, 185-186,
189, 197, 204-205,
207, 209-210, 212,
232, 257, 491, 580
- Esseboom, C. 53, 62,
82, 221, 566
- Essen, A.J. van 25, 27,
78-79, 82, 84-85, 98,
159-160, 255, 297,
302, 333, 451, 566,
567, 701-702, 709-
710
- Essen, M. van 76, 567
- Eusden, R.F. 217
- Evans, Edward 78, 80,
308
- Evans, Misses 84
- Ewijck, D.J. van 144
- Ewijk, H. 171, 191
- Eykman, C. 203-204
- Farncombe Sanders, S.
63-64
- Fénélon* 195, 600
- Fenning, Daniel 56, 299,
308
- Fijn van Draat, P. 159,
286-287, 449, 659,
666, 677, 683, 688,
691, 698, 704, 716
- Fick, Johann Christian
352-355, 508, 513,
516
- Fleischmann, P.C. 245,
300, 615, 716
- Fleming, W. 115, 118
- Fockema Andreae, J.P.
47, 120, 567
- Fordyce, J. 46, 588
- Franke, Felix 224
- Frantzen, J.J.A.A. 185,
206, 215, 232, 256-
257, 489, 493, 517,
664
- Fred(e)riks, G.F.B.W.
122, 349
- Frerichs, W.D. 277, 349,
621, 717
- Frijhoff, W. 78, 82, 84-
85, 87, 112-113, 567
- Froe, A. de 92, 244, 287,
290, 680, 681, 683,
685, 688, 694, 696,
698, 700, 704, 709,
710, 713, 717
- Gaaf, W. van der 92,
683, 717
- Gailer, J.E. 243, 608,
717
- Garçin, J. 121
- Garth, S. 355
- Gaspey, Thomas 227
- Gautzsch, W.B. 118
- Gedike, F. 243, 278,
299, 591, 717
- Geel, Rudolf 171, 375,
567
- Gellett, H. 66-67, 602,
717
- Geluk, J. 224, 579
- Gerdes, E. 17, 42, 216,
222-223, 230, 242,
246, 257, 277, 318,
320-322, 413, 426-
437, 443, 507-508,
512-514, 516, 518-
519, 521-522, 524,
526, 528-533, 540-
544, 551, 620, 623,
625, 627, 717
- Gijsen, F.C. 92, 94, 704,
707, 709, 717
- Goens, R.M. van 46,
567
- Goethe, J.W. von 121,
238
- Goinga-Van Driel, J. van
48-49, 567
- Goldsmith, O. 67-68,
243, 377, 384, 392,
410, 600, 602-603
- Gomm, F.S. 281, 284-
285, 647, 717
- Goodlad, John I. 37, 567
- Goor, M.F. van 224
- Görlach 348, 351, 567
- Görlitz, P.K. 170, 172
- Goudswaard, N.B. 62-
64, 112-113, 567
- Gouin, F. 181-184, 205-
208, 215, 218, 224-
225, 232, 243, 246,
248-249, 256, 288,
488-489, 491, 493,
495, 497, 499-500,
503, 505, 514, 516-
517, 519, 551, 580,
663, 666
- Graham* 243, 244, 465,
517, 520, 680
- Grant* 243, 297, 606
- Grant White* 243
- Grasé, J.C.G. 18, 42,
167, 170, 180, 183-
186, 189, 197, 204,
206-207, 209-210,
212, 232, 242-248,
250, 257, 281, 286-
288, 311, 319-322,
477, 482, 485-486,
488-506, 508-509,

- 511-514, 519-522,
525-526, 528-534,
538, 540-546, 551,
554, 559, 576, 580,
666, 669, 680, 688,
699, 717
- Gräser, Karl 243, 251
- Groen, M. 117, 147, 567
- Grondhoud, C. 281,
283, 286, 288, 463,
653, 655-656, 673,
674, 717
- Gulden, H. 233
- Gunn, C.H. 42, 204,
306, 318, 321-322,
438-444, 446, 507,
512-514, 516, 519,
521, 524, 526, 528,
530, 532-534, 538,
541-542, 544, 575,
579, 612-613, 615-
616, 618-619, 621,
624-625, 628, 633,
635, 717
- Gunnell* 243
- Günther, J.H.A. 42,
242-245, 247-248,
286-287, 297, 302,
319, 322, 476-480,
482, 484-486, 488,
495-496, 502, 507-
509, 511-514, 519,
521-522, 524-526,
528-531, 533-534,
538, 542-546, 551,
657, 659, 673, 675,
680, 717, 725
- Günther, V.H. 478
- Gurcke, Gottfried 243,
251, 429
- Hakbijl, L. 62, 214,
243-245, 247-248,
276-277, 301-303,
317, 320, 560, 603-
606, 608, 610, 613,
616, 717
- Hameetman, R.P.G. 92,
286-287, 290, 704,
706, 708, 717
- Hamel, A.G. van 144
- Hamelberg, H.A. 114,
119, 216, 278, 349,
609, 610, 611, 613,
717
- Hamilton, J. 194-195,
230, 244, 441-442,
446
- Hamonière, G. 244,
248-249
- Hartman* 497, 516, 608
- Harte, G.J. van 242,
286-287, 664, 675,
699, 717
- Heerikhuizen, C. van
490, 725
- Heteren, J.H. van 367,
454-455, 600, 610,
651-652
- Helder, J.J.H.H. 93,
656, 717
- Helder, J.M. 656, 717
- Helsdon Rix* 642
- Herckenrath, C. 224
- Herrig, Ludwig 96, 244,
639, 717
- Heyns, Peeter 25, 565
- Heyse, J.C.A. 119, 122,
228, 230-231
- Hillebrands, A.J. 76,
300, 616, 717
- Hillenius, F. 308
- Hisgen, J.H. 120
- Hodgkin* 244, 613
- Hoek, C.C. van der
69-70, 602, 636
- Hoeven, A. van der 96,
222, 645, 717
- Hofman, C.A. 215-216,
224, 244, 257, 284-
285, 489, 635-636,
645, 651, 653, 655,
663-665, 667, 669,
717
- Hoftijzer, P.G. 46, 60,
71, 567-568
- Hoksbergen, R.A.C. 63,
92, 568
- Hollander, J.J. de 17, 19,
42, 63, 79, 214, 277,
311, 314, 318, 320-
322, 399-407, 413,
415, 508-509, 511-
513, 521, 524, 526,
528, 533, 538, 540,
542-543, 618-620,
622, 717
- Holtrop, J. 52, 54-55,
61, 68, 272, 295, 305,
308, 369, 378, 388,
568, 588, 589
- Hölzel* 501, 516
- Hood* 305, 376
- Hooft, P.C. 238
- Hoogvliet, J.M. 675,
717
- Hooper-Graham* 680
- Hoorn, J. van 108-110,
149, 171, 568
- Hoppe, A. 454, 465,
517, 520
- Horn, M. 182, 186, 189,
204, 207, 210, 212,
232, 489, 580
- Hotz* 55
- Howatt, A.P.R. 23, 182,
193, 198, 205, 218,
222, 224, 230, 232,
242, 250, 316, 326,
329, 413, 478-481,
491, 517, 568
- Huddleston Slater, J.
278, 626, 634, 720
- Hughes, Thomas 453
- Huisman, J. 91, 189,
211, 216, 568
- Hull, Willem van den
84, 221, 252, 572
- Hulshof, H. 239, 568
- Humbert de Superville,
D.P.G. 118

- Huynink, W. 286, 289, 682, 685, 688, 689, 717
- Ickenroth, J.P.G. 25, 568
- Ijkema, IJ. 224, 630, 656, 660, 675, 678, 689
- Ijmker, H. 281, 286, 289, 311, 319, 560, 686, 690, 691, 692, 694, 695, 699, 701, 710, 718
- Immerzeel Junior, J. 192, 572, 577
- Irving, Elizabeth Jane 652, 718
- Irving, Washington 203, 453
- Jacob, F.W. 92, 718
- Jacob, P.W. 707
- Jacobi, P. 284, 630, 634, 718
- Jacotot, J.J. 167, 188, 193-197, 200, 203-204, 217, 223, 260, 441-442, 516, 568, 577
- Jansen, Dick 48, 67, 568
- Jansen, Hans 254, 568
- Janson, Baldwin 272, 305, 376-377
- Jansonius, H. 92, 287, 290, 696, 701, 705, 707, 709, 718
- Jeaffreson* 242
- Jensma, G. 118, 120, 568
- Jespersen, Otto 183, 244, 248-251, 491-492, 495-496, 517, 568, 671, 676, 692, 696, 718
- Johnson, Samuel 244, 297, 355-356, 401, 517
- Jonckbloet, W. 121
- Jones, Bernard 390, 565, 568
- Jong, F. de 168, 171, 192 (see *De Wolf*)
- Jonge, J.A. de 269, 568
- Joode, F.C. de 125, 568
- Josselin de Jong, J. 673, 677, 718
- 'J.Y' 186, 197-198
- Kade, Emil 244
- Kalkwiek, W.F. 53, 276, 568
- Kamp, C. 92, 705, 718
- Kampen, N.G. van 50-51, 65, 74, 119, 239, 569, 571, 610-612, 619-6120, 623, 625, 627, 631
- Kappelhoff, A. 16, 42, 72, 78, 80, 216, 243, 245, 247, 258, 273, 296, 300, 304, 317, 320-321, 363-372, 386, 507, 511, 525, 526, 528, 589-590, 595, 597-598, 600, 718
- Karsten, S. 199, 569
- Kästner* 244, 594
- Keijzer, M. 305, 623, 627, 718
- Kelly, L.G. 22, 326, 569
- Kinker, J. 167, 193-194, 260, 577
- Kinsbergen, J.H. van 84, 572
- Kirberger, W.H. 439-440, 575, 617, 619
- Kirchdorffer, J.S. 245, 317, 320, 597, 718
- Kleinbentink, S.F. 216, 286, 288, 661, 669, 701, 709, 718
- Klinghardt, H. 206, 244, 248, 479-482, 491, 495-497, 500, 516-517, 519
- Klippel, F. 23, 47, 52, 55, 70, 220, 231, 242, 250-251, 256, 276, 278, 285, 316, 337, 352, 429, 454, 517-518, 569, 591, 621, 630, 633, 639
- Kloek, J.J. 54, 68, 70, 76, 562, 565, 569
- Knight, G. 244, 635, 718
- Knippenberg, H. 70, 569
- Knops, M. 25-26, 34-35, 119, 121-122, 199-203, 205-206, 214-216, 228-233, 265, 276-278, 288-289, 348, 409, 426, 429, 559, 566, 569
- Knowles* 244, 620
- Knuivers, T. 244, 620, 718
- Koch, C.F. 244
- Koch, J.H. 120
- Köchler, J.B. 75, 244, 598, 718
- Kok, A.S. 153, 402, 620
- Koning, L. 58, 73-74, 80, 216, 258, 303, 317, 320, 560, 569, 595, 598, 718
- Kool van Kasteel* 224
- Koolhoven, H. 300, 689, 706, 708, 718
- Koops, W.R.M. 97, 144, 147, 282, 569
- Korpel, L.G. 54, 569
- Koster, B. 415, 569, 644, 652, 669, 718
- Koster, C.J. 25, 340, 569
- Kramer Jzn., J. 628, 636, 718
- Kramers* 517
- Kramers, J.H. 414-415, 421, 569
- Krom, H.J. 107

- Kron, R. 497, 505
 Kruisinga, E. 27, 159, 297, 302, 449, 452, 462, 566, 701, 702, 709, 710, 718
 Kruijtbosch, D.J. 127, 569
 Kruseman, A.C. 65, 69, 70, 84, 569, 585, 615, 628
 Kuiper, E.J. 112, 113, 114, 569
 Kuiper, W. 26, 28, 31, 107, 127, 129-130, 135, 18, 191, 193, 206, 214, 217, 223, 226, 228, 230-232, 258, 331, 353, 355, 489, 557, 569, 570, 718
 Kuiper, W.J. 686, 718
 Kuiper, Th. 696, 718
 Kunsel, H. 93, 699, 718
 Kwakernaak, E. 25-26, 145, 176, 256, 336, 340, 342, 570

 Laar, A.F. van de 301, 306, 602, 603, 605, 718
 Lagerweij Cz., J. 243, 278, 574, 607, 609, 610-611, 613, 718
 Landmann, F. 94, 244, 657, 718
 Landré, G.N. 522
 Langenscheidt, G. 94, 218, 227-228, 231, 243-244, 247, 284, 571, 638, 640, 649, 718
 Langerveldt, J.C. 274, 659, 660, 661, 718
 Lantsheer, H. W. 63, 297, 305, 592, 718
 Lasteyrie, Charles de 192-193
 Ledeboer, J.L. 303, 613, 718
 Leek, R.H. 51, 119, 121-123, 402, 449, 570, 617, 621-622, 634-635
 Leeman, A.D. 223
 Lehman, G.W. 16, 42, 72, 78, 80, 122, 214, 216-217, 244-247, 250, 258, 278, 299, 317, 320-321, 348-359, 361-362, 379, 384, 386, 508, 512-513, 516, 521-522, 524-526, 528-530, 532-533, 538-540, 542-544, 551, 589, 591, 718
 Leliveld, J.J. 92-93, 680, 689, 692, 701, 703, 706, 718
 Lenders, J. 170-172, 198, 570
 Lennep, J. van 65
 Lennie, W. 244, 630
 Lente, D. van 50, 70, 570
 Leopold, Joh. A. 232
 Ley, Charles 57, 78, 80, 245-246, 588, 591, 718
 Lhomond, C.F. 376-377
 Lijsen, H.J. 92, 703, 707, 713, 718
 Limperg, Th. 367, 576
 Lindo, M. P. 63, 84, 123, 156, 159, 399, 402, 574, 606, 624, 718
 Lioce, Nico 215, 565
 Lloyd, H. E. 94, 214, 229, 244, 246, 249-251, 275-276, 318, 320, 399, 401, 403, 405, 512, 528, 560, 588, 605-606, 608, 614, 638, 244, 719
 Lock(e), W. 80, 231, 244-245, 587, 590-591, 593, 622, 719
 Logeman, W. S. 676, 719
 Loonen, P.L.M. 22-23, 27-31, 37-38, 41, 46, 52, 54-57, 61, 78-80, 82, 116, 188, 212-213, 216, 221, 226, 242, 251-252, 256, 258-259, 264, 267, 275, 289, 295-296, 299-300, 305, 308, 311, 313-314, 316, 331-333, 337, 376-377, 540, 552, 557, 560-561, 570, 587-589, 592, 597
 Lowth, Robert 242, 297, 357, 368-369, 380, 383-384, 389, 517, 570
 Lucas, H.S. 76, 570
 Luchtman, J. 45-46, 54, 60, 568, 573-574
 Ludolph, L.J.C. 245, 278, 318, 321, 605, 607, 629, 633, 640, 719
 Luger, B. 70, 570
 Lummel, H.J. van 198, 224, 687, 708
 Lundell* 245, 496, 517

 Maar, H.G. de 174, 478, 710, 711, 713, 719
 Maatjes, A.B. 17, 42, 72, 92, 216, 257, 273-274, 277, 311, 318, 320-322, 391, 408-409, 411-416, 419, 423-425, 459-460, 507-508, 511-514, 518-519, 521, 524, 526, 528-533, 541-543, 599, 611, 619, 623, 625, 627-628, 631, 719

- Macauley, Thomas B. 123
 Macgowan, W. Stuart 245
 Macht, K. 23, 33-34, 195, 218, 222, 227, 229, 231, 242-243, 247, 250, 276, 284, 352-353, 412, 427-432, 441-442, 445-446, 453-454, 459, 465, 480, 505, 516-517, 526, 570, 588, 606, 621, 632
 Mackey, W.F. 22, 32-34, 326, 555, 570
 Marsh* 412
 Madvig, J.N. 245, 248
 Mandemakers, C.A. 92, 95-96, 100-103, 269-270, 570
 Maréchal, R. 30, 571
 Marin, P. 68, 187, 216, 218, 221-222, 224, 241, 245, 248-249, 258, 272-273, 275-276, 316-317, 336, 363-364, 371, 376-377, 386, 570, 595, 597
 Marshall, Thomas 52, 66, 214, 571, 605, 610, 611, 614, 719
 Matter, J.F. *see* C.J. Koster
 Mätzner, E. 227-228, 231, 245, 249-250, 517
 Mavor, W. F. 245, 299, 588, 719
 Meerten-Schilperoort, A.B. van 78, 84-85
 Meerman van der Horst, H.J. 167, 217, 302, 577
 Mehler, E. 228
 Meidinger, J.V. 31, 191, 213-215, 218-220, 222-223, 227-230, 245, 250, 299, 320, 326, 352-355, 359, 386, 420, 429, 435, 513, 516-518, 557, 589
 Meijboom, M. 242, 671, 676
 Meijer* 92
 Meijer, J.H. 631, 633, 640, 719
 Meijer, T.T. 25, 571
 Melford, H.M. 249, 276, 410, 612, 624, 719
 Merkestein, van* 84
 Mertens, J. 250, 284-285, 303, 642, 649-650, 653, 658, 719
 Meulenhoff, J.M. 454, 651, 693, 696
 Michael, I. 23, 46, 571, 588, 590
 Mielle, J.F. 118
 Mijnhardt, W.W. 68, 70, 76, 565, 569
 Milton, J. 67, 73, 122, 562
 Moerkerken, P. van 153, 231, 242, 250, 449, 454, 459, 471, 516, 635, 651
 Moltzer, H. 121
 Montijn, P. 93, 667, 717
 Mondria, J.A. 333, 571
 Mulder* 217
 Mulder, G.C. 563
 Müller, Max 414
 Muller, M. 628
 Münch* 497
 Munde, Carl 245, 251, 626, 633, 719
 Murray, L. 17, 42, 78, 214, 245, 249-251, 258-259, 275-276, 297, 299, 317, 320-322, 368-369, 376, 380, 383-384, 388-391, 393-396, 398, 404, 410, 508, 512, 516, 521, 524-526, 528, 533, 542, 551, 563, 565, 568, 571-572, 574-575, 590, 599, 600, 604, 606, 621
 Nader* 245, 248, 479, 480, 517
 Nassau, H.J. 167, 169, 173-174, 186, 191, 210-212, 234-235, 578
 Nayler, B.S. 49-51, 65-67, 74, 276, 439, 571, 573
 Neck, M.G. van 158, 24-247, 284-286, 297, 304, 495, 516, 649, 655, 657, 659, 660, 719
 Nelson, T. 245
 Neuner, G. 339-340, 342, 531, 571
 Neurdenburg, J.C. 167, 174, 210, 568
 Niemeyer, A.H. 167, 170-172, 186, 188-192, 198, 210, 212-213, 221, 233-235, 237, 240, 305, 376, 511, 564, 571, 577, 589
 Nieuwveen, J.J. 115
 Noël, J. 112, 217-218
 Nolst Trenité, G. 167, 216, 233, 286, 289, 570, 572, 574, 580, 684, 689, 692-693, 708, 714, 719
 Noordeggraaf, J. 121, 233, 235-236, 241, 250, 259, 275, 357-358, 369, 383, 388, 391-395, 402, 565-567, 571, 575-576, 599

- Nooten & Zoon, S.E. van 402, 620, 640-641, 659
- Oldenzeel* 442, 624-625, 628
- Olivier Jz., Joh. 229-230, 242-248, 595, 599, 602, 606, 719
- Olivier, W.J. 602-603, 719
- Ollendorff, H.G. 222, 227-228, 231, 245, 637
- Opzoomer, C.W. 123
- Orange, Prince William of 118, 565
- Orczy, Baronesse d' 490
- Osselton, N.E. 27, 295, 572, 663
- Oud-de Glas, M. 25, 36, 336, 339-340, 564
(also see *F. Bouwens*)
- Oudemans, A.C. 214, 247, 606, 719
- Padmos, R. 113, 221, 252, 363, 572
- Paeuw, F.K.B. de 73, 572
- Palgrave, F.C. 438, 440
- Palm, J.H. van der 107-109
- Palm, K. van der 107
- Passy, Paul 245, 248-249, 479-480, 495-496, 517, 519
- Peel, E. 79, 94, 246, 278, 624, 626, 630, 642, 719
- Percy* 245
- Perrin, J. 78, 217-218, 221, 245, 248-249, 277, 299, 377, 588, 604, 614, 719
- Perry* 246
- Pestalozzi, J.H. 198-199, 201, 203-204, 223
- Petersen, J.W. van 82, 572
- Picard, H. 76, 300, 611, 616, 719
- Pijl, R. van der 17, 42, 59, 61-62, 72, 84, 214, 216, 220, 233, 236, 241-248, 252, 257-258, 273-275, 283, 298-301, 303-304, 311, 314, 316-317, 320-322, 336, 373-396, 398, 401-404, 410, 422, 508, 511-513, 518, 521, 524-526, 528-531, 533, 540, 542, 544, 551, 576, 593, 596-600, 602-603, 719
- Pino, L. 119-120
- Plantenga, P. 94, 629, 635, 638, 640, 642, 644, 649, 719
- Plate, H. 227-228, 231, 246, 249-251, 453, 459, 647
- Ploetz/Plötz, K. 222, 228-229, 231, 246, 284, 459, 516, 526, 650
- Pope, Alexander 51, 67, 73, 76, 122, 355, 380, 562
- Poppleton* 246
- Poster, J.R. 365-367
- Potgieter, E.J. 65
- Pottle, F.A. 55, 572
- Poutsma, H. 159, 286, 289, 297, 302, 449, 452, 476, 637, 661-662, 719
- Pratt* 246
- Prick van Wely, F.P.H. 180, 185-186, 207-208, 210, 212, 244, 580, 628, 696, 706, 719
- Prinsen, P.J. 170, 172, 198
- Prior, M. 355
- Prud'homme van Reine, R.B. 84, 572
- Pruim, J.M. 231
- Pyttersen* 90
- Raadt, P. de 74, 421
- Radcliffe, A. 52, 562
- Radstake, H. 25, 566
- Rappard, W.L.F.C. van 194, 577
- Ras, R. 25, 572
- Ratichius (Ratke, J.W.) 190, 204
- Reehorst, K.P. ter 51, 62, 64, 77, 297, 305, 607, 609, 610, 617, 720
- Regt, C. de 650, 662, 674, 720
- Reinders, J.M. 231, 665
- Reinsma, R. 82-83, 111, 192, 572
- Richards, J.C. 33, 209, 326-328, 337, 572
- Richardson, H. 246, 600
- Richardson, Samuel 54
- Riemens, K.J. 25-26, 28, 166, 215, 258, 316, 331, 363, 572, 592
- Rijkens, R.G. 198
- Rijneveld, J.C. van 167, 194, 577
- Rivers, W.M. 169, 210, 572
- Rix, J. 414-415
- Robert, C.M. 224
- Roberti, M.A.E. 120
- Robertson, T. 441-442, 446, 516, 629, 720
- Robertson, William 51
- Robinson, J.S. 120, 153, 159, 643, 652, 658, 669, 720
- Rode, F.J. 203, 450
- Rodgers, T.S. 33, 209, 326-328, 337, 572

- Roëll, W.F. 113
 Roentgen, G.M. 60
 Rogge, C. 171, 191
 Roggen, C.H. 84, 167, 192-193, 195-197, 203, 441, 572, 577-578
 Rollin, Charles 377
 Romp, Joh. 233
 Roodhuyzen, H.G. 84, 167, 186, 188-189, 197, 199-205, 208-212, 216-217, 223-224, 257, 260, 452, 491, 519, 569, 578, 645-646, 720
 Roorda, G. 468, 667, 673
 Roorda, P. 42, 158-159, 215, 232, 243, 247, 250, 281-283, 286, 288, 299, 302, 311, 319-320, 322, 49-450, 462-472, 477, 485, 508-509, 511, 513, 519-521, 524-526, 529-530, 532-533, 540-544, 560, 654-655, 660, 662, 667, 673-674, 720
 Rombouts, S. 25, 198, 225, 572
 Rose* 55
 Royen, Gerlach 224
 Rünckel, P.J. 237
 Ruys, Gijsbrecht 303, 606
 Saalmink, L. 217, 228, 278, 302-303, 348, 351, 364, 367, 376, 386, 573, 581, 585
 Saddler, P. 246
 Sandberg, J. 92, 697, 720
 Sarauw, Chr. 244, 671, 676, 720
 Sauer, Helmut 227
 Scheurweghs, G. 26, 573
 Schevichaven, H.D.J. van 84, 573
 Schidlof* 94, 246, 693, 720
 Schilperoort, J.O. 75
 Schilperoort, T.O. 80, 573, 589, 720
 Schmidt, Immanuel 246
 Schmitz, Bernhard 242, 246-247, 250, 276, 620, 720
 Schnitzler, J.M. 94, 670, 682, 720
 Schoevers, A.S. 94, 675, 720
 Schokker, H.W. 64, 297, 305, 609, 720
 Scholten, M. 27, 218-219, 227, 231, 242, 249-250, 573
 Schoneveld, C.H. 49, 573
 Schoneveld, C.W. 50, 65-67, 74, 573, 727
 Schotel, G.D.J. 375-378, 573, 593
 Schouwenberg, J. 303, 609, 720
 Schröder, K. 23, 242, 352, 573
 Schuld JWzn, H.L. 381-382, 593, 595-596, 598
 Schwippert, P.A. 227, 254
 Scott, W. 66-67, 74, 80
 Seidenstücker, J.H.P. 218, 222, 227, 229, 231, 246, 412-413, 427-429, 434-435, 459, 512, 516, 518, 551
 Seket, V.A. 224
 Sennett, J.G. 156, 474
 Shakespeare, William 51, 66-67, 121-123, 153, 355, 399, 402, 449, 570
 Sheridan, Thomas 67, 241, 246, 249-251, 297, 353, 355-356, 380, 517, 589, 595, 606, 620
 Sicherer, C.A.X.G.F. 119, 230
 Siegenbeek, Matthijs 118-119, 233, 241, 246, 248-251, 354, 378, 390, 517, 573, 595, 613
 Sieverdink, H. 92, 693, 720
 Sijmons, B. 47, 117, 121, 144, 147, 167, 169, 178, 184, 210, 573, 579-580
 Slee, J.C. van 122-123, 573
 Smart* 246, 620
 Smilde, A. 46, 574
 Smit Jr., J. 714, 720
 Smit, P.J. 92, 700, 720
 Smith, George 78, 591, 720
 Smits, L. 27, 574
 Smyth, Charles 302
 Soames, Laura 246, 248, 496, 517
 Sonius, W.H. 92, 677, 682, 702, 720
 Sonnenburg, Rudolf 246, 251, 454
 Spek, C. van der 92, 705, 720
 Spiers* 246
 Spoelder, Jan 236, 374, 574
 Spruyt, H.C. 94, 656, 706, 720
 Stallard* 54
 Stead* 246

- Steenbergen, G.F. 224, 462
- Stein, J.H. 180, 185-186, 211, 215, 222-223, 579
- Stern, H.H. 22-23, 32-34, 326, 328, 331-333, 574
- Sterne, Lawrence 67, 74, 353, 575
- Steyn Parvé, D.J. 156, 476
- Stevens, J. 231, 637, 720
- Stevens, P. 231, 245-246, 250, 647
- Stinstra, J. 54
- Storm, Joh. 224, 492-493, 499, 517
- Stoffel, C. 42, 159, 169, 179-180, 185-187, 203, 211, 215, 331, 236, 242, 245-246, 248, 250, 281-282, 302-303, 311, 319-320, 322, 449-454, 456-457, 459, 465, 528-533, 538-544, 551, 564, 579, 642, 650-652, 658-659, 662, 665, 721
- Stuurman, F. 159, 179, 282-283, 286-289, 297, 302, 449, 451, 456, 462, 488-489, 574, 657
- Susan, Seligman 51, 96, 122-123, 228, 349, 591, 610, 639, 721
- Sutmuller, P. 84, 563
- Swaen, A.E.H. 282, 449, 451, 453, 455-456, 459-460, 489-490, 574, 651-652
- Sweet, Henry 208, 212, 247-250, 464-465, 479, 496, 516-517, 519, 551, 562, 574
- Swiggers, P. 215, 565
- Swinden, J.H. van 112
- Taylor* 117, 242
- Taylor, E. 612, 619, 721
- Taylor, H. 118, 721
- Teensma, G. 224
- Tesseidre l'Ange, J. 171, 173, 189-191, 198, 210, 234, 577
- Thieme (H.C.A.) 53, 119, 274, 348, 511, 559, 568, 585
- Thomas* 56, 246-247, 308
- Thommerel* 414
- Thomson* 94
- Thomson, E.C. 120
- Thomson, H. 59, 623, 721
- Thomson, J. 604, 617, 626, 637, 721
- Thomson, R. 642, 721
- Thorbecke, J.R. 126, 155
- Tieken-Boon van Ostade, I. 250, 390, 563, 568, 571-572, 574-575
- Tiel, C. van 284, 286, 485, 642, 644, 648, 652, 653, 655, 721
- Tijl* 68
- Titone, R. 22, 574
- Tjeenk Willink* 68, 75
- Toussaint 218, 227, 228, 231, 247, 638, 640
- Troch, L. 118, 421, 565
- Turksma, R. 107, 148, 152, 574
- Twent, A. C. 64, 297, 305, 593-594, 721
- Ursel, C.J. 'd 113
- Valette, T.G.G. 146, 167, 169, 180-181, 185-186, 204, 206, 209-210, 212, 232, 247, 257, 579, 656, 663, 721
- Valkhoff, J. N. 94, 216, 222-223, 231, 243-248, 257, 281-282, 286, 311, 318, 321, 429, 465, 526, 560, 596, 598, 639, 641-644, 646-647, 649-650, 721
- Vatebender, G. 107
- Vechtman-Veth, A.C.E. 159, 702, 721
- Veenstra, O. 232, 670, 721
- Velde, P. van der 123, 574
- Velde, P. van de 670, 721
- Veldhuysen, W.Th. 286, 289, 319, 560, 686, 690-692, 694-695
- Venning, J. 120
- Verenet, G. 120
- Vergani* 217, 247-249, 596-597, 618, 721
- Ver Huell, A. 74, 563
- Vernor, T. 305, 376
- Veth, P.J. 63, 73, 123, 159, 399, 574
- Viëtor, W. 183, 227-228, 232, 247-249, 464-465, 478-480, 491, 495, 497, 516-517, 519, 551
- Vink, K.H. 243-246, 248, 250, 284-285, 306, 619, 623, 630, 639, 721
- Vis, G. 84, 574
- Visser, C. 78, 84, 575
- Vitringa, A.J. 90, 167, 169, 174-179, 189, 207, 210-213, 221, 226, 575, 578
- Vlaanderen, H. 26, 28, 127, 133-138, 141-143, 457, 531, 575

- Vloten, Johan van 449
 Vogel* 247
 Vogin, H.F. 92-93, 244, 611, 616, 620, 634, 637, 721
 Vondel, J. van den 238
 Vonk, F. 121, 567, 571, 575-576
 Voorst, D.C. van 107
 Vorlat, E. 258, 575
 Vos, J.G.R. 285, 629, 643, 648, 649, 660, 721
 Vos, H.J. de 172, 238, 575
 Vries, de* 242
 Vries, B. de 69, 575
 Vries, J.A. de 142, 147, 160-161, 575
 Vries, M. de 414, 611
 Vries, S. de 333
 Vroede, M. de 148, 192, 575

 Waanders* 68, 564, 674, 721
 Wagner, Karl Franz Christian 247
 Waijenburg, P.L.M. van 93, 695, 721
 Wal, L. van der 670, 675, 694, 697, 712, 721
 Wal, M. van der 233, 575
 Walker, John 241, 247-251, 297, 353, 355-356, 380, 384, 393, 401, 416, 517-518, 551, 589, 595, 606, 620
 Walraven, J. [van] 308
 Walter, Max 247
 Walter* 495, 496, 497, 517, 575
 Walter, A. von 256, 575
 Wanoostrocht, N. 247, 600, 721
 Waterschoot, J. van 46, 60
 Webster, N. 247, 414, 465, 517, 520, 630
 Weel, A. van der 439, 575
 Weiland, P. 233, 241, 247-248, 358, 369, 378, 383, 390, 394, 402, 517, 595
 Western, August 479-480, 517
 Westhoff, G. 339
 Whately, E. 247, 465, 517, 520, 640
 Whetstone, G. 308
 Widlake, F.H.L. 92, 697, 722
 Wijga, W. 703, 712, 722
 Wijk Rz., J. van 248, 365-366, 371, 516
 Wijnbeek, H. 83, 111
 Wijnhoff* 247, 497, 516, 636, 650, 722
 Widdowson, H.G. *see Howatt*
 Wilde, Johannes C. de 604, 722
 Wildeman, W. 56
 Wilhelm, F.A. 55, 81, 97, 148-149, 151, 168, 206, 220, 233, 240, 250, 252-253, 256-257, 275, 282, 286, 303, 373, 392, 491, 518, 525, 576
 Wilke, D. 247, 276, 616, 722
 Willemssen, R. 217
 Willemson, S. 90, 94, 576, 642, 722
 Williams, T.S. 214, 229, 247, 249, 274-276, 316, 404, 530, 605, 612, 722
 Wink, Th. 367, 576
 Winkel, L.A. te 414, 611
 Wit, J.K. de 64
 Witvliet, M. 224
 Woelderren, van* 84
 Wolf, H.C. de 168, 171, 192, 576
 Wolters, J.B. 677
 Würzner* 245, 248, 479, 480, 517

 Zantvoort, R.W. 159, 302, 450, 576, 663
 Zeeman, D.J.C. 25, 64, 147, 160, 256, 562, 564, 576
 Zeij, J.F.E.W. 667, 697, 722
 Zeydelaar, E. 378
 Zelle, A.S. 348, 354
 Zimmermann, W. 228, 231, 242, 248-251, 284, 318, 321, 454, 459, 516, 560, 634-635, 722
 Zonneveld, P. van 48, 66, 73-74, 569

SUMMARY

This study is concerned with the history of English language teaching in the Netherlands from about 1800 to the year 1920. It has several aspects: methodological, bibliographical, socio-cultural and educational. However, the focus is on the methodological developments of English language teaching, whereby the main questions are: what was taught of English and how did it happen? All other questions in this investigation have been derived from these main questions and only serve to answer them.

The study is based on bibliographical research of historical textbooks of English. For this purpose an inventory of teaching materials has been made, of which the result is presented in a bibliography (see Appendix Two). This bibliography comprises 754 titles and served as a corpus from which a selection was made for a detailed description of coursebooks. This description was the basis for an analysis of the methodological developments in the researched period. The investigation is also concerned with the ideas on teaching and learning foreign languages that existed from the end of the eighteenth to the beginning of the twentieth century. For this purpose an inventory of historical treatises has been made (see Appendix One). These ideas are described in detail and are subsequently analysed. Apart from the methodological and bibliographical aspects, this study also has a socio-cultural perspective. Here, the question is: what was the place of the English language in Dutch society at the time? In this context some biographical details are provided of writers of ELT textbooks and of those who taught English. Finally, the developments of English as a subject within the educational system are described, from primary to tertiary education. Special attention is paid to the history of the training of foreign language teachers, particularly of teachers of English.

This book is divided into seven chapters. The first is a general introduction to the research project as a whole. Chapters Two, Three and Four act as a backdrop to the central part of the study, i.e. chapters Five, Six and Seven. Consequently, the former chapters (Two, Three and Four) are presented as 'contexts'. However, it must be pointed out that chapters Three

and Four have core elements of research in them, too, in as far as they offer a history of foreign language teacher training as well as an inventory, description and analysis of ideas on teaching and learning foreign languages. The latter chapters (Five, Six and Seven) provide the central part of the thesis, viz. a general description, both quantitative and qualitative, of historical textbooks (Chapter Five), a detailed description of twelve selected courses (Chapter Six), and an analysis of the data contained in the coursebook description (Chapter Seven). The study ends with a number of conclusions, an epilogue and two bibliographical appendices.

Chapter One begins with a discussion of the position of this study within the historiography of FLT. It questions the relevance of FLT historiography and positions this investigation in it. Next, it discusses several approaches to FLT historiography and mentions a number of important publications on FLT history that have appeared until now. Subsequently, the title and subject of the study come up for discussion and the boundaries of place and time are discussed. Finally, the object of research is defined and the method of research is explained.

Chapter Two portrays the social and cultural context in which the teaching and learning of English took place. This is done on the basis of the knowledge of English in contemporary society, on the basis of the demand for ELT and on the basis of the groups of learners. The chapter is divided into two parts, each describing a period of sixty years: 1800-1860 and 1860-1920. For the period 1800-1860 a sketch is given of the developments within three groups of learners that could already be distinguished in the eighteenth century. Also, attention is paid to English language learning outside of regular education. The same pattern of description is used for the second period, 1860-1920, when English had become a compulsory subject in higher secondary education. Here, a description is given of the learners in vocational education, of those who learnt English outside of the school system and of the learners in general education.

Chapter Three describes the educational context of English language teaching. The chapter is structured according to educational levels and to periods. The first period describes the time that English was not yet a

compulsory subject, i.e. the period before 1863. The chapter begins with a discussion of the reorganisation of the Dutch school system around 1800 and the position of FLT, goes on to discuss the attempts to set up a system of secondary education and finishes with the position of ELT in the Latin schools, the universities and other forms of higher education. The second period concerns the years 1863-1920. Here, the place of ELT in schools comes up for discussion, that is, ELT in MULO schools, Higher Burgher Schools and grammar schools. The discussion focuses specifically on the curricula, the tables of lessons and the school-leaving examinations. Next, a section is devoted to the study of English at university. The chapter is concluded with an extensive discussion of the history of English language teacher training, in particular as far as the various examinations programmes are concerned.

Chapter Four discusses the methodological context of English language teaching. In the first place, attention is paid to the theoretical context in which FLT, including ELT, operated. For this purpose a number of historical treatises have been investigated with a view to their ideas on the aims of FLT as well as on the selection, gradation and presentation of learning content. Subsequently, the relation between the teaching of respectively Latin, French, German and Dutch on the one hand and ELT on the other hand is described. Also, the possible influence of 'authorities' on the teaching materials and on ELT at large is mapped out on the basis of references to experts, such as linguists, teaching experts and/or writers of textbooks. Finally, the relation between teachers and ELT and textbooks and ELT is described.

In Chapter Five a description is given of the ELT textbooks, published either in the period 1800-1860 or 1860-1920. This concerns the production, distribution and diversification of textbooks. As regards production, it is shown how many textbooks were published and when exactly this happened. As for distribution, the question is which textbooks were reprinted most frequently and how long they were in circulation. In this context a survey is given of prominent textbook writers. As regards diversification, eight categories of textbooks are distinguished. These are described both in quantitative and qualitative terms.

On the basis of the data in Chapter Five, a detailed description of twelve historical courses could be given in Chapter Six. In the introduction it is explained how they have been selected. Next, the concept of 'method' comes up for discussion as well as the relation between coursebooks and 'methods'. Also, a description is given of the characteristic features of the dominant teaching 'methods' that existed in the researched period. Then follows an explanation of the system in which the courses have been described. It includes a typology of exercises that was devised to describe the exercises in these courses. The chapter continues with a systematic description of twelve courses (fourteen coursebooks).

Chapter Seven offers an analysis of the data in the description of the courses, whereby the chapter follows the system by which the courses have been described. This concerns successively the target groups of learners, the explicit views on foreign language teaching and learning, the sources and references to 'authorities' and the selection, gradation and presentation of learning content.

The study finishes with a number of conclusions, followed by an epilogue which is a reflection on the questions in how far this investigation may be called unique, in how far it has led to new points of view and in how far the research method has proved adequate. To conclude with, there are two bibliographical appendices. The first presents an overview of historical treatises that were collected for this investigation and of which a number are discussed in Chapter Four. The second appendix presents an extensive bibliography of historical textbooks of English. It is followed by an index with the names of the textbook writers and the years of their publications.

SAMENVATTING

Deze studie houdt zich bezig met de geschiedenis van het onderwijs in de Engelse taal in Nederland vanaf omstreeks 1800 tot aan het jaar 1920. Zij heeft verscheidene aspecten: methodologische, bibliografische, cultuur-historische en historisch-onderwijskundige. De aandacht gaat echter op de eerste plaats uit naar de methodologische ontwikkelingen van het onderwijs in de Engelse taal met als hoofdvragen: wat werd er van het Engels onderwezen en hoe ging dat in zijn werk? Alle andere vragen die in dit onderzoek worden gesteld, zijn van deze hoofdvragen afgeleid en dienen slechts om ze te kunnen beantwoorden.

De studie is gebaseerd op bibliografisch onderzoek naar historische leerboeken voor het Engels. Hiertoe is een inventarisatie van leermateriaal gemaakt, waarvan het resultaat is neergelegd in een bibliografie van 754 titels (zie Appendix Two). Uit dit corpus is vervolgens een selectie van leerboeken gemaakt die in detail worden beschreven. Deze leergangbeschrijvingen dienen als basis voor een analyse van de methodologische ontwikkelingen van het onderwijs Engels in de betreffende periode. Het onderzoek houdt zich ook bezig met de opvattingen die er vanaf het eind van de achttiende eeuw tot aan het begin van de twintigste eeuw bestonden over het leren en onderwijzen van moderne vreemde talen. Met dit doel is een inventarisatie gemaakt van historische verhandelingen (zie Appendix One). Deze worden vervolgens uitgebreid beschreven en geanalyseerd. Naast het methodologische en bibliografische aspect, heeft deze studie ook een cultuur-historische invalshoek. Hierbij gaat het om de vraag wat de plaats was van de Engelse taal in de Nederlandse samenleving. Ook is er plaats ingeruimd voor de ontwikkelingen van het vak Engels binnen het onderwijsstelsel, vanaf het primair tot en met het tertiair onderwijs. Ten slotte wordt aandacht geschonken aan de geschiedenis van de opleiding tot leraar in de moderne vreemde talen in het algemeen en die van leraar Engels in het bijzonder.

Het onderzoek is verdeeld in zeven hoofdstukken. Het eerste hoofdstuk vormt een algemene inleiding op het onderzoek als geheel. De hoofdstuk-

ken Twee, Drie en Vier fungeren als achtergrond voor de kern van het onderzoek, d.w.z. de hoofdstukken Vijf, Zes en Zeven. De eerstgenoemde drie hoofdstukken (Twee, Drie en Vier) worden dan ook aangeduid met de term 'context'. Hierbij moet echter worden aangetekend dat hoofdstuk Drie en Vier ook kernelementen van het onderzoek bevatten, nl. respectievelijk een beschrijving van de geschiedenis van de opleiding tot leraar vreemde talen, en een inventarisatie, beschrijving en analyse van opvattingen over het leren en onderwijzen van vreemde talen. De laatstgenoemde hoofdstukken (Vijf, Zes en Zeven) bevatten het centrale gedeelte van het onderzoek, nl. een algemene beschrijving, zowel kwantitatief als kwalitatief, van het historisch leermateriaal (Hoofdstuk Vijf), een gedetailleerde beschrijving van twaalf geselecteerde leergangen (Hoofdstuk Zes) en een analyse van de gegevens uit de leergangbeschrijvingen (Hoofdstuk Zeven). Het onderzoek wordt besloten met een aantal conclusies, een epiloog en twee bibliografische appendices.

Hoofdstuk Een begint met een bespreking van de plaats van het onderzoek binnen de historiografie van het vreemde-talenonderwijs (VTO). Het stelt de relevantie van de historiografie van het VTO aan de orde en positioneert het huidige onderzoek in de geschiedschrijving. Het bespreekt vervolgens verschillende benaderingen binnen de historiografie en vermeldt belangrijke publicaties die tot nu toe zijn verschenen op het terrein van de geschiedenis van het VTO. Daarna worden de titel en het onderwerp van het onderzoek besproken en de grenzen van het onderzoek afgebakend qua plaats en tijd. Vervolgens wordt het object van onderzoek gedefinieerd en de methode van onderzoek verklaard.

Hoofdstuk Twee schetst een beeld van de maatschappelijke en culturele context waarbinnen het leren en onderwijzen van Engels plaatsvond. Dit gebeurt aan de hand van de kennis van het Engels in de samenleving, de behoefte die er bestond om Engels te leren en de groepen personen die Engels wilden leren. Het hoofdstuk is verdeeld in twee gedeelten die elk een periode van zestig jaar bespreken: 1800-1860 en 1860-1920. In de periode 1800-1860 wordt de ontwikkeling geschetst van drie groepen leerders die al in de achttiende eeuw kunnen worden onderscheiden. Ook wordt aandacht besteed aan Engels leren buiten het reguliere onderwijs. Hetzelfde patroon wordt in grote lijnen aangehouden voor de tweede

periode, 1860-1920, toen het Engels een verplicht schoolvak was geworden in de hogere vormen van het secundair onderwijs. De beschrijving betreft hier degenen die Engels leerden in het beroepsonderwijs, degenen die dat deden buiten het schoolstelsel om en degenen die Engels leerden in het algemeen onderwijs.

Hoofdstuk Drie beschrijft de historisch-onderwijskundige context van het leervak Engels. Het hoofdstuk is ingedeeld naar niveaus van onderwijs en naar perioden. De eerste periode betreft de tijd dat het Engels nog geen verplicht vak was, d.w.z. de periode vóór 1863. Het hoofdstuk begint met de reorganisatie van het Nederlandse onderwijsstelsel rond 1800 en de positie van het VTO daarin, vervolgt met de pogingen een stelsel van middelbaar onderwijs op te zetten en eindigt met de positie van het Engels aan de Latijnse scholen, de universiteiten en andere instellingen van hoger onderwijs. De tweede periode betreft het tijdvak 1863-1920. Hier komt de plaats van het Engels aan de orde in het secundair onderwijs, d.w.z. het MULO, de Hogere Burgerscholen en de Gymnasia. De discussie richt zich specifiek op de leerplannen, de lessentabellen en de eindexamens. Vervolgens wordt een paragraaf gewijd aan de studie van het Engels aan de universiteit. Het hoofdstuk wordt afgesloten met een uitgebreide bespreking van de ontwikkeling in de opleiding tot leraar Engels, in het bijzonder waar het de verschillende examenprogramma's betreft.

Hoofdstuk Vier bespreekt de didactische context waarbinnen de Engelse taal werd onderwezen. Op de eerste plaats wordt aandacht besteed aan het theoretisch kader waarbinnen het VTO en dus ook het onderwijs Engels opereerde. Met dit doel zijn een aantal verhandelingen onderzocht op hun opvattingen over doelstellingen van VTO, alsmede over selectie, ordening en presentatie van leerstof. Vervolgens wordt beschreven wat de wederzijdse relatie was tussen respectievelijk het onderwijs Latijn, Frans, Duits en Nederlands enerzijds en het onderwijs Engels anderzijds. Voorts wordt de mogelijke invloed van 'autoriteiten' op het leermateriaal en het onderwijs Engels in kaart gebracht, op basis van verwijzingen naar deskundigen, zoals taalkundigen, didactici en/of schrijvers van leerboeken. Ten slotte worden de relatie van de leraar, respectievelijk het leermateriaal met het onderwijs Engels beschreven.

In Hoofdstuk Vijf wordt het historisch leermateriaal voor het Engels in kaart gebracht, uitgesplitst naar de perioden 1800-1860 en 1860-1920. Achtereenvolgens gaat het om de productie, verspreiding en de diversificatie van de leerboeken. Bij de bespreking van de productie wordt aangegeven hoeveel leerboeken werden uitgegeven en wanneer dat precies gebeurde. Bij de bespreking van de verspreiding gaat het om de vraag welke leerboeken het meest herdrukt werden en hoe lang deze in omloop waren. In dit verband wordt tevens een overzicht gegeven van de belangrijkste leerboekenschrijvers. Bij de bespreking van de diversificatie wordt een verdeling gemaakt naar acht verschillende soorten leermateriaal. Deze worden daarna zowel kwalitatief als kwantitatief beschreven.

Op grond van de gegevens in Hoofdstuk Vijf kon in Hoofdstuk Zes een nadere beschrijving worden gegeven van twaalf historische leergangen. Het hoofdstuk opent met een bespreking van de manier waarop deze leergangen zijn geselecteerd. Vervolgens wordt het begrip 'methode' in het VTO aan de orde gesteld alsmede de verhouding tussen leergangen en 'methoden'. Ook worden de kenmerken beschreven van de belangrijkste 'methoden' die in de onderzochte periode bestonden. Dan volgt een uiteenzetting over de manier waarop de leergangen zijn beschreven. Hierbij hoort een typologie van oefeningen die in de leergangen voorkomen. Het hoofdstuk wordt voortgezet met de systematische beschrijving van de twaalf leergangen (veertien leerboeken).

Hoofdstuk Zeven bevat een analyse van de gegevens uit het voorafgaande hoofdstuk. Het hoofdstuk volgt hierbij een aantal punten op basis waarvan de leergangen zijn beschreven. Achtereenvolgens gaat het hierbij om de doelgroepen van leerders, de expliciete opvattingen over vreemde talen leren en onderwijzen, de bronnen en verwijzingen naar 'autoriteiten' en de selectie, ordening en presentatie van de leerstof.

Het onderzoek eindigt met een aantal conclusies. Daarna volgt een epi-loog waarin wordt gereflecteerd op de mate waarin dit onderzoek uniek genoemd kan worden, op de vraag welke nieuwe inzichten het heeft opgeleverd en op de bruikbaarheid van de onderzoeksmethode. Ten slotte volgen twee bibliografische appendices. De eerste bevat een overzicht van historische verhandelingen die in het kader van dit onderzoek zijn geïn-

ventariseerd. Een gedeelte hiervan wordt in Hoofdstuk Vier besproken. De tweede appendix bevat een uitgebreide bibliografie van historische leerboeken voor het Engels. Om deze appendix makkelijker toegankelijk te maken, is besloten deze te laten volgen door een index met de namen van de leerboekenschrijvers en de jaren van hun publicaties.

CURRICULUM VITAE

Frans Wilhelm werd op 8 juli 1945 in Nijmegen geboren. Hij volgde het Gymnasium aan het Canisius College en ging in 1963 Engelse Taal- en Letterkunde studeren aan de Katholieke Universiteit (nu: Radboud Universiteit) te Nijmegen. Na zijn kandidaatsexamen studeerde hij een jaar aan de Universiteit van Liverpool. In 1969 gaf hij als gastdocent les aan Radley College (Berkshire, Engeland), waarna hij in 1971 zijn doctoraal diploma behaalde. Vanaf 1970 was hij als leraar Engels werkzaam aan het Stedelijk Gymnasium en aan een scholengemeenschap die verschillende keren van naam veranderde: Nebo-Mariënbosch-Gabriël-college, het Elshofcollege en het Kandinskycollege, alle in Nijmegen. In 1975 kreeg hij tevens een aanstelling aan de lerarenopleiding van de toenmalige Gelderse Leergangen in Arnhem. Sinds die tijd is hij steeds verbonden geweest aan lerarenopleidingen, o.a. aan die van de toenmalige Katholieke Leergangen en toenmalige Katholieke Universiteit. Daarnaast was hij lid van de landelijke examencommissies Engels L.O. en M.O. In 1994 richtte hij samen met enkele anderen het Peeter Heynsgenootschap op, een werkgroep die de geschiedenis van het talenonderwijs in Nederland en Vlaanderen bestudeert. Hij publiceerde een aantal artikelen over de geschiedenis van het vreemde-talenonderwijs, o.a. in *Meesterwerk*, het tijdschrift van het Peeter Heynsgenootschap. Ook verzorgde hij een doctoraal cursus over de geschiedenis van het vreemde-talenonderwijs aan de toenmalige Katholieke Universiteit. Op dit moment werkt hij als lerarenopleider aan het Instituut voor Leraar en School, een samenwerkingsverband van de Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen en de Hogeschool van Arnhem en Nijmegen.

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